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A NEW AND LITERAL TRANSLATION
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EDITED WITH ADDITIONS, BY
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1850.



EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

THE *Medieval Period*, in ecclesiastical history, draws its interest exclusively from the Roman church. The Greek church is, indeed, never out of sight, and other Oriental churches appear at intervals; but the popes are constantly found upon the alert to acquire power over them all. Thus the present volume of Mosheim's learned work is essentially a papal history. The facts, however, detailed in it are worthy of attentive consideration by studious minds of every class. The theologian, especially, should form a deliberate opinion upon them. One section of the learned world maintains, that nothing happened in the middle ages which did not naturally flow from the gradual development of a system ascending uninterruptedly to Jesus Christ and his apostles. Another section traces through these very ages the stealthy growth of religious usages and principles, which the holy founders of Christianity never sanctioned. Nay, more: it sees much in medieval religion that cannot be reconciled with apostolic teaching. It is idle, or insidious, to treat such questions as mere vents for the ill-humours, and a relief to the monotonous pursuits of recluse theologians. They are questions which bear most importantly upon the interests of mankind, both temporal and eternal.

Religious minds are at no loss to see that spiritual interests of vital movement are involved in the differences between protestant and papist. Mere men of the world, who look a little below the surface, know that civil affairs in Europe largely turned, for ages, upon the ascendancy of papal Rome, or upon temporary abatements of her influence. Nor even still are her powers gone for acting importantly upon society. To understand the real nature of her position, and of the systems that have risen on her abasement, a competent knowledge of medieval ecclesiastical history is indispensable.

If this portion be taken as beginning with the sixth century, (which seems its natural opening,) it exhibits the Gospel triumphant throughout the Roman empire; yet, at the same time, paganism by no means extinct. The ancient system was not only still cherished by the vulgar in secluded parts of the country: these were, indeed, its strongholds, and hence heathenism has long been denoted by a word which properly means rusticity.¹ But the old theology was yet powerfully tenacious of superior life. Superficial observers, who merely think of paganism as it appears in the poets of classical antiquity, may be surprised at its influence over any cultivated mind, except as a mere vehicle for fascinating imagery. But it should be recollected that the grosser parts of mythology were treated, by ancients of learning and discernment, as meant only for the grosser elements of society, to which they might be conceded from the radical unfitness of inferior life for any thing that requires a real insight into truth. Philosophers themselves looked upon the various deities as nothing more than inferior mediators with the Great Supreme, and their current histories as allegories, or ill-preserved traditions. It is most probable, besides, that additional purity and lustre were given to the last years of classical paganism by its contact with Christianity. It is at least certain, that many of the best informed were among its adherents, and that they advocated its cause upon the grounds of antiquity, and adaptation to the great mass of men: much

¹ Paganism, from *pagus*, a country district.

the same grounds that later ages have often seen Romanists taking in their controversies with Protestants. The student of the earlier portions of medieval religious history will not fail to remark, that such arguments ably urged from quarters commanding public attention, had their natural weight even upon the Church herself. Many Christians, and often of considerable eminence, displayed a disposition for some sort of compromise between philosophy and Christianity. Thus the Platonic doctrines especially gained a footing in the Church, and an infusion of a spirit, originally placed in direct opposition to it, acted extensively upon professors of the Gospel. These facts demand attentive consideration from all who would understand the present aspect of the Christian body.

There are none who deny that this compromise with Paganism went at least so far as to introduce permanently into the Greek and Latin Churches some of the external usages of the former system. These usages may be thought unimportant or otherwise, as men's dispositions, or prepossessions, may variously incline. But medieval religious history shows them to have produced a natural, yet most lamentable re-action. Prone as men have always been to a gross and theatrical worship, they have never wanted some among them to represent a more spiritual system as more agreeable to God, or rather, as alone agreeable to Him, and as more suitable to His rational creation. Upon the representations of this class, Mahomet reared an influence which eventually seemed at one time to threaten even the very existence of Christianity. Externally, the Church began to wear an aspect little different from the Paganism which she had supplanted. Her enemies represented her system, under its present corrupt administration, as really identical with the heathenism that she professed to reprobate, and that really must be reprobated by all who duly feel the force of divine truth. Let her compliances be defended as they may, all must see them to have found here a fatal vantage ground for Oriental prejudices against the Gospel. As a mere historical fact, these compliances are also worthy of observation,

because they account for the appearance and success of Mahometanism.

Those who would fasten Pagan principles upon the Church of Rome, in addition to Pagan usages, may also consider the remarkable rejection of the deutero-Nicene council by Germany, Gaul, and Britain. Italy and the East had been stunned by the clamours of acute, able, and virtuous philosophy, in favour of the ancient pagan system. The north-west of Europe knew it only as the gross and exploded superstition of barbarians. Hence that portion of the Christian world was startled and indignant at Roman patronage of image-worship, the very thing which Gospel missionaries had industriously decried. It was a worship, however, so deeply rooted in the human heart, and in the lingering habits of the north-western nations, that they silently, but readily, received the second council of Nice after no very long interval. This fact, however, is rather important, as showing the proneness of mankind for Paganism. The rejection that iconolatry, though recommended by pope Adrian and the East, originally experienced among Christians of the West, affords reason for inferring that heathen rites were introduced into the Church quite as much to meet the arguments of philosophers as to meet the cravings of a vulgar appetite for sensual worship. Hence it may be considered, whether the philosophers, in affecting the face of the Church, did not also affect her principles.

The most prominent subject of this volume is, however, the papacy itself. It shows the bishops of Rome gradually becoming temporal princes, and eventually exerting a sort of paramount authority over European affairs. There are those who would at once dismiss this remarkable picture as irrefragable evidence of some divine right. Others will rather seek to trace the steps by which such striking results were accomplished. These steps are all clearly to be seen by the student of medieval religious history. The court's removal to Constantinople left the very opulent and influential bishop of the ancient capital in a situation that he never could have attained if his imperial

master had still tenanted the palatine hill. As years rolled on, that master wanted to suppress image-worship. The Roman populace was outraged by this attack upon inveterate habits, and its bishop took the popular side. A revolt now annihilated the imperial authority over Rome, thus rendering the pope more powerful than ever. This power gained its next and its most important augmentation from the Carlovingian usurpation of the Frankish throne. To obtain an approval of this from the most influential of Christian prelates was obviously desirable, and it was a concession which the usurping family repaid by most profuse liberality to the Roman see. Thus Rome became a centre from which such able men as Sylvester II., Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., could move the western world. It was under the first of these famous pontiffs, that the Roman see took something of that very lofty position which it occupied during four centuries. To the second was it indebted for the distinct enunciation of its encroaching claims, and for very considerable success in their establishment. The third saw papal greatness at its height. The fourth exceeded even his boldest predecessors in the tone of his pretensions. But a spirit of resistance was now abroad which he could not overcome, and which permanently eclipsed the Roman see. From the time of Boniface the papal power declined. This volume, therefore, unfolds the rise, progress, and commencing decline of that remarkable spiritual monarchy, which exercised for ages a commanding influence over the affairs of men, both spiritual and temporal.

To trace the steps of that monarchy is not important merely, or even chiefly, as an interesting subject of historical inquiry. The fact is, that for many years the papacy was generally considered as the supreme depositary of European power, even in temporals.² Papal partisans adduce evidence of that fact, and

² For this may be consulted the abbé Jager's Introduction to his French translation of Voigt's *History of Gregory*

VII., a work that does something more than justice to the memory of that very able pontiff.

would fain refer it to the heavenly endowment of St. Peter. The student of mediæval religious history will watch the cases in which this power was recognised. He will examine whether princes were thus complaisant to the see of Rome, unless they had some selfish end in view. The reason why Rome could serve them is obvious enough. It was the ancient metropolis of Europe; it had retained a considerable degree of civilization, when every thing else to the north and west was barbarous, or little better; it contained the ablest divines and canonists that the west could boast; it had been the scene of apostolic ministries and martyrdoms, which was a strong recommendation to superstitious minds. Its bishops had long been dear to inferior life, as the only effectual barrier against noble and princely avarice and oppression. Could princes, therefore, use an instrument so powerful upon occasions for their own purposes, they were willing enough to aid these purposes, by making, on the spur of the moment, strange and most impolitic concessions.

It will be seen, too, that the papacy really derived great advantage from the crusades; and hence it may be worth considering whether an opinion is well founded which has been advanced among protestants, that these ebullitions of military fanaticism were artfully promoted by the popes from sordid motives. The question, however, is of little moment, except for the sake of historical justice; the crusades really having left fewer traces upon society than almost any other movement of equal magnitude, within such a distance of time. But it may be observed with little hesitation, that the popes in this case appear to have been unjustly blamed. They seem to have been hurried blindly on by the same stream of fanaticism that carried down their contemporaries, and only to have been actuated by that degree of selfishness which prompted a skilful use of such advantages as the folly of others threw in their way.

With respect to the monastic system, which this volume

traces to its origin, and through the whole of its most brilliant period, the conduct of Rome seems hardly capable of so favourable a construction. To no institution does the papacy stand so deeply indebted, as to monachism. To suppose, indeed, that Rome, from interested foresight, stimulated the first movements of Benedict of Nursia, and undertook the guidance of his order, would be absurd, no less than uncharitable and untrue. But it is difficult to elude a suspicion, that when the monkish confederacies attained importance, their motions, controllable by a few superiors, their power to check the secular clergy, and their strong hold upon popular fanaticism and superstition, did not tempt the Roman court to seek materials in them for its own aggrandisement.

The Church's medieval history is also that of papal theology, as it now appears. Image-worship did not obtain synodical recognition until the eighth century. Transubstantiation came forward in the ninth, but it was not regularly made an article of faith until the year 1215. This was then done by Innocent III. in the fourth council of Lateran. That pope also bound men, through the same assembly, to auricular confession, at least once in every year. Upon this obligation arose in time, the practice of pronouncing a direct absolution immediately after confession. Anciently, such a gratification was delayed until penance had actually been performed and even then the penitent's pardon was only prayed for, not authoritatively pronounced. By the new system, the Church's former penitential discipline was finally extinguished, and undiscerning minds were made easy under sin. Subtle defences for this innovation, and other grafts upon the Christianity of Scripture, were supplied by the school divines. The history of these theologians likewise belongs wholly to the medieval period.

It is obvious, therefore, that ecclesiastical affairs in the middle ages, are very far from having become mere matters for the exercise of a liberal curiosity. They really retain great practical importance. Hence the present volume exhibits a series of events, which must be studied by all who would understand, not

only what immediately follows, but also the present state of European society. The middle ages have left a vivid impress upon the present age, and none can understand its religion, literature, and institutions, who either want means or inclination to make inquiries into the remains of medieval times.

CONTENTS

OF

VOL. II.

CENTURY VI.

	PAGE
Conversions of barbarous nations	3
Jews induced to profess Christianity	6
Paganism yet entertained by men of learning	8
Barbarian hostility to Christianity	10
Monastic services to literature	12
Decline of solid learning	13
Platonic philosophy supplanted by Aristotelian	15
Rival sees of Rome and Constantinople	17
Rival bishops of Rome	19
Increasing popularity of Monachism	20
Benedict of Nursia	21
The Benedictines	25
Ecclesiastical writers	26
Progress of doctrinal corruption	38
Biblical expositors	39
The three forms of theology	40
Lives of saints	41
Tenacity of Origen's popularity	42
The three chapters	44
The canon of the mass	48
Increase of festivals	49
Extinction of the Donatists	50
Overthrow of Arian establishments	51
Establishment of the Nestorians	ib.
Establishment of the Monophysites	53
New disputes about the body of Christ	54
Tritheism	56

CENTURY VII.

Introduction of Christianity into China	59
Augustine's mission to England	61

	PAGE
Missions to the Netherlands and Germany	61
Conversion of England	64
Mahumed	70
Western literature chiefly monastic	75
Continued rivalry between Rome and Constantinople	77
Ecclesiastical independence of Gaul and Spain	79
Ecclesiastical writers	81
Increase of superstition	87
Decline of sound theology	88
<i>Concilium quinisextum</i> (the seventh general)	92
Mahumedanism favourable to Oriental heresy	95
Monothelitism	97
The sixth general council	101
The Maronites	103
The council in <i>Trullo</i> , or <i>Quinisext</i>	104

CENTURY VIII.

Christianity propagated in Tartary	109
Mission of Boniface to Germany	110
Conversion of the Saxons, by means of Charlemagne	116
Rise of the Turkish power	120
Establishment of the Moors in Spain	ib.
Progress of Aristotelian philosophy	122
Intellectual eminence of the British Isles	123
Cathedral and monastic schools	ib.
Pecuniary commutations of penance	127
Temporal rank given to the church	128
Excommunication aided by Druidic prejudice	129
Pepin's usurpation aided by the pope	130
Charlemagne's liberality to the papacy	132
Constantine's pretended grant	134
Grecian hostility to papal greatness	135
Canons instituted	136
Imperial power over the popes	137
Ecclesiastical writers	139
Increasing value for religious externals	146
Systematic theology taught among the Greeks	151
Controversy on the worship of images	152
Second council of Nice	157
Controversy on the procession of the Holy Ghost	159
Multiplication of religious ceremonies	160
Sect of the Adoptionists	164

CENTURY IX.

Conversion of Scandinavia	168
Mission of Methodius and Cyril	169
Conversion of Dalmatia and Russia	171

	PAGE
Power and success of the Saracens	173
Progress of the Normans	174
Learning cultivated by the Arabians	177
Literary efforts of the West	178
The times unfavourable to sound religion	182
The alleged papess, Joanna	184
Augmented power of the popes	186
The decretal epistles	187
Popularity of Monachism	189
Canons and canonesses	191
Ecclesiastical writers	192
Intellectual decline after Charlemagne	205
Eagerness for saintly protection	206
Canonization	207
Passion for relics	209
State of Biblical learning	210
Renewal of the iconoclastic controversy	213
Establishment of image worship	215
Claudius of Turin	217
Renewed controversy on the double procession	ib.
The eucharistic controversy	218
Godeschalc and the predestinarian controversy	221
Brief controversy upon Tritheism	226
Minor controversies	227
Separation between the Greeks and Latins	ib.
Rise of Ritualists	231
Ordeals	233
The Paulicians	235

CENTURY X.

Nestorian conversions	241
Prester John	242
Conversion of the Franco-Normans	ib.
Conversion of Poland	243
Re-conversion of Russia	244
Permanent success of Christianity in Hungary	245
Conversion of Denmark	246
Conversion of Norway	247
Progress of Christianity in Germany	248
First projects of a crusade	249
The Turks converted to Mahomedanism	250
European Pagans hostile to Christianity	ib.
Extreme pressure of ignorance	252
Sylvester II.	257
Clerical degeneracy	259
Extreme degeneracy of the popes	260
Increase of the papal power	265

	PAGE
Ecclesiastical acquisitions of civil privileges	266
Concubinage and simony	267
The Cluniac order	268
Ecclesiastical writers	269
Increase of superstition	272
Canonization begun by the popes	275
The Festival of All Souls	279
Worship of the Virgin Mary	280
Heretical movements	281

CENTURY XI.

Gradual conversion of the northern nations	285
Sicily re-conquered by the Latins	287
The Sicilian <i>Monarchy</i>	288
The Crusades	289
Importation of saints and relics	293
Mahumedan persecutions	296
Increasing diffusion of education	299
Rise of an exclusive taste for dialectics	302
The Realists and Nominalists	304
Increase of the papal power	307
Popes	308
Election of the popes	311
The cardinals	312
Gregory VII.	315
Concubinage and simony	320
Clerical celibacy	321
Investitures	323
Quarrel between Henry IV. and Gregory VII.	325
Successors of Gregory VII.	330
Closer connexion between Monachism and the papacy	332
The Cluniacs	334
The Camaldulensians	335
The Cistercians	ib.
The Grandimontans	336
The Carthusians	337
The order of St. Anthony	338
Regular canons of St. Austin	339
Ecclesiastical writers	340
Rise of an opposition to popery	348
Rise of scholastic theology	350
Earliest systems of theology	351
Controversy between the Greeks and Latins	353
Relative worship decreed to images	355
The Eucharistic controversy	356
Persecution of Berengarius	357
Dispute upon the apostleship of Martial	362

CONTENTS.

xviii

	PAGE
Extension of the Roman ritual	363
General attention to ecclesiastical fabrics	365
Migration of the Paulicians into the West	367
Persecution at Orleans	368
The council of Arras	371
Roscelin's speculations on the Trinity	372
RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS	374
Primacy of Abp. Theodore	376
Wilfrid	378
Anglo-Saxon independence of the papacy	379
Rejection of image-worship	380
Subsequent reception of it	381
The Benedictine system	382
Invocation of angelic and departed spirits	383
Purgatory	ib.
Penitential doctrines	ib.
Transubstantiation	384
Elfric	385
Episcopacy	388

CENTURY XII.

Conversion of Pomerania	391
Military missions of Waldemar	392
Forced conversion of Finland	393
Conversion of Livonia	ib.
Subjugation and conversion of the Slavonians	394
Prester John	396
The second crusade	398
The third crusade	400
The military orders	401
Christian reverses in Tartary	405
Increasing cultivation of literature	408
Rise of Universities	409
Introduction of the civil law	410
Study of the canon law	411
Philosophical studies	412
The Nominalists and Realists	414
Opposition between the empire and the priesthood	416
The <i>Concordat</i> of Worms	419
Series of popes	420
St. Bernard	429
Controversy between the Cluniacs and Cistercians	430
Controversy between the monks and canons	ib.
The order of Fontevraud	431
The order of Premontré	432
The Carmelite order	433
Ecclesiastical writers	434

	PAGE
Increasing trust in relics, saints, and privations	449
Rise of the papal traffic in indulgences	450
Low state of biblical information	451
Paris the great school of theology	453
Different sects of theologians	454
Rise of scholastic divinity	ib.
Concurrent prevalence of mysticism	455
Attempts to reconcile the Greeks and Latins	458
Doubts upon transubstantiation, and the Virgin's impeccability	460
Increase of ritual observances	462
The Bogomiles	464
The <i>Cathari</i>	466
Peter de Bruys, and the Petrobrusians	468
Henry and the Henricians	469
Tanquelin, and his party	470
Arnold of Brescia, and the Arnoldists	471
The Waldenses	472
The <i>Pasagini</i> , or the Circumcised	477
The <i>Caputiati</i> , and the <i>Apostolici</i>	478

CENTURY XIII.

Progress of Christianity in northern Asia	481
Latin occupation of Constantinople	484
The last crusades	485
Military missions of the Teutonic knights	488
Successes of the Spanish Christians	489
Rise of religious scepticism	490
Patronage of learning by European sovereigns	495
Universities instituted	496
Poets and historians	497
Aristotelian philosophy exclusively cultivated	500
Study of the <i>Decretals</i>	503
Extravagant pretensions of the popes	505
Iniquity of the papal legates	506
Innocent III.	507
King John and the English interdict	510
The papal series	512
New monastic orders	518
The Mendicants	521
St. Dominic	523
St. Francis	524
Contests of the Mendicants with the university of Paris	527
Their contemptuous treatment of other ecclesiastics	529
Contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans	530
Relaxation of their rule	531
The <i>Book of Joachim</i>	532
Franciscan attack on the papacy	535

CONTENTS.

XIX

	PAGE
The Cœlestine Eremites of St. Francis	537
The <i>Fratricelli</i>	538
The <i>Beghards</i> and <i>Beguines</i>	541
Ecclesiastical writers	546
Transubstantiation synodically decreed	559
Auricular confession synodically decreed	ib.
The Flagellants	560
Dialectic theology	563
Contemporaneous cultivation of mysticism	564
Controversy between the Greeks and Latins	566
Doubts as to transubstantiation	567
Progress of a theatrical worship	568
The feast of <i>Corpus Christi</i> instituted	569
The Jubilee instituted	ib.
Papal endeavours to obtain power in the East	571
Papal contests with opponents in the West	572
Origin of the Inquisition	573
Crusades against the Albigenses	577
Brethren and sisters of the free Spirit	582
Wilhelmina, and her sect	588
The sect of the Apostles	ib.
Error of Joachim, abbot of Flora	589

CENTURY XIV.

Abortive attempts to renew the crusades	591
Progress of Christianity in China and Tartary	592
Conversion of Lithuania	593
The Moorish empire undermined in Spain	ib.
Extinction of Christianity in China and Tartary	594
Cultivation of literature by the Greeks	596
Advance of learning in the West	598
Great popularity of Aristotle	601
Revived feud between the Nominalists and Realists	602
Passion for astrology	603
General call for a reformation of the church	605
Philip the Fair, and Boniface VIII.	606
Transfer of the papal court to Avignon	608
Papal exactions and interference with patronage	609
Decline of the papal authority	610
Lewis of Bavaria and John XXII.	611
Papal series	613
The papal schism	615
Popularity of the Mendicants, and their opponents	617
Wickliffe	619
The Wickliffites, or Lollards	621
The <i>Stigmata</i> of St. Francis	622
The Alcoran of the Franciscans	623

	PAGE
Franciscan schism	624
Persecution of the intractable Franciscans	626
Dispute as to the property of Christ and his Apostles	628
Division of the Franciscans into two sects	635
The apostolic clerks, or Jesuates	636
The Cellites, or brethren and sisters of St. Alexius	ib.
Origin of the term <i>Lollard</i> , or <i>Lollhard</i>	637
Ecclesiastical writers	639
General prevalence of scholastic theology	653
The Scotists and Thomists	654
Continuance of mysticism	ib.
Study of casuistry	655
Attempts to reconcile the Greeks and Latins	656
Controversy on the immaculate conception	657
The Jubilee limited to fifty years	658
<i>Ave Maria</i> added to the prayers	659
The Hesychasts, or Greek Quietists	660
Continued persecution of the anti-papal party	662
Great persecution of the Beguins	664
Revival of the Flagellants	665
Sect of the Dancers	666
Suppression of the Knights Templars	ib.
COUNCILS	668
POPES	671
ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY	678
ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREW'S	680
ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH	681

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BOOK II.
EMBRACING
EVENTS FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
TO
CHARLEMAGNE.



CENTURY SIXTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Progress of Christianity in the East—§ 2. and in the West.—§ 3. Jews converted in several places.—§ 4. The miracles of this century.

§ 1. IT appears evident from the historical records of the Greek empire that several barbarous tribes, especially among those resident near the Black Sea, were converted to Christianity by the efforts of the Greek emperors and the bishops of Constantinople. Among these were the *Abasgi*, a barbarous nation inhabiting the country between the coasts of the Euxine sea and mount Caucasus, who embraced Christianity under the emperor Justinian.¹ The *Heruli*, who dwelt along the other side of the Ister², became Christians under the same reign³;

¹ Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. c. 3. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1351, &c. [Their adoration, like that of the ancient Germans, had been previously given to forests and lofty trees. The emperor Justinian sent priests among them, and erected a church for them, dedicated to the Virgin Mary : and he rendered the people more

inclined to become Christians, by prohibiting their king from carrying on a shameful traffic in eunuchs. See the authors referred to by Dr. Mosheim. *Tr.*]

² [Or Danube. *Tr.*]

³ Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, l. ii. c. 14.

also the *Alani*, the *Lazi*, and the *Zani*, and some other tribes, whose residences are not definitely known at the present day.⁴ But there is abundant evidence, that nothing was required of these nations except externally to profess *Christ*, cease from offering victims to their gods, and learn certain forms, like a necessary charm: while there was not even a thought of imbuing their minds with true piety and religion. It is certain that after their conversion, they retained their rude and savage manners, and were famous for rapines, murders, and every species of iniquity. In most provinces of the Greek empire, and even in the city of Constantinople, many idolaters were still lurking in concealment. A great multitude of these were baptized, during the reign of *Justin*, by *John*, bishop of Asia.⁵

§ 2. In the West, *Remigius*, bishop of Rheims, who has been called the *Apostle of the Gauls*, laboured with great zeal to convert idolaters to *Christ*; and not without success, especially after *Clovis*, the king of the Franks, had embraced Christianity.⁶ In Britain, *Ethelbert*, king of Kent, the most distinguished of the seven Anglo-Saxon kings among whom the island was then divided, married, near the close of this century, a Christian wife named *Bertha*, the daughter of *Cherebert*, king of Paris; and she, partly by her own influence, and partly by that of the ministers of religion whom she brought with her, impressed her husband favourably towards Christianity. The king being thus prepared, *Gregory* the Great, at the suggestion undoubtedly of the queen, sent forty Benedictine monks, with one *Augustine* at the head of them, into Britain, in the year 596, to complete the work which the queen had begun. This *Augustine*, with the queen's assistance, converted the king and the greatest part of the inhabitants of Kent to Christian worship, and laid the foundation of the modern British church.⁷

⁴ [See Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. iv. c. 20, 22, 23. All these conversions took place near the commencement of the reign of Justinian, about A.D. 430. *Tr.*]

⁵ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 85.

⁶ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 155, &c.

⁷ Bede, *Histor. Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. i. c. 23, p. 55, &c. ed. Chiflet. Rapin Thoyras, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tom. i. p. 222, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 470, where is an account of

Ethelbert, king of Kent. [The marriage of Bertha is said to have been consummated A.D. 579. It had been stipulated, that she should enjoy her own religion and worship. She therefore had her private chaplain, and a small church. Gregory the Great, before he was made pope, was so captivated with the beauty of some English youths offered for sale at Rome as slaves, that he wished to go himself as a missionary to England; but the Roman people restrained him. He was created pontiff in 590; and, in 596, per-

Among the *Picts* and *Scots*, *Columbas*, an Irish monk, began the work of administering Christian baptism.^s In Germany,

sueded Augustine, abbot of St. Andrew's at Rome, to undertake the conversion of the English nation. Augustine, with a small retinue of monks, set forward; but he scarcely reached France, before the courage of the whole party failed, and Augustine returned to obtain leave to abandon the enterprise. Gregory, however, would not give it up; he exhorted Augustine to proceed, assigned him more assistants, gave him letters of introduction to bishops and princes on the way, and dismissed him. Augustine now proceeded through France, crossed the Channel, and landed with his forty monks on the Isle of Thanet, in Kent. There king Ethelbert met him, learned his object, gave him access to the country, promised him protection and sustenance, but refused to embrace the new religion till after further examination. Augustine and retinue now marched to Canterbury, the capital, with a waving banner, and a silver crucifix, chanting: *O Lord, we beseech thee, in thy great mercy, to remove thy fury and thy wrath from this city, and from thine house, for we have sinned: hallelujah.* For a considerable time, Augustine and his monks worshipped in the queen's chapel; and fasted, and prayed, and chanted hymns, almost constantly. The next year, A.D. 597, the king had his mind made up, was baptized, and allowed, but did not compel, any of his subjects to follow his example. In a short time, however, all Kent was nominally Christian. Having been so successful, Augustine this year went to Gaul, and was ordained archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, and returned with a fresh accession of monks. In the year 598, he sent two monks, Laurentius and Peter, to Rome, to inform Gregory of the prosperous state of the mission. Gregory exulted in its success, and sent back the messengers, with additional labourers, the pall for the new archbishop, numerous presents for the cathedral, including holy relics, letters to the king and queen, &c. He confirmed Augustine's jurisdiction over all England, exhorted him to proceed with his work, advised him not to demolish the pagan temples, but to convert them into churches, purifying them with holy water; for the Pagans would love to worship in the places

long held sacred; yet the idols must be destroyed. He also advised, that the people be allowed on festal days to assemble around the churches, erect booths, and there feast themselves, much as during their Pagan state; yet without sacrificing to their idols. Gregory likewise answered several questions of Augustine, advising him and his associates to continue to live in monasteries, to use such a liturgy as should seem best suited to the country; and instructing him how thieves should be treated; how many bishops must concur in the ordination of a bishop, how he must demean himself among the Gallic bishops, and what was to be thought of some ceremonial impurities. In 602, Augustine built his cathedral at Canterbury; and he erected a monastery in which to train men for the ministry. In the year 604, he attempted to bring under his jurisdiction, and to a conformity with his churches, all the clergy and churches of the ancient Britons, whom the Saxons had conquered and driven chiefly into Wales. A council was held for the purpose; but as Augustine was quite bigoted and somewhat overbearing, nothing was effected. In the mean time, the conversion of the Saxons, beyond the kingdom of Kent, proceeded successfully; and several bishops were ordained, particularly a bishop for London, and another for Rochester. St. Paul's church in London was now founded; and the next year the *West monastery* (Westminster), adjoining London. In the year 607 Augustine died, and was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Laurentius. See Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Brit.* lib. i. c. 23, &c. and lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. i. ann. 596—607. The legendary history of Augustine, both in a larger and a smaller form, by Gosselin, a monk of the eleventh century, may be found in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 485—543. *Tr.*]

^s [Some rays of light had penetrated the southernmost counties of Scotland at an earlier period. Ninia, or Ninian was bishop of Whithorn, on the border of Scotland, in the year 400; and his successors sometimes extended their labours as far north as Glasgow. Indeed Kentigern is said to have actually removed his chair from Whithorn to

the *Bohemians*, *Thuringians*, and *Bavarians*, are said to have received Christianity⁹; which to many, however, appears extremely doubtful. Of these holy enterprises among the heathen, no one will form a high opinion, when he shall have learned from the writers of this and the following ages, that these nations still retained a great part of their former paganism, and so worshipped Christ as to reject his precepts in their lives, deeds, and institutions.¹

§ 3. A great many Jews, in various places, it is certain, made profession of Christianity. In the East, *Justinian* persuaded the Jews resident at *Borium*, a city of *Libya*, to acknowledge *Christ*.² In the West, many Jews yielded to the zeal and efforts of the kings of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and to those of *Gregory* the Great, and *Avitus*.³ But it should be added, that far more were induced to make an external profession of Christianity, by the rewards offered by the princes, and by the fear of punishment, than by the force of arguments. In *Gaul*, during the reign of *Childeric*, the Jews were compelled to receive baptism: and the same thing was done in *Spain*.⁴ But *Gregory* the Great wished this practice to be discontinued.⁵

Glasgow before the arrival of *Columba*, and to have invited this Irish missionary to visit him there. It was in the year 563, that *Columba*, with twelve other monks, removed from the north of *Ireland* to *Iona*, *Hii*, *I*, or *I-colum-kill*, an islet on the outer shore of *Mull*, one of the larger of the *Hebrides*, or *Western isles*. The Scottish king of *Argyle*, *Brude*, or *Bride*, favoured his enterprise; and *Aidan*, a successor of *Brude*, paid him the highest reverence. *Columba* had the sole jurisdiction of his little island, which became covered with cloisters and churches, and was the residence of a numerous and learned body of monks. For several centuries *Iona* was the centre of the Scottish church, and the place where most of her clergy were educated. There also the Scottish kings, for many generations, were interred. *Columba* died in the year 597. His memorable acts were recorded by *Cummeneus Albus*, (abbot of *Iona* from 657 to 669,) and may be seen in *Mabillon*, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 342, &c. and his life at large, in three books, was written by *Adamnanus*, who presided at *Iona* from 679 to 704. See *Ussher*,

Britannicar. Ecclesiar. Antiq. cap. xv. p. 687—709. *Tr.*]

⁹ *Henry Canisius*, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 208. *Aventinus*, *Annal. Boiorum*; and others.

¹ As to the *Francs*, the *Benedictine* monks express themselves ingenuously; *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. introd. p. 8. 11. 13. As to the *Anglo-Saxons*, see what *Gregory* the Great himself allowed of, *Epistolar.* lib. ix. ep. 76. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 1176, ed. *Benedict*. Among other things, he permitted the people, on festal days, to offer to the saints such victims as they had before offered to their gods. *Dav. Wilkins*, *Concilia Magnæ Britan.* tom. i. p. 18, &c.

² *Procopius*, *de Edificiis Justiniani*, lib. vi. cap. 2.

³ [*Bishop of Clermont. Tr.*]

⁴ *Gregory of Tours*, *Historia Francorum*, lib. vi. c. 18. *Jo. Launoi*, *de Veteri More Baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*, cap. i. in his *Opp.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 700. 704. [All these Jewish conversions were a victory of the Christians, which did them little credit. *Avitus*, for instance, the bishop of *Clermont*, baptized 500 Jews. But the circum-

§ 4. If credit could be given unreservedly to the writers of this age, these conversions of barbarous nations to Christianity, must be ascribed principally to prodigies and miracles. But observation of the nations themselves forbids us to believe these statements; for had they seen so many wonderful deeds with their own eyes, they would have had a stronger faith in Christianity, and would have more religiously obeyed its precepts. (With the major part, the example and influence of their kings presented the chief argument for changing their religion. Nor were more solid reasons much needed; for the first preachers of Christianity among them, required of them nothing very difficult, or repugnant to human nature; they were only to worship the images of *Christ*, and of holy men, instead of those of their gods, and for the most part, with the same ceremonies⁶; and to commit to memory certain Christian formulas. Some preachers, moreover,—as might easily be proved,—deemed it lawful and right to delude the senses of ignorant men, and to make natural events popularly pass for divine interpositions.

stances were these: a Jew having voluntarily received baptism, was proceeding home in the customary white robe, when meeting with some Jews, one of them poured some fetid oil on his white robe. The people soon kindled into a rage, and pulled down the synagogue; and the bishop sent word to the Jews, that they must all submit to be baptized, or must quit the place. In this dilemma, 500 preferred receiving baptism, and the rest removed to Marseilles. See Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* l. v. c. 11. *Schl.*]

⁵ See his Epistles, lib. i. ep. 47, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 541, ed. Benedict. [or the extract from it in Baronius, *Annal. ad ann.* 591, tom. viii. p. 26, 27, ed. Antw. 1600. Gregory commends the in-

tentions of the Gallic bishops, but thinks that as such converts seldom persevered, and therefore exposed themselves to a heavier punishment in the other world, than if they had never been baptized, charity to them required, that they should not be compelled to receive baptism. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Mosheim cites no authority for this statement, and it might seem to be far from unreservedly admissible. It is known that the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, and Germans, rejected image-worship, even under a recommendation from Rome, at a much later period. It is, therefore, unlikely that they had originally combined it with Christianity. *Ed.*]

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS AND OCCURRENCES.

§ 1. Pagans still remaining among the Christians.—§ 2. Writers opposed to Christianity.—§ 3. Persecutions and vexations.

§ 1. **ALTHOUGH** the imperial laws ordained that no public office should be held by any one who would not abjure paganism, yet there were many learned and respectable men who followed the old religion in the midst of the Christians. The illustrious compiler of the Civil Law, *Tribonianus*¹, is thought by some to have been averse from the Christian religion. Of *Procopius*², a man of acute perception, and a celebrated historian, the same suspicion is entertained by not a few. It is yet more certain that *Agathias*³ of Smyrna, an advocate at the bar, and also dis-

¹ [Tribonianus was a native of Side, in Pamphilia, flourished about A.D. 530, and died about A.D. 546. Richly furnished with Greek and Roman literature, he applied himself especially to the study of law. He was advanced to various civil offices, and was in high favour with Justinian, on account of his eminent talents and his obsequiousness. The *Codex Justinianus* was the joint work of Tribonianus and others; but the compilation of the *Pandects* and *Institutes* was committed to him as chief, with others to assist him. Tribonianus was avaricious and irreligious; he had been accused of atheism and paganism. The truth probably was, that he had no fixed religious principles. See J. H. Hermann, *Historia Juris Romani et Justiniani*, lib. ii. c. i. § 27, &c. and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlv. vol. iv. p. 360, &c. ed. New York, 1826. *Tr.*]

² [Procopius of Cæsarea, (different from Procopius of Gaza,) was a rhetorician, senator, and historian. He was secretary to the famous general Belisarius, from 533 to 542, during his campaigns in Asia, Africa, and Italy;

and afterwards, being made a Roman senator, resided at Constantinople, and devoted himself to writing the civil history of his own times; viz. *de Bello Persico*, l. ii. *de Bello Vandalico*, l. ii. and *de Bello Gothico*, l. iv. His narration is elaborate and exact, and the style not unacceptable. He also wrote, *de Edificiis Justiniani*, l. vi. in which he displays the munificence and greatness of that emperor: likewise *Anecdota, sive Historia Arcana*, in which he describes the vices and crimes of Justinian, and his empress Theodora. Procopius was alive in the year 562. Some accuse him of leaning towards paganism: he was probably a man of no religion; but, externally, a conformist to Christianity. His works were published, Gr. and Lat. by C. Maltrel, Paris, 1662, 2 vols. fol. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. p. 510. *Tr.*]

³ [Agathias, an advocate at Smyrna, continued the history of Procopius, from the year 553 to A.D. 559, in five books, written in an easy but florid style. He also wrote eighty epigrams. His works were published, Gr. and Lat., Paris,

tinguished as an historian, was an idolater. Indeed, as is commonly the case every where, the rigour of the laws fell only on those who had neither birth, nor wealth, nor the favour of the great to protect them.

§ 2. It is still more strange that the Platonists, who were universally known to be hostile to Christianity, should have been allowed publicly to instil their principles, which are totally inconsistent with our religion, into the minds of youth both in Greece and Egypt. This class of men affected, indeed, a high degree of moderation, and, for the most part, so modified their expressions as to make the pagan idolatry appear not very remote from Christianity. This is evident from the examples of *Chalcidius*⁴ and *Alexander* of Lycopolis.⁵ Yet there were some among them who did not hesitate openly to attack the Christian religion. *Damascius*, in his life of his master *Isidore*, and elsewhere, casts many reproaches on the Christians.⁶ *Simplicius*, in his Expositions of Aristotle, not obscurely carps at the Christian faith.⁷ The *Epicheiremata xviii. contra Christianos*,

1660, fol. His history, and that of Procopius, are both in the *Corpus Historie Byzantine Scriptorum*. See Lardner, Works, vol. ix. p. 85. *Tr.*]

⁴ Concerning the religion of Chalcidius, I have spoken in my notes on R. Cudworth's *Systema Intellectuale Universi*, tom. i. p. 732. [Chalcidius flourished about A.D. 330, and wrote his Latin translation of Plato's *Timæus*, with a Commentary, at the suggestion (as is reported) of Hosius of Corduba. Some make him to have been archdeacon of Carthage. See above, cent. iv. pt. i. c. i. § 18, with note^a, p. 303, vol. i.; and Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 199. *Tr.*]

⁵ The treatise of this philosopher, *contra Manichæos*, in Greek, was published by Fran. Combefis, *Auctarium Noviss. Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. ii. Concerning his religion, Is. de Beausobre has given a critical dissertation, *Histoire de Manichée et Manichéisme*, pt. ii. *Discours Prélim.* § 13, p. 236, &c. [Alexander, of Lycopolis in Thebais, Egypt, flourished probably about A.D. 350. Fabricius supposes (*Biblioth. Gr.* tom. v. p. 290) that he was first a pagan and a Manichee, and afterwards a catholic Christian. Cave is of the same opinion (*Hist. Lit.* tom. ii. *de Scriptor. incertæ ætatis*). Beausobre (*ubi supra*) thinks he was a mere pagan. Lardner

(Works, vol. iii. p. 384; vol. viii. p. 349, &c.) thinks he was a Gentile, but well acquainted with the Manichees and other Christians; that he had some knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, to which he occasionally refers. He speaks with respect of Christ, and the Christian philosophy; and appears to have been a learned and candid man. *Tr.*]

⁶ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. cexlii. p. 1027. [Damascius was a native of Damascus, but studied and taught philosophy both at Athens and Alexandria. From the latter he fled to Persia, during the persecution of the pagan philosophers by the emperor Justinian, about the year 530. His subsequent history is unknown. He wrote the lives of Isidorus and others, Commentaries on Plato, and four books on extraordinary events: all of which are lost. Photius calls him *εἰς ἀκρόν θρησκείας, superlatively irreligious*, (*Codex clxxxi.*) and gives an epitome of his life of Isidore, *Cod. cexlii. Tr.*]

⁷ [Simplicius, a native of Cilicia, a disciple of Damascius, and an eclectic philosopher, was one of those who fled into Persia about the year 530. He returned a few years after, and wrote Commentaries on some of the philosophical and physical works of Aristotle.

written by *Proclus*⁸, were in every body's hands; and therefore received a confutation from *John Philoponus*.⁹ So much license would not have been allowed to these men, had there not been among the magistrates many who were Christians in name and outward appearance, rather than in reality.

§ 3. The Christians in some places had occasion even in this century, to complain of the barbarity and cruelty of their enemies. During the greater part of it, the Anglo-Saxons, who had seized upon Britain, brought every kind of calamity and suffering upon the former inhabitants of the country, who were Christians.¹ The *Huns*, having made an irruption into Thrace, Greece, and other provinces, during the reign of *Justinian*, treated the Christians with cruelty²; yet they appear to have been influenced, not so much by a hatred of Christianity, as by hostility to the Greek empire. A great change in the state of Italy took place about the middle of this century, under *Justinian* I. This emperor, by *Narses* his general, overturned the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in that country, after it had stood ninety years, and annexed Italy to his empire. But under the emperor *Justin*, the Lombards, a very warlike German tribe, under their king *Alboin*, and accompanied by some other German people, broke into Italy from Pannonia, in the year 568; and having possessed themselves of the whole country, except Rome and Ravenna, founded a new kingdom at Pavia. Under these new masters, who were not only barbarians, but also

also a Commentary on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus; both edited, Greek and Latin, by H. Wolf, Leyden, 1640, 4to. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Proclus was born at Constantinople A.D. 410, studied at Alexandria and at Athens, and became head of the philosophical school in the latter place, in the year 450. He died A.D. 485. He was a man of much philosophical reading, a great enthusiast, a bold and whimsical speculator, and a most voluminous writer. His eighteen arguments against the Christians are so many proofs that the world was eternal. This work, with the confutation of John Philoponus, was published in Greek, Venice, 1535, fol.; and in Latin, Lyons, 1557, fol. *Tr.*]

⁹ See J. A. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 522, &c. [and Brucker, *Historia Crit. Phil.* tom. ii. p. 491, with *Hamberger's Zuverlässige Nachrichten*, tom. iii. p. 391. *Schl.*]

¹ Ja. Ussher, *Index Chronolog. Antiq. Eccles. Britan.* ad ann. 508, p. 1123 [and still more to the purpose, ad ann. 511, p. 1125, and ad ann. 597, p. 1151, &c. At the beginning of this century, the Saxons held only Kent and Sussex, embracing about three counties in the south-east part of England; all the rest of the country was inhabited by Christian Britons. But during this century, the Saxons gradually extended their conquests; and before the century closed, the Britons were shut up among the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, except a few in Cumberland on the borders of Scotland, or were driven to take refuge beyond seas. Over all the rest of England paganism reigned: the churches were demolished, or converted into idolatrous temples, and the public worship of the true God had ceased. *Tr.*]

² Procopius, *de Bello Persico*, lib. ii. c. iv.

averse from Christianity, the Italian Christians for a time endured immense evils and calamities. But the first rage gradually subsided, and the Lombards became more civilized. *Autharis*, their third king, made a profession of Christianity, in the year 587; but he embraced the Arian creed. His successor, however, *Agilulph*, was induced by his queen, *Theodelinda*, to abandon the Arian sect, and join the Nicene catholics.³ *Chosroes*, the king of Persia, exceeded all others in barbarity; for he publicly declared that he would make war, not upon *Justinian*, but upon the God of the Christians; and he cut off an immense number of Christians by various modes of execution.⁴

³ Paulus Diaconus, *de Gestis Longobardorum*, lib. ii. c. 2; and c. 27, p. 219, 231, ed. Lindenbrog. Muratori, *Antiq. Italice*, tom. i. p. 14; tom. ii. p. 297,

&c.; and *Annales Italici*. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 302, &c.

⁴ Procopius, *de Bello Persico*, lib. ii. c. 26.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. The state of learning in the West.—§ 2. The sciences badly taught.—§ 3. The study of philosophy.—§ 4. State of learning among the Greeks—§ 5. and in the East.

§ 1. EVERY one knows, that the irruption of the fierce and barbarous nations into most of the provinces of the West, was extremely prejudicial to literature, and to every species of learning. All the liberal arts and sciences would have become wholly extinct, had they not found some sort of refuge among the bishops and monks. To most of those churches which are called *cathedrals*, schools were annexed, in which either the bishop himself, or some one appointed by him, instructed the youth in the seven liberal arts, as a preparation for the study of the sacred books.¹ The monks and nuns were nearly all required, by the founders of their houses, to devote some portion of every day to the reading of the ancient doctors of the church, who were supposed to have exhausted the fountains of sacred knowledge.² It was, therefore, necessary that libraries should

¹ Claude Fleury, *Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique depuis l'an 600*, &c. § xxi. &c. in his *Histoire Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 56. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. Introd. § xxxii. p. 12, &c. Herm. Conringius, *Antiquit Aca-*

demica, p. 66—167, ed. Heumann. [Gregory of Tours, lib. vi. c. 36. *Schl.*]

² Benedict of Anian, *Concordia Regularum*, lib. ii. p. 55, 64, 75, 77, 80, 100; lib. iii. p. 16—41, &c. ed. Hug. Menard. Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.*

be formed in the monasteries, and that books should be multiplied by transcribing. This labour of transcription was generally assigned to the more feeble-bodied monks, who were unable to encounter severe labour. To this arrangement we owe the preservation of all the ancient authors that have come down to us, both sacred and profane. Moreover, in most of the monasteries, schools were opened, in which the abbot or some one of the monks gave literary instruction to the children and youth that were devoted to a monastic life.³

§ 2. But, not to mention that many of the bishops and of those who governed monks, were inattentive to their duty; and that others had strong prejudices against learning and science, from which they apprehended no little danger to piety,—a fault commonly attributed to *Gregory* the Great, bishop of Rome, who, it is said, wished to have many of the ancient authors committed to the flames⁴;—not to mention also, that some of the bishops, of set purpose, cultivated ignorance and barbarism, which they confounded with Christian simplicity; to pass over

i. *Actor. Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* p. xlv. &c.

³ *Benedict. Concordia Regular.* lib. ii. p. 232. *Joh. Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 314, &c. [And yet it is certain, that these monkish schools kept aloof from the sources of real learning,—I mean the ancient classic authors; and that the best interpreters of Scripture among the fathers, such as Origen and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, were left to moulder in the dust. On the contrary, the young monks were occupied with reading and transcribing the most silly fables and legends, by which their understandings and their imaginations were injured past recovery. In the Rule of Isidore, it is expressly stated: *Libros gentilium, hæreticorum, legere nefas. Schl.*]

⁴ *Gabr. Liron, Singularités Historiques et Littér.* tom. i. p. 166, &c. [That Gregory was opposed to all secular learning, appears incontrovertibly from his conduct towards Desiderius, bishop of Vienne. This bishop was a man of great merit, virtues, and learning. But he instructed some of his friends in grammar and the fine arts, and read with them the pagan poets. Gregory looked upon all this as horrible wickedness; and, therefore, hesitated about sending him the pall; and reproved him

very sharply, in an epistle which is still extant. (*Gregory, Epist.* lib. ix. ep. 48.)

“Because (says the honest pope, who esteemed it no wrong to praise extravagantly the greatest villains and the cruellest murderers) the praises of Christ and those of Jupiter cannot have place in the same mouth. And consider, how enormous a crime it is for a bishop to *sing!* which would be unbecoming even in a religious layman. The more horrible this is in a priest, the more earnestly and faithfully should it be inquired into.—If it should hereafter appear clearly, that the reports which have reached me are false, and that you do not study vanities and secular literature (*nec vanis nugis et secularibus literis studere*), I shall praise God, who has not permitted your heart to be defiled with the blasphemous praises of the horrible ones.”—But whether it be true, as John of Salisbury states, (*de Nugis Curialium*, lib. ii. c. 26; and lib. viii. c. 19) that he caused the Palatine or Capitoline library to be burned; or as Antoninus of Florence tells us, (see *Vossius, de Historicis Latinis*, p. 98,) that he committed to the flames *Livy's History*, must be considered uncertain, as the witnesses are so modern. Yet it would not be improbable, in a man of such flaming zeal against the pagan writers. *Schl.*]

these considerations, it remains to be stated, that the branches of learning taught in these schools, were confined within very narrow limits⁵; and that the teachers were ignorant and incompetent. Greek literature was almost every where neglected; and those who professed to cultivate Latin, consumed their time on grammatical subtleties and niceties; as is manifest from the examples of *Isidorus* and *Cassiodorus*. Eloquence had degenerated into a sort of rhetorical bombast, sustained by incongruous and frigid figures couched in barbarous terms. This even those will show who wrote with more elegance than the rest, as *Boëthius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Ennodius*, and others. The other liberal arts, as they were called, contained nothing elevated and liberal; but consisted of only a few precepts, and those very dry.

§ 3. Philosophy was wholly excluded from those schools which were directed by the sacred order; for nearly all thought that men dedicated to God could do very well without it, or rather ought never to meddle with it. The most eminent, and indeed almost the only Latin philosopher of this age, was the celebrated *Boëthius*, privy councillor to *Theodoric*, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy. He embraced the *Platonic* system⁶; but, like most of the younger Platonists, approved also the precepts of *Aristotle*, and illustrated them by his writings. He is therefore not improperly regarded as a man, whose labours brought the Aristotelian philosophy into higher repute, among the Latins, than it had hitherto enjoyed.

§ 4. Among the Greeks, the liberal arts were cultivated with more zeal, in several places; and some of the emperors encouraged with honours and rewards every branch of learning⁷; yet the number of the men of genius is found much smaller than in the preceding century. When this century commenced, the younger *Platonism* was flourishing in full splendour. The schools of Alexandria and Athens were under masters of high credit, *Damascius*, *Isidore*⁸, *Simplicius*, *Eulamius*, *Hermias*, *Pris-*

⁵ See M. Andr. Cassiodorus, *de septem Disciplinis Liber*; among his *Works*.

⁶ This will be evident to any one who, with some knowledge of the views of the younger Platonists, takes up his books *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*. See also Renat. Vallinus, *Notes*, p. 10, 50. Luc. Holstenius, *de Vita Porphyrii*, p. 7, ed. Cantabr.; likewise, Jo. Jas. Maseov, *Historia Germanorum*, tom. ii. p. 102,

&c. [Brucker, *Historia Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. p. 524, &c.; and Hamberger's *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*, vol. iii. p. 317, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ See the *Codex Theodos.* tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 113, &c. Herm. Coringius, *de Studiis urbis Romæ et Constantinop.* annexed to his *Diss. de Antiquit. Academicis*.

⁸ [See Brucker's account of Isidore,

cian, and others. But when the emperor *Justinian*, by an express law, forbade the teaching of philosophy at Athens², (which is undoubtedly to be understood of this species of philosophy,) and manifested peculiar displeasure against those who would not renounce idolatry, all these philosophers took up their residence among the Persians, the enemies of the Romans.¹ They returned again, indeed, in the year 533, on the restoration of peace between the Persians and the Romans²; but they were never able to recover their former credit, and they gradually ceased to keep up their schools. Such was the termination of this sect, which had been a most troublesome one to the church for many centuries. On the contrary, the *Aristotelian* philosophy gradually emerged from its obscurity, and received explanations, particularly from the commentaries of *John Philoponus*. And it became necessary for the Greeks to acquaint themselves with it, because the *Monophysites* and *Nestorians* endeavoured to confute adherents to the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon by arguments borrowed from the Peripatetics.

§ 5. For the *Nestorians* as well as the *Monophysites*, who lived in the East, kept *Aristotle* in their eye; and to make their adherents good disputants, translated his principal works out of Greek into their vernacular tongues. In the Syriac language, *Sergius Rasainensis*, a Monophysite and a philosopher, brought out *Aristotle*.³ In Persia, one *Uranius*, a Syrian, propagated his doctrines; and even instilled them into the mind of *Chosroes*, the king, who was studious of such matters.⁴ Another, who

in his *Historia Crit. Philos.* tom. ii. p. 341. Isidore was called Gazæus, from his native place, Gaza in Palestine; and this discriminated him from Isidore Mercator, Hispalensis, and Pelusiota. *Schl.*]

⁹ Johannes Malala, *Historia Chronica*, pt. ii. p. 187. ed. Oxon. Another testimony to the same point, derived from, I know not what, unpublished *Chronicon*, is adduced by Nicol. Alemannus, *ad Procopii Historiam Arcanam*, cap. 26, p. 377, ed. Venetæ. [Also Agathias, cap. ii. and Suidas, art. *πρέσβυς*, tom. iii. p. 171, seem to refer to this event, by saying: Damascius, Simplicius, Eulalius, Priscianus, Hermias, Diogenes, and Isidorus, retired to Persia, because they could not live according to their inclinations. *Schl.*]

¹ Agathias, *de Rebus Justiniani*, lib.

ii. *Corpus Byzant.* tom. iii. p. 49, ed. Venetæ.

² Consult the excellent Peter Wesselingius, *Observat. Variar.* lib. i. c. 18, p. 117.

³ Georgius Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 94, 172, ed. of Pocock.

⁴ Agathias, *de Rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48. That this Uranius accommodated the precepts of Aristotle to the Eutychian controversies, appears from this, that Agathias represents him as disputing about the *possibility* and *immiscibility* of God, *καὶ τὸ παθὲν καὶ ἀεὶ γινώσκον*. [Uranius was in so high esteem with king Chosroes, that he had him constantly at his table. He wished to be accounted a sceptic; but may more justly be ranked among the Nestorians, than among the proper philosophers. *Schl.*]

was doubtless of the Nestorian sect (for no other in this age prevailed in Persia, the Greeks being excluded), presented the king with a Persian translation of *Aristotle*.⁵ Yet there were among these Christians some who, rejecting both *Plato* and *Aristotle*, chose to philosophise or speculate according as their own genius led them. Such was the Nestorian *Cosmas*, called *Indicopleustes*; whose opinions were quite peculiar, and more consentaneous with those of the orientals, than with those of the Greeks.⁶ Such also was the writer, from whose Exposition of the Octateuch, *Photius* has preserved some extracts.⁷

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS IN THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Contests between the bishops of Constantinople and Rome.—§ 2. Endeavours of the latter to obtain supreme power.—§ 3, 4. Corrupt lives of the Clergy.—§ 5. The monks.—§ 6. Order of Benedict.—§ 7. Its propagation.—§ 8. Principal authors among the Greeks.—§ 9. Latin writers.

§ 1. IN the Christian commonwealth's outward form there was no important change. But the two prelates of Rome and Constantinople, who seemed to themselves and others heads of the whole church, were incessantly striving with each other for the lead, and for extending the limits of their jurisdictions. The bishop of Constantinople not only claimed the primacy in the

⁵ Agathias, *de Rebus Justiniani*, lib. ii. p. 48, ed. Venetæ.

⁶ Bernh. de Montfaucon, *Præf. ad Cosman*, p. x, &c., in his *Collectio Nov. Patr. Græcorum*. [This Cosmas was an Egyptian monk. In early life he was a merchant, and drove a traffic through the whole length of the Red Sea, and quite to India; whence he got the name of *Indicopleustes*, or *Indian Navigator*. After many years spent in this manner, he took up residence in a monastery in Egypt, and devoted himself to composing books. His chief work is *Topographia Christiana sive Christianorum opinio de mundo*, in twelve books. It is his great aim to prove the earth not

spherical, but a vast oblong plain; the length, east and west, being double the breadth. He argues from Scripture, reason, testimony, and the authority of the fathers. But while pressing his main point, he introduces much valuable geographical information, which he had collected in his voyages. He flourished, and probably wrote about A. D. 535. The best edition is that of Montfaucon, Greek and Latin, in *Collect. Nov. Patr. Gr.* tom. ii. Paris, 1706. See Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, tom. i. p. 515, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* xxxvi. p. 22, 23.

eastern churches, but also maintained that his church was in no respect inferior to that of Rome. The pontiffs of Rome were, however, exceedingly disturbed at this, and claimed for *their* church an eminence and dignity above that of Constantinople. In particular, the Roman pontiff, *Gregory* the Great, did so, in the year 587; when *John* of Constantinople, surnamed the *Faster*, on account of the austerity of his life, had by his own authority assembled a council of eastern bishops at Constantinople, to decide on charges brought against *Peter*¹ bishop of Antioch; and on this occasion had arrogated to himself the title of *æcumenical* or *universal bishop*.² For, although the bishops of Constantinople had long used this title, which was capable of a harmless interpretation, yet *Gregory* concluded, from the time and the occasion on which it was now used, that *John* was aiming at a supremacy over all Christian churches; and he therefore wrote letters to the emperor, and to others, in which he vehemently inveighed against this title. But he could effect nothing: and the bishops of Constantinople continued to assume it, though not in the sense which *Gregory* supposed.³

¹ [*Gregory. Tr.*]

² [Dr. Mosheim here confounds dates, names, and transactions. *Gregory*, (not *Peter*,) bishop of Antioch, being accused of incest and other crimes, appeared from the tribunal of the governor of the East, to the emperor *Mauricius*; and the emperor (not the patriarch *John*) called a council, or appointed a court of commissioners at Constantinople, in 587, composed of patriarchs, (or their delegates,) Roman senators, and metropolitans, to hear and decide the case. (See *Evagrius, Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 7. *Evagrius* was *Gregory's* counsellor at the trial, and has given us nearly all the information which has reached us respecting this council.) On this occasion, it is said, *John*, the patriarch of Constantinople, was honoured with the title of *universal bishop*,—a title which had for some time been used by the bishops of that see. The decisions of this council being sent to *Pelagius* II. (not to *Gregory* the Great,) bishop of Rome, *Pelagius* confirmed the acquittal of *Gregory*, but remonstrated strongly against the title given to *John*. His letters on the occasion are lost, but they are mentioned by his successor. In the year 590, *Pelagius* died, and was succeeded by *Gregory* the Great; and he, finding that *John* continued to

use this title, took up the business in earnest, about the year 595, and for some years laboured by intreaties and threats, and continued applications to the emperors and to the other eastern patriarchs, to divest the Constantinopolitan patriarchs of a title which he maintained to be *profane, anti-christian*, and *infernal*, by whomsoever assumed. See *Gregory* the Great, *Epistolar.* lib. iv. ep. 36, 38, and lib. vi. ep. 39, &c. *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, (*Pelagius* II.) vol. ii. p. 459, and (*Gregory*) vol. ii. p. 505, 511, 517, ed. Lond. 1750. *Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccles. sæcul.* vi. cap. ii. art. 12, 13, tom. x. p. 18, 25, &c. ed. Paris, 1743. *Tr.*]

³ *Gregory* the Great, *Epistolar.* lib. iv. v. vi. All the passages in these Epistles, relating to this important subject, are collected and illustrated by *Jo. Launoy, Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi*, Opp. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 266, &c. See *Mich. le Quien, Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 67, &c. *Chr. Matth. Pfaff, Diss. de Titulo Œcumenicus*; in the *Tempe Helvetica*, tom. iv. p. 99, and the authors there mentioned. [As a sort of tacit reproof to the *Faster*, *Gregory* styled himself *Servant of the Servants of God*; a designation yet used by his successors. *Actu SS. Ord. Benedict.* Ven. 1733. sec. i. p. 405. *Ed.*]

§ 2. The bishop of Rome persevering in his opposition, excited commotion every where, in order to bring the Christian world under his own control. And he was in some degree successful, especially in the West; but in the East, scarcely any would listen to him, unless actuated by hostility to the bishop of Constantinople; and this last was always in a condition to oppose his ambitious designs in that quarter. How greatly the ideas of many had advanced respecting the powers of the bishop of Rome, cannot better be shown than by the example of *Ennodius*, the insane flatterer of *Symmachus*; who, among other extravagant expressions, said, *the pontiff judges in the place of God*.⁴ But, on the other hand, there are numerous proofs that the emperors, as well as some whole nations, would not patiently bear this new yoke.⁵ The Gothic kings in Italy would not allow the bishop of Rome to domineer excessively there; nor would they allow any one to be considered as pontiff whom they had not approved; and they wished to have his election controlled by their decisions.⁶ These kings also enacted laws relative to religious matters, arraigned the clergy before their tribunals, and summoned ecclesiastical councils.⁷ And the pontiffs themselves paid homage to these sovereigns, and afterwards to the emperors, in a submissive manner; for they had not yet become so lost to all shame, as to think the lords of human things vassals of their own.⁸

§ 3. Not only great privileges, but also great riches, had already been gained by the sacred order, and in this age superstition daily added something to both. For it was supposed, that sins might be expiated by munificence to churches and monks; and that the prayers of saints in heaven, which were most efficacious with God, might be purchased, by presents

⁴ *Vice Dei judicare*. See his *Apologeticum pro Synodo*, in the *Biblioth. Mag. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 248, ed. Paris.

⁵ See, particularly respecting Spain, Mich. Geddes, *On the Papal Supremacy*, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spanish church; published among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 1, &c.

⁶ See Joh. Ja. Mascov. *Historia Germanorum*, tom. ii. note, p. 113.

⁷ Ja. Basnage. *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. p. 381, &c. [Thus e. g. Theodoric assembled the Italian bishops at Rome, to settle the contested election of *Symmachus* to the papal chair. (Walch, *Historie der Kirchen-*

versammlungen, p. 347.) The council of Orleans, in 511, was held by order of Clovis. (Ibid. p. 351.) Another at Orleans, in 533, by order of Childebert. (Ibid. p. 367.) And in the year 549. (Ibid. p. 375.) And at Clermont, by order of Theudebert. (Ibid. p. 368.) *Schl.*]

⁸ See the collections from Gregory the Great, by Jo. Launoy, *de Regia Potestate in Matrimon.* Opp. tom. i. pt. ii. p. 691, &c. and *Assertio in Privilegium S. Medardi*, Opp. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 275. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 282, &c.

offered in temples dedicated to themselves.⁹ This increase of wealth and privileges was accompanied with an equal increase of the vices usually attendant on affluence, in the clergy of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest¹; as is manifest even from the laws enacted by councils and by the emperors to regulate the lives and morals of those who are called *Clerks*.² For what need could there be to fence the morals of these men within so many laws, if they had shown any love for virtue and piety? The efficacy of all this legislation was, however, slight; for so great was the reverence for clergymen, that even their most atrocious offences were visited with the gentlest chastisements; and thus, they felt a disposition to venture upon any thing.

§ 4. What sort of men the bishops of Rome were, who wished to be thought the chiefs and fathers of the whole Christian church, and also the body of the clergy under them at Rome, best appears from the long and violent contest between *Symmachus* and *Laurentius*; which broke out in the year 498, and was at length settled by the Gothic king *Theodoric*. Each maintained that he himself was the pontiff regularly appointed, and each accused the other of detestable wickednesses; nor do either's charges appear untrue. Three councils assembled at Rome, were not able to terminate the dreadful quarrel; in the

⁹ [Thus, *e. g.* Gregory (in cap. xv. Jobi, l. xii. c. 23.) says: "Whenever, after committing a crime, we give alms, we do, as it were, compensate for our wicked actions." So also, in his Epistles, (lib. ix. ed. 38.): "The intercessions in heaven of him, whose body you have covered on earth, will protect you from all sins," &c. *Schl.*]

¹ [Theophanes (on the second year of Justinian's reign) states, that Esaias, bishop of Rhodes, and Alexander, bishop of Diospolis in Thrace, were, for the crime of sodomy, deprived of their offices, and castrated by order of the emperor; and then carried about as a show, with a herald proclaiming: "All ye bishops, beware of disgracing your venerable office." So in the Epistles of Gregory the Great, many proofs occur of impure conduct among the clergy: *e. g.* l. viii. ep. 11, l. iii. ep. 26 and 9, l. i. ep. 18, 42. *Schl.*]

² Qui *Clerici* vocantur. [Thus, *e. g.* in the council of Agde in Gaul, (can. 41,) it

was enacted, that a clergyman who should get drunk, should be excluded the church for thirty days, or undergo corporeal punishment: and (can. 42,) the clergy were forbidden to exercise the art of fortune-telling. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 1002. Other laws forbid simony, concubinage, perjury, usury, and gaudy dress, in the clergy. In Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 529, mention is made of many nuns, at the head of whom were two princesses, Chrotildis and Basine, who broke from the nunnery at Poitiers, and who were a part of them found pregnant, and also committed the most shameful acts of violence. And in page 531, he mentions one Ægidius, bishop of Rheims, who used forged documents before the council of Metz; and, for treasonable practices, was removed from office. See Fleury, *Ecclesiast. History*; the German translation, vol. v. p. 413, 417. *Schl.*]

fourth, *Theodoric* having taken up the business, soon after the commencement of the century, *Symmachus* was at length pronounced innocent. But the adverse party continued to deny that justice had been done *them* by this decision; and this led *Ennodius* of Pavia to write his *Apology for the council and for Symmachus*.³ From this treatise, which abounds in rhetorical colouring, we may clearly learn, that the foundations of that exorbitant power which the pontiffs afterwards obtained, were already laid; but not that *Symmachus* had been inconsiderately and unjustly accused.

§ 5. The progress of monkery was very great, both in the East and in the West. In the East, whole armies of monks might have been enrolled, without any sensible diminution of the number any where. In the West, this mode of life found patrons and followers, almost without number, in all the provinces: as may appear from the various rules drawn up by

³ This *Apology* is extant in the *Biblioth. Magn. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 248, &c. [and in most of the Collections of Councils.—This contest may be worth describing more fully.—On the death of the pontiff *Athanasius*, in the year 498, not only the clergy, but the people and the senate of Rome, were divided about a successor. *Symmachus*, a deacon, and *Laurentius*, the arch-presbyter, were both chosen on the same day by their respective partizans: and so eager were both parties to carry their point, that the whole city was in an uproar, and many battles and much bloodshed took place in the streets and in the public places. To end the dire contest, the leading men on both sides agreed to refer the contested point to the decision of *Theodoric*, the Arian king resident at Ravenna. He decided, that the one who should be found to have had most votes, and to have been elected at the earliest hour, should be considered the legal pontiff. This secured the election of *Symmachus*. The king likewise ordered the bishops to make regulations for the election of future popes, which should prevent the recurrence of similar difficulties. This was done in the year 499. But the party of *Laurentius* were not yet quiet. In the year 500, they accused *Symmachus* of several heinous crimes before the king; and the tumults and civil wars of Rome were renewed with increased violence. Some

senators informed the king of the state of Rome, and requested him to send a visitor to Rome, with full power to settle all the difficulties. Peter, bishop of Altino, was appointed. He repaired to Rome, and at once suspended *Symmachus*, and took the goods of the church into his own hands. This enraged the partizans of *Symmachus* to madness, and prostrated all order and subordination. Being apprised of the state of things, the king now repaired to Rome in person, and spent six months in tranquillizing that distracted city. He ordered all the bishops of Italy to meet in council, and decide on the charges against *Symmachus*. The council held several meetings in that and the following years. *Symmachus*, when sent for, set out to go to the council, attended by a mob: a battle ensued in the streets; several were killed; *Symmachus* himself was wounded, turned back, and refused to appear before the council. The council, after some delay, proceeded in his absence; decreed that the witnesses, being slaves, were incompetent to prove any thing; and therefore dismissed the complaint. The friends of *Laurentius* protested against the decision. The council met again, and adopted as their own the apology for them drawn up by *Ennodius*. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (*Symmachus*) vol. ii. p. 248—261. ed. Lond. 1750. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. ii. p. 961, &c. 975, 983, 989. Tr.]

different individuals, for regulating the lives of monks and nuns.⁴ In Great Britain one *Congal* is said to have persuaded an immense number to abandon active life, and spend their days in solitude according to a rule which he prescribed.⁵ His disciples filled Ireland, Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries, with abodes of monks. The most famous of them was *Columbanus*, who has left us a rule of his own, distinguished for its simplicity and brevity.⁶ The whole monastic order abounded with fanatics and profligates. In the oriental monasteries, however, the fanatics preponderated; in the western, a majority were knaves.

§ 6. A new order of monks, which in time absorbed all the others in the West, was established at mount *Cassino*, in the year 529, by *Benedict* of Nursia, a devout and a distinguished man, according to the standard of that age. His *Rule* is still extant; and it shows that it was not his aim to bring all monks under his regulations; but rather to found a new society, more stable, of better morals, and living under milder rules than the other monks; the members of which should lead a retired and holy life, employed in prayers, reading, manual labour, and the

⁴ Most of these Rules are extant, in Lu. Holstein's *Codex Regularum*, pt. ii. published at Rome, 1661, in 3 vols. 4to. Add Edm. Martene and Ursin. Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 4.

⁵ Ja. Ussher, *Antiq. Eccles. Britan.* p. 132, 441, 911. [Congallus, or Congellus, was an Irish monk, who founded several monasteries; the most important of which was that of Banchor, or Bangor, (on the south shore of Carrickfergus bay, in the north-easterly part of Ireland,) erected about A.D. 530. Congal is said to have ruled over 3000 monks, living in different monasteries and cells. See Ussher, loc. cit. *Tr.*]

⁶ Ja. Ussher, *Sylloge Antiquar. Epistolar. Hibernicarum*, p. 5—15. Lu. Holstein, *Codex Regular.* tom. ii. p. 48, &c. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. ii. p. iv. [St. Columbanus (a different person from Columbas, the apostle of Scotland, mentioned pp. 5, 6, *supra*,) was born in Leinster, Ireland, about the year 559. After a good education in the literature of that age, he became a monk in the monastery of Bangor, under Congal. In the

year 589, with twelve companions, he passed through England into Gaul; and settled in Burgundy, where he built the monastery of Luxeul, or Luxovium; and there spent about twenty years with great reputation. But in the year 610, having offended Theodoric the king, by reproofing his vices, he was banished that territory; and after wandering a few years in different parts of Gaul and Germany along the Rhine, and spending three years near Bregentz, in Helvetia, he went into Italy; was received kindly by Agilulph the Lombard king, built the monastery of Bobio near Pavia, presided over it one year, and then died about A.D. 615. He was a man of superior genius, and possessed vast influence. His works yet remaining are, his monastic rule; his monastic discipline; some poems and epistles; and seventeen discourses; which were published at Louvain in 1667, by Patrie Fleming, an Irish monk. His life, written by Jonas, an abbot of Bobium, while several contemporaries of Columbanus were yet living, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 2—26. *Tr.*]

instruction of youth.⁷ But his followers departed widely from the principles of their founder; for, after they had acquired im-

⁷ See Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. and *Annales Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. Helyot, [*Histoire des Ordres monastiques religieux et militaires, &c.* in 8 vols. 4to, Paris, 1714—19,] and the other historians of the monastic orders. — [Benedict was born of rather superior parentage at Norcia, generally written *Nursia*, in Italy, [once an episcopal see not far from Spoleto, in Umbria, a province of the modern papal states. *Ed.*] A. D. 480. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to Rome for education; but, disgusted with the dissipations of the city and the school, he soon ran away, and concealed himself three years in a cave [dedicated anciently, it seems, to Faunus,] at *Sublacum* [Subiaco] forty-four miles from Rome. At length he was discovered, and his cell became much frequented. He was now chosen abbot of a monastery in the vicinity; but the rigour of his discipline gave offence, and he relinquished the office, and returned to Sublacum, where he continued till about the year 529. Many monks here joined him, and he had twelve cells, each containing twelve monks, under his jurisdiction. Many of the first Roman families placed their sons under his instruction; and his reputation for piety and for miracles procured him almost unbounded respect. But his fame excited the envy of some clergymen, and led to plots against his life. [Perhaps the clerical opposition that he encountered, really arose from experience of the evils nurtured in a fanatical society, like his. *Ed.*] After twenty-five years spent at Sublacum, he retired to mount Cassino, about fifty miles south of Sublacum, and about as far from Naples. Here he converted a body of pagan mountaineers, and turned their temple into a monastery, in which he spent the remainder of his days in quietude and honour. He died about A. D. 543. His life was written by pope Gregory the Great, and constitutes the second book of his *Dialogue*: it is also inserted in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Ben.* sec. i. p. 1—25. — According to the *Rule* of Benedict, the monks were to rise at 2 A. M. in winter, (and in summer at such hours as the abbot might direct,) repair to the place of worship for vigils; and then spend the remainder of the

night in committing psalms, private meditation, and reading. At sun rise, they assembled for matins; then spent four hours in labour; then two hours in reading; then dined, and read in private till half past two P. M., when they met again for worship; and afterwards laboured till their vespers. In their vigils and matins, twenty-four Psalms were to be chanted each day; so as to complete the Psalter every week. Besides their social worship, seven hours each day were devoted to labour, two at least to private study, one to private meditation, and the rest to meals, sleep, and refreshment. The labour was agriculture, gardening, and various mechanical trades; and each one was put to such labour as his superior saw fit; for they all renounced wholly every species of personal liberty. They ate twice a day at a common table; first, about noon, and then at evening. Both the quantity and the quality of their food were limited. To each was allowed one pound of bread per day, and a small quantity of wine. On the public table no meat was allowed, but always two kinds of porridge. To the sick, flesh was allowed. While at table all conversation was prohibited; and some one read aloud the whole time. They all served as cooks and waiters, by turns of a week each. Their clothing was coarse and simple, and regulated at the discretion of the abbot. Each was provided with two suits, a knife, a needle, and all other necessities. They slept in common dormitories of ten or twenty, in separate beds, without undressing, and had a light burning, and an inspector sleeping in each dormitory. They were allowed no conversation after they retired; nor at any time were they permitted to jest, or to talk for mere amusement. No one could receive a present of any kind, not even from a parent; nor have any correspondence with persons without the monastery, except by its passing under the inspection of the abbot. A porter always sat at the gate, which was kept locked day and night; and no stranger was admitted without leave from the abbot, and no monk could go out unless he had permission from the same source. The school for

mense riches, from the liberality of princes and pious individuals, they gave themselves up to luxury, idleness, and every vice; became involved in civil affairs and the cabals of courts; intent on multiplying vain and superstitious rites, and most eager to advance the authority and power of the Roman pontiffs. None of these things were enjoined or permitted by *St. Benedict*; whose Rule, though still highly extolled, has for many ages ceased to be observed.* Yet the institution of *Benedict* changed the state of monastic life in the West, in various respects; not the least important of which was that, by *profession* and *petition*⁹ he bound the monks for ever to observe his

the children of the neighbourhood was kept without the walls. The whole establishment was under an abbot, whose power was despotic. His under-officers were a prior or deputy, a steward, a superintendent of the sick and the hospital, an attendant on visitors, a porter, &c. with the necessary assistants, and a number of deans, or inspectors over tens, who attended the monks at all times. The abbot was elected by the common suffrage of the brotherhood; and when inaugurated, he appointed and removed his under-officers at pleasure. On great emergencies, he summoned the whole brotherhood to meet in council; and on more common occasions, only the seniors; but in either case, after hearing what each one was pleased to say, the decision rested wholly with himself. For admission to the society, a probation of twelve months was required; during which the applicant was fed and clothed, and employed in the meaner offices of the monks, and closely watched. At the end of his probation, if approved, he took solemn and irrevocable vows of perfect chastity, absolute poverty, and implicit obedience to his superiors in every thing. If he had property, he must give it all away, either to his friends or the poor, or the monastery; and never after must possess the least particle of private property, nor claim any personal rights or liberties. For lighter offences, a reprimand was to be administered by some under-officer. For greater offences, after two admonitions, a person was debarred his privileges, not allowed to read in his turn, or to sit at table, or enjoy his modicum of comforts. If still refractory, he was expelled the monastery; yet might be restored on repentance. See the Rule,

at large, in Hospinian, *Opp.* tom. iv. (*de Monachis*, libri vii.) p. 202—222. ed. Genev. 1669, fol. and as abridged by Fleury, *Histoire Ecclés.* lib. xxxii. § 14—19. Yet it is questionable whether the Rule, as there laid down, was precisely what Benedict prescribed. *Tr.*]

* [The modern Benedictines are themselves obliged to admit, that the Rule of their founder is no longer fully obeyed. But they resort to a convenient distinction. The Rule, say they, has its *essential*, and its *accidental* parts. That the monks should labour, earn their own bread, and live frugally, belongs to the accidental part. The essential parts are the *vows*, which we observe religiously, a few faults excepted. We admit freely, that the order is richer than in the days of its founder. Father Benedict would be amazed, should he rise out of his grave, and instead of the miserable huts which he erected on mount Cassino, find there a palace, in which kings and princes might reside; and see the abbot transformed into a prince of the empire, with a multitude of subjects, and an income of five or six hundred thousand ducats. *Schl.*—On the present state of this monastery see Stäudlin's *Kirchliche Geographie*, vol. i. p. 565. *Tr.*]

⁹ [The monastic *profession* (*professio*) is otherwise called *promise* (Du Cange, *in voc. Promissio*.) It is also sometimes confounded with the *petition*, a term which arose, Du Cange says, “Quia nempe novitius, exacto novitiatus tempore, *petebat* ab abbate ut ad professionem admitteretur.” (*In voc. Petito*.) Mabillon, (*ubi supra*) thus distinguishes the two. The *promise*, he says, was the vow made to God, the *petition* was an engagement, built upon that vow, which the

rule; whereas, previously, they changed the laws and regulations of their founders at pleasure.¹

§ 7. Only a short time elapsed before this new order of monks was in a most flourishing state in all the western countries. In Gaul it was propagated by *St. Maurus*; in Sicily and Sardinia, by *Placidus* and others; in England, by *Augustine* and *Mellitus*; in Italy and in other parts, by *Gregory* the Great, who is reported to have lived some time in this order.² In Germany,

novice had to sign, and which rendered him amenable to men for the due observance of his vow. This instrument, probably, contained a *petition* for admission into the order. Mabillon's words are, "Promissio monachum Deo; petitio, veluti contractus et pactum, (sic appellat Fructuosus,) etiam hominibus et religioni obnoxium reddebat." *Ed.*]

¹ See Mabillon, *Praf. ad sæc.* iv. p. 1, *Act. SS. Ord. Bened.* sæc. i. p. xviii. &c. [Benedict changed the state of monkery, especially, by restraining the instability of the monks, and rendering their vows irrevocable. It was not strange that the order spread far and wide. His *Rule* was better calculated for Europeans than any other; and the first Benedictines were virtuous, upright, and useful people. Wherever they came, they converted the wilderness into a cultivated country: they pursued the breeding of cattle, and agriculture, laboured with their own hands, drained morasses, and cleared away forests. These monks,—taking the word *Benedictines* in its largest extent, as embracing the ramifications of the order, the Carthusians, Cistercians, Præmonstratensians, Camaldulensians, &c.—were of great advantage to all Europe, and particularly to Germany. By them Germany was cultivated, and rendered a fruitful country. They preserved for us all the books of antiquity, all the sciences and learning of the ancients. For they were obliged to have libraries in their monasteries; because their rule required them to read a portion of each day. Some individuals were occupied in transcribing the books of the ancients; and hence came the manuscripts, which still exist here and there in the libraries of monasteries. The sciences were cultivated no where but in their cloisters. They kept up schools there, for the monks, and for such as were destined to be monks. And without their cloisters, they also had

schools, in which the people of the world were instructed. From these monasteries proceeded men of learning, who were employed in courts, as chancellors, vice-chancellors, secretaries, &c., and these again patronised the monasteries. Even the children of sovereign princes were brought up among the Benedictines, and after they came to their thrones, retained attachment and reverence for the order to whom they were indebted for their education. The Benedictines were esteemed *saints*, and their prayers were supposed to be particularly efficacious. All this rendered the order powerful and rich. But as soon as they became rich, they became voluptuous and indolent, and their cloisters were haunts of vice and wickedness. In the seventeenth century, this order began to revert back to its original designs, especially in France; and it performed essential service to the republic of learning, in particular, by publishing beautiful editions of the Fathers. *Schl.*—Among monastic services, those rendered to the arts should not be forgotten. The Benedictine order, especially, overspread Europe with noble and tasteful piles of building. It is, indeed, an order to which civilization is much indebted. It long furnished a nursery and a citadel for all that is most valuable in man. Undoubtedly, it was, even when most serviceable, a stronghold of idleness and imposture; but it answered ends of great importance, at a time when nothing peaceful could be secure without a protecting mantle of superstition. *Ed.*]

² See Jo. Mabillon, *Diss. de Vita Monastica Gregorii Magni*; annexed to Hadr. Valesius, *Analect. Veter.* tom. ii.; and Mabillon's *Praf. ad Sæcul.* i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord.*] *Benedict.* p. xxix. &c. Yet some deny this, as Anton. Gallonius; [*de Monachatu Gregorii, &c.*] on whose book, see Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 63. [Yet the monkery of

Boniface afterwards caused it to be received.³ This rapid progress of their order the Benedictines ascribe to the miracles of *St. Benedict* and his disciples, and to the holiness and superiority of the rules which he prescribed. But those who more critically examine the causes of events, have very nearly all united in the opinion, that the favour shown it by the Roman pontiffs to whose glory and exaltation this whole order was especially devoted, contributed more than all other causes to its wide extension and grandeur. It was not, however, till the ninth century, that all other rules and societies became extinct, and the Benedictines reigned alone.⁴

§ 8. Among the Greek and Oriental Christians, the most distinguished writers of this century were the following. *Procopius* of Gaza expounded some books of the Bible, not unhappily.⁵ *John Maxentius*, a monk of Antioch, besides some books against the sects of his times, wrote *Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite*.⁶ *Agapetus* procured himself a place among the wise

Gregory the Great, after the investigations of Mabillon, seems no longer liable to doubt. He established six monasteries in Sicily, and assigned them, out of his great riches, as much landed estate as was necessary for their support. A seventh monastery he founded at Rome, in his own house, dedicated to St. Andrew; which still exists, and is in the hands of the Camaldulensians. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclés.* liv. xxxiv. § 34. *Schl.*]

³ Anton. Dandini Altessera, *Origines Rei Monasticæ*, lib. i. cap. 9, p. 33. On the propagation of the Benedictine Rule in the various countries of Europe, Jo. Mabillon has a particular treatise, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.*] and *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. pt. i. [*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. v.] p. lxii. &c. [St. Maurus, whose name a distinguished congregation still bears, was one of the most famous disciples of Benedict; though some have questioned his existence. Placidus was an historian of this order. Of Augustine, notice has already been taken. Mellitus preached to the East Saxons, and was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and very active in propagating the order.—The great and rapid dissemination of this order was wonderful. Many particular and new orders, distinguished from each other by their dress, their caps, and forms of government, originated from it. The Carthusians, Cistercians, Cælestines,

Grandimontensians, Præmonstratensians, Cluniacensians, Camaldulensians, &c., were only branches growing out of this principal stock. The most respectable and renowned men were trained up in it. Volaterranus enumerates 200 cardinals, 1600 archbishops, 4000 bishops, and 15,700 abbots and men of learning, who belonged to this order. *V. Einem.*]

⁴ Ja. l'Enfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, tom. ii. p. 32, 33.

⁵ See Rich Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiast. de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 197. [Procopius, a teacher of eloquence at Gaza, in the reign of Justinian, A.D. 520, &c., has left us several Commentaries on the scriptures, which are chiefly compilations from earlier writers: viz. on the Octateuch (extant only in Latin); on the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, Greek and Latin, Lugd. Bat. 1620, 4to; on Isaiah, Greek and Latin, Paris, 1580; on Proverbs, and the twelve Minor Prophets; never published. Also many neat Epistles, published by Aldus. *Tr.*]

⁶ John Maxentius was a Scythian monk, and a presbyter of Antioch, who flourished about the year 520. Several of his epistles and tracts, defending the doctrine, that *one of the Trinity* was crucified, and opposing the Pelagian errors, are extant in Latin, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. ix. His *Scholia* on Dionysius the Areopagite are published, Greek and Latin, with that author. *Tr.*]

men of this age, by his *Scheda Regia*, addressed to the emperor Justinian.⁷ *Eulogius*, a presbyter of Antioch, was ardent and energetic in opposing the heresies of his times.⁸ *John*, bishop of Constantinople, called the *Faster*, on account of the austerity of his life, distinguished himself by some small treatises, and particularly by his *Pœnitential*.⁹ *Leontius* of Byzantium has left us a book *against the heretics*, and some other writings.¹ *Evagrius Scholasticus* has left an *Ecclesiastical History*, but it is disfigured by fables.² *Anastasius*, of Sinai, is generally supposed to be the author of a well-known yet futile book, entitled *Hodegus contra Acephalos*.³

⁷ [Agapetus, a deacon in the great church at Constantinople, flourished A.D. 527; in which year he composed his *Instructions* for a prince, addressed to the emperor Justinian, then recently invested with the purple. The book contains seventy-two heads of advice, displaying good common sense, but not profound. It has been often published; as, Venice, 1509, 8vo.; and with a commentary, Franeker. 1608, 8vo. Frauef. 1659, 4to. Lips. 1669, 8vo. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Eulogius of Antioch was made bishop of Alexandria in the year 581. A homily of his is extant, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Actuar. Nov.* tom. i.; and large extracts from his six books against Novatus, his two books against Timotheus and Severus, his book against Theodosius and Severus, and another against the compromise between the Theodosians and the Gainaites, are in Photius, *Biblioth. Codex*, No. 182. 208. 225—227. *Tr.*]

⁹ [John the Faster was a native of Cappadocia, and bishop of Constantinople from 585 to 596. The title of *universal bishop* given him in the council of 589, involved him in trouble with Pelagius II. and Gregory I., bishops of Rome. Two of his homilies are extant, Greek and Latin, among those of Chrysostom; and his *Pœnitential*, (or rules for treating penitents,) and a discourse on confessions and penitence, are published, Greek and Latin, by Morin, *de Pœnitentia*, Appendix, p. 77. 92. *Tr.*—Oudin maintains that this *Pœnitential* is far posterior to the *Faster's* time, i. 1476. *Ed.*]

¹ [Leontius of Byzantium was first an advocate, and then a monk in a monastery in Palestine, and flourished A.D. 590 and onwards. Cyril (in his life of St. Sabas, cap. 72,) says he was accused of Origenism. Vossius (*de Hist. Gr.* lib.

iv. c. 8,) thinks he was the same as Leontius bishop of Cyprus. He wrote *de Sectis Liber*, Greek and Latin, in *Auctuar. Biblioth. Patr.* Paris, 1624, tom. i. p. 493; likewise, *adv. Eutychianos et Nestorianos*, lib. iii. *adv. Fraudes Apollinaristar.* lib. ii. *Solutiones Argumentorum Severi: Dubitationes et Definitiones contra eos qui negant in Christo duas naturas*; extant, in Latin, *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.; also an Oration on the man blind from his birth. Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctuar. Nov.* tom. i.; and some other tracts never published. *Tr.*]

² [Evagrius Scholasticus was born at Epiphania, in Syria, A.D. 536. At four years of age he was sent to school; after grammar he studied rhetoric, and became an advocate at the bar in Antioch. He was much esteemed, and especially by Gregory, bishop of Antioch, whom he often assisted in difficult cases. The emperor Tiberius made him a quæstor, and Maurice, an honorary præfect. His only work that has reached us, is his *Ecclesiastical History*, in six books. It is a continuation of the histories of Socrates and Sozomen, from the council of Ephesus in 431, to the year 594. Its chief fault is, that of the age, credulity, and an over-estimation of monkish legends and other trash. It was published, Greek and Latin, by Valesius, among the other Greek ecclesiastical historians, and has been translated into English, Cambridge, 1683, fol. *Tr.*]

³ See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 232; and Barat, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. ii. p. 21, &c. [There were three persons, called Anastasius Sinaita. The first, after being a monk in the monastery on Mount Sinai, was made patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 561; but was banished in the year 570, for opposing the edict of

§ 9. Among the Latin writers, the most distinguished were the following. *Gregory the Great*, Roman Pontiff; a man of

Justinian respecting the incorruptibility of Christ's body. He was restored in 592, and died in 599. He was a learned and orthodox man, and a considerable writer.—The *second* of this name was the immediate successor of the first in the see of Antioch, from A. D. 599 to A. D. 609, when he was murdered by the Jews. He translated the works of Gregory the Great, on the Pastoral Office, from Latin into Greek; but the translation is lost.—The *third* Anastasius flourished about A. D. 685. He was a mere monk of mount Sinai. He wrote a compendious account of heresies, and of the councils that condemned them, from the earliest times to the year 680; which still exists in MS.—The *Ὁδηγός* or *Guide to shun the Acephali*, is a rhapsody, without method, and without merit. It has been ascribed to the *third* Anastasius; because it contains several allusions to events posterior to the times of the first two of this name. Yet, as it relates to controversies in which the *first* Anastasius is known to have been much engaged, some have supposed it was originally composed by him, or from his writings, with subsequent additions or interpolations. It was printed, Greek and Latin, by Gretser, Ingolst. 1604, 4to.—The *154 Questions and Answers*, respecting biblical subjects, ascribed to the *first* Anastasius, and published, Greek and Latin, by Gretser, 1617, 4to, also bear marks of a later age. Cave supposes they were compiled from the works of the *first* Anastasius. His eleven books of *Contemplations on the Hexaëmeron*, were published in Latin, Paris, 1609. Dr. Alix published the twelfth book, Greek and Latin, Lond. 1682, 4to.—His five *doctrinal Discourses*, (on the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.) together with all the works just enumerated, are extant, in Latin, *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. Six of his *Homilies* are extant, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctuar. Nov.* 1648, tom. i. Another tract of his, on the three Quadragesimæ, is extant, Greek and Latin, in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccl. Gr.* tom. iii. Various other tracts of his exist only in MS., and a considerable number of others are lost. [The *Acephali* were a branch of the Eutychians, and appear to have been called the *Headless*, either because they separated from their patriarch, or were altogether without bishops. They

were considered as Semi-Eutychians. Suicer, *in voc.* Ἀκέφαλοι. *Ed.*]

[The following is a catalogue of the Greek and oriental writers of this century, omitted by Dr. Mosheim.

Olympiodorus, a deacon at Alexandria, who probably flourished at the commencement of this century. He wrote several *commentaries* on the scriptures. His short *Comment on Ecclesiastes* is extant, Greek and Latin, in Fronto Ducaus, *Auctuar.* tom. ii. His *Comment on Lamentations*, Lat. Rome, 1598, 4to, and his *Commentary on Job*, is preserved almost entire, in the *Catena on Job*, published, Greek and Latin, by Patr. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.

Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria, a Eutychian, who flourished under Anastasius, A. D. 510, and was active in the contests of his times. On the accession of Justin, A. D. 518, he fled to Alexandria; where he advanced the idea that Christ's body was always *incapable of corruption*, and produced a division and a party among the Monophysites. He wrote a *Commentary on Job*, which is often quoted in the *Catena on Job*, published Lond. 1637, fol.

Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 511—517, distinguished for his hatred of his predecessor Macedonius. He wrote a book on the various heresies, which is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Combefis, *Auctuar. Nov.* tom. ii. and more perfect, in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccles. Gr.* tom. iii. p. 377.

Severus, a leading man among the Acephali or Monophysites, was in his youth a pagan, and studied in the law school at Berytus; afterwards he became a monk at Gaza, and embracing and propagating Eutychian principles, was expelled the monastery. He repaired to Constantinople, and insinuated himself into the graces of the emperor Anastasius, who favoured the Eutychians. In the year 543, on the expulsion of the orthodox Flavian, he was made patriarch of Antioch, subscribed the Henoticon of Zeno, and condemned the council of Chalcedon. Some bishops withdrew from his communion; but, aided by Jews, he violently persecuted the orthodox, and especially the monks of Palestine, of whom he slew 350, and left their bodies to be consumed by beasts of prey. On the death of Anastasius, and accession

good and upright intentions, for the most part, but very simple superstitious, and opposed to all learning, as his *Epistles* and

of Justin to the empire, in 518, he was proscribed, and fled to Egypt, where he lived many years. Here he became involved with Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, and Gainus his deacon, by asserting that the body of Christ, previously to its resurrection, was corruptible. He now went to Constantinople, and persuaded Anthimus the patriarch to embrace Eutychian principles; and was producing great commotions, when two councils condemned him and Anthimus, A.D. 536. His subsequent history is little known. He was a man of talents, ambitious, restless, little careful to maintain consistency in conduct or belief, a great writer, and possessed of vast influence among the Eutychians. He wrote an immense number of epistles, many homilies and tracts, and extensive Commentaries on Scripture; none of which are published entire, his works having been proscribed and ordered to be all burned, by authority of the emperor. Yet numerous extracts are preserved; and some whole treatises are supposed to exist still in the East. The *Ritual* for baptism and public worship in the Syrian church, which is extant, Syr. and Lat. Antw. 1572, 4to, has been attributed to him. His Commentaries are often quoted in the *Catena Patrum*. See Cave, *Histor. Litter.* tom. i. p. 499, &c.

John, of Cappadocia, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 517—520. He condemned Severus of Antioch in 518; and the next year, by order of the emperor Justin, became reconciled with the Roman pontiffs. Five of his Epistles are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. iv. and v.

Theodorus Lector flourished at Constantinople A.D. 518. He compiled an Eccles. History from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, in two books; to which he annexed a Continuation, in two additional books. Large extracts from the Continuation, by Nicephorus Calistus, are preserved, and published, Gr. and Lat., among the Gr. Eccl. Historians, by Valesius.

Timotheus III., patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 519—535, a warm Eutychian, and protector of Severus and Julian, till he fell out with them respecting the corruptibility of Christ's body. He wrote numerous sermons and

theological tracts, large extracts from which are preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes.

Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 520—535. He confirmed the reconciliation between the sees of Rome and Constantinople, made by John his predecessor, and approved the council of Chalcedon. Five of his Epistles to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, are extant, in *Conciliar. Collect.* tom. iv.

Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, A.D. 525—546. He was a native of Syria, a civil magistrate, and count of the East, when made bishop. He wrote *pro Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, et Synodo Chalcedonensi*, libri iii.; which are lost, except copious extracts from the two first books, in Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* 228, 229.

Simeon, Stylites junior. In his childhood he mounted his pillar, near Antioch, which he occupied 68 years, A.D. 527—595. He is often mentioned by Evagrius, who knew him well. His fifth Epistle to the emperor Justinian is extant, Gr. and Lat., in the transactions of the second Nicene council, *Actio V. Conciliar.* tom. vii. Some other tracts of his exist in MS. in the Vatican library.

Zacharias, Scholasticus, archbishop of Mytilene. He was first a lawyer at Berytus, then a bishop, and flourished A.D. 536. While at Berytus, he wrote a Dissertation, or dialogue, against the philosophers who maintain that the world is eternal; extant, Gr. and Lat. Lips. 1654, 4to, and in Fr. Ducaeus, *Auctuar.* tom. i. He also wrote a disputation against the two first principles of all things, held by the Manichæans; extant, Lat. in Henr. Canis. *Antiquæ Lection.* tom. v. and both works, in *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. ix.

Nonnosus, Justinian's ambassador to the Saracens, the Auxumitæ, and the Homerites, about A.D. 540. He wrote a history of his travels; from which Photius has preserved extracts, *Biblioth. Cod.* 3.

Isaac, bishop of Nineve, who turned monk, and travelled as far as Italy. He flourished about the year 540, and wrote 87 ascetic discourses, which still exist in MS. A bad Latin translation of 53 of them, much garbled, was published in the *Biblioth. Magn. Patr.* tom. xi.

Arethas, archbishop of Cæsarea in

Dialogues show.⁴ *Cæsarius*, of Arles, composed some tracts on

Cappadocia, is supposed to have lived about A. D. 540. He compiled from Andreas Cæsariensis, an *Exposition of the Apocalypse*; extant, Gr. and Lat. annexed to *Æcumenius*, Paris, 1631.

Gregentius, archbishop of Taphar, the metropolis of the Homerites in Arabia Felix, flourished A. D. 540, and died 552. An account of his dispute with Herbanus, a learned Jew, is extant, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1586, 8vo, and in Fr. Ducaeus, *Auctuar.* tom. i. He also compiled a code of civil laws, for the Homerites, by order of Abram, their king, which still exists in MS.

Barsanuphius, an anchorite of Gaza, in the middle of this century, composed a large amount of ascetic writings, which still exist; but are not thought worth publishing.

Eutychius, a monk, and bishop of Constantinople A. D. 553—585. In the year 564 he was deprived of his see and banished, by Justinian, for not admitting the Incorruptibility of Christ's body, while He was on earth; but he was restored in the year 578, and died in 585, aged 73. One epistle of his, to pope Vigilius, is extant among the Acts of the fifth general council, A. D. 553, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 425.

Cyril, a monk of Palestine, who flourished A. D. 557. He composed the lives of several monks, as of St. John the Silentiary, of St. Euthymius, and of St. Sabas, all of which are still extant.

Paul Cyrus Florus, a poet who flourished about A. D. 555. His poetic description of the *church of St. Sophia*, at Constantinople, built by Justinian, is still extant, Gr. and Lat., by Carol du Fresne, Paris, 1670, subjoined to the history of Cinnamus.

John, surnamed Climacus from his book, and Sinaita from his residence, also Scholasticus, a monk of mount Sinai, who flourished about A. D. 564. He wrote *Scala Paradisi*, in 30 chapters, each marking a grade of virtue; also *Liber ad Pastorem*; both published, Gr. and Lat., by Matth. Rader, Paris, 1633, fol.

John Scholasticus, a presbyter at Antioch, deputy to Constantinople, and bishop there A. D. 564—578. He wrote *Collectio Canonum*, in 50 titles, and including the 85 Canons of the Apostles; also *Nomocanon*; which, besides a collection of canons, contained an epitome

of the civil laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs; likewise, *Capita Ecclesiastica*. All these tracts were published, Gr. and Lat., in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 499. 603. 660, ed. Paris. 1662.

Theodorus, bishop of Iconium, about A. D. 564, wrote the martyrdom of Julitta and her son Cirycus, only three years old, in the persecution of Diocletian, published, Gr. and Lat., by Combefis, *Acta Martyr. Antiq.* Paris, 1660, 8vo, p. 231.

Eustratius, a presbyter of the great church at Constantinople, under Eutychius the patriarch, about A. D. 578. He wrote a book in confutation of those who say, the soul is inactive when separated from the body; published Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allat, in his historical work concerning purgatory, Rome, 1655, 8vo. p. 319—581. He also wrote the *Life of Eutychius* the patriarch; published Gr. and Lat. by Surius, and by Papebroch.

Theophanes of Byzantium, flourished A. D. 580, and wrote a history of the wars of the Romans with the Persians, A. D. 567—573, in ten books; and some other parts of the history of his own times. Only extracts remain.

John Maro, a very prominent man among the Maronites, who flourished about A. D. 580. He wrote Commentaries on the Liturgy of St. James, which are still extant in Syriac, and have been much quoted by Abr. Echellensis, Morin, Nairon, and others.

Leontius, bishop of Neapolis or Hagiopolis in Cyprus, who flourished about A. D. 600, and died about A. D. 620 or 630. He wrote an Apology for the Christians, against the Jews; of which a large part is preserved in the fourth Act of the second Nicene council; *Concilior.* tom. vii. p. 236. He also wrote some homilies, and biographies of saints. But it is not easy to distinguish his writings from those of Leontius of Byzantium. *Tr.*]

⁴ His works were published by the French Benedictine, Denys de St. Marthe in four splendid volumes, fol. Paris, 1705. For an account of him, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 121, &c. [Gregory the Great, of senatorian rank, was born at Rome, about A. D. 540. After a good education, being a youth of great promise, he was early admitted to the senate, and made governor of the city

moral subjects, and a *Rule for holy virgins*.⁵ *Fulgentius*, of Ruspe in Africa, contended valiantly in numerous books, against the

before he was thirty years old. The death of his father put him in possession of a vast estate ; which he devoted wholly to pious and charitable uses. Renouncing public life, he became a monk, built and endowed six monasteries in Sicily, and a seventh at Rome, in which he himself lived under the control of the abbot. In 579, he was drawn from his monastery, ordained a deacon, and sent as papal legate to the court of Constantinople ; where he resided five years, and became very popular. Returning in 584, with a rich treasure of relics, he retired to his monastery, and his favourite mode of life. In 590, he was raised to the papal chair, much against his will ; and for thirteen years and a half, was an indefatigable bishop, a zealous reformer of the clergy and the monasteries, and a strenuous defender of the prerogatives of his see. He failed in his attempt to coerce the Illyrian bishops to condemn the *three chapters* ; but succeeded in disturbing the harmony between the Orthodox and the Donatists in Africa. He discouraged all coercive measures for the conversion of the Jews ; endeavoured to confine the monks to their monasteries, and to a more religious life ; and attempted to eradicate the prevailing vices of the clergy, simony and debauchery. He was instrumental in converting the Arian Lombards to the orthodox faith, and in restraining the ravages of that warlike people. He interfered in the discipline of foreign churches, remonstrated against an imperial law forbidding soldiers to become monks ; laboured to effect a peace between the Lombards and the emperors ; and attended to every interest of the church and the people under him. Yet he claimed no civil authority ; but always treated the emperors as his lords and masters. In 595, he commenced his long contest with the patriarchs of Constantinople who had assumed the honorary title of *universal bishops*. This title, Gregory maintained to be blasphemous, anti-christian, and diabolical, by whomsoever assumed. But he could not induce any of the orientals to join with him. In 596, he sent Augustine and other monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons, which they accomplished. In 601, he defended the use of images in churches ; allowed the Saxons to retain some of their pagan

customs, and endeavoured to extend the power of Augustine over the ancient British churches. In the same year, when Phocas, the usurper, murdered all the imperial family, and clothed himself with the purple, Gregory obsequiously flattered him, and submitted to his usurpation. At length, worn out with cares and disease, he died in March A. D. 604, having reigned thirteen years and a half. Gregory was exceedingly active, self-denying, submissive to his superiors, and courteous, sympathetic, and benevolent to all ; yet he was an enthusiast for monkery and for the honour of his see. His writings are more voluminous than those of any other Roman pontiff. His letters amount to 840 ; besides which, he wrote 35 books on Job, called *Gregory's Morals* ; a *Pastoral*, a treatise on the duties of a pastor, in 4 books ; 22 Homilies on *Ezekiel* ; 40 Homilies on the *Gospels* ; 4 books of Dialogues. To him are ascribed also, an Exposition of the first book of Samuel, in six books ; an Exposition of the seven penitential Psalms ; and an Exposition of the Canticles. His best works are his *Pastoral* and his *Morals*. His *Dialogue* is stuffed with monkish tales ; and the Exposition of the penitential Psalms breathes the spirit of later times, and has been ascribed to Gregory VII. The best edition is said to be that of St. Marthe ; but that of de Sousainville, Paris, 1675, 3 vols. fol. is esteemed ; the latest edition is that of Joh. Bapt. Gallicciolli, Venice, 1768—76, in 17 vols. 4to.—His life by Paulus Diaconus, of the ninth century ; and another by John, deacon at Rome, about 880, in four books, are in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 378—484. Among the moderns, besides Du Pin, Bayle, and Oudin, we have Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat. de S. Grégoire le Grand*, Paris, 1686, 4to ; Denys de St. Marthe, *Histoire de S. Grég. le Gr.* Rouen, 1698. 4to, and in the *Opp. Greg. M.* tom. iv. p. 199—305. See also Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, (Gregory I.) vol. ii. p. 463—543, ed. Lond. 1750, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvii. p. 243—371. *Tr.*]

⁵ The Benedictines have recently given a learned account of Casarius, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 190. [His life written by his pupils, Cyprian, Messian, and Stephan,

Pelagians and the Arians⁶; but his diction is harsh and uncouth, like that of most Africans. *Ennodius*, of Pavia, was not contemptible among the writers of this age, either for prose or poetry; but he was an infatuated adulator of the Roman pontiff, who, he taught, as never had been taught before, could be called in question by no one of mortals.⁷ *Benedict* of Nursia, whose name is immortalized by his *Rule* for a monastic life, and the numerous families of monks who have followed it.⁸

in two books, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Benedict.* tom. i. p. 636—654. He was born in Gaul, A. D. 469. While a boy, he ran away, and entered the monastery of Lerins; where he lived many years, and became the butler. His health failing, he retired to Arles; of which place he was made bishop in the year 502. In the year 506, he was falsely accused of treason, and banished by Alaric, king of the Visigoths, to Bourdeaux; but soon recalled. In 508, Theodoric, king of the Goths, summoned him to Ravenna to answer a similar charge. Being acquitted, he visited Italy and returned to Arles. He presided at the council of Arles in 524; and at that of Valencia in 529, he triumphantly maintained the principle, that a man cannot obtain salvation without *preventing* grace. He died A. D. 542, aged 73. He was zealous for monkery, and a strenuous advocate for the doctrines of Augustine, respecting free grace and predestination. He has left us 46 Homilies, a Rule for monks, another for nuns, a treatise on the ten virgins, an exhortation to charity, an Epistle, and his Will. He also wrote two books on grace and free will, against Faustus, which are lost. His works are printed in the *Biblioth. Patr.* vol. viii. and vol. xxvii. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.* tom. i. p. 492. *Tr.*]

⁶ See, concerning Fulgentius, the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januarii, p. 32, &c. [He was born at Carthage, about A. D. 468. His father, who was a senator, died while he was young; but his mother gave him an excellent education. While a boy, he had all Homer by rote, and could talk Greek fluently. He was early made procurator of the city, but soon weary of public life, he retired to a monastery, became a monk and an abbot, changed his monastery, endured persecution from the Arians, went to Syracuse, and thence to Rome in the year 500; returned to Africa again, was elected

bishop of Ruspe in 507, was banished to Sardinia by Thrasimund the Arian king of the Vandals, recalled by Hilderic, the succeeding king, and ruled his church till his death in 533. He was one of the most learned, pious, and influential bishops of his age. He wrote three books *ad Monimum*, (on predestination and kindred doctrines;) one book against the Arians; three books *ad Thrasimundum Regem*, (on the person and offices of Christ;) ten Sermons on divers subjects; *de Fide Orthodoxa*, *Liber ad Donatum*; *de Fide Liber*, *ad Petr. Diacon.*; eleven Epistles; *de Trinitate Liber*; on Predestination and Grace, three books; and various other Tracts and Homilies: all of which were published, Paris, 1684, 4to. Among his lost works, were seven books on grace and free will, addressed to Faustus; and ten books on predestination and grace, against Fabian. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 493. *Tr.*]

⁷ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 96, &c. [Ennodius was born A. D. 473, of a pro-consular family. He married young; was afterwards deacon of Pavia, and subsequently at Rome; was twice papal legate to the emperor at Constantinople, was made bishop of Pavia in 511, and died in 521. He wrote nine books of *Epistles*, or 297 in number; unpublished, and of little use to the history of his times; a *Panegyric* on Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths; an *Apology* for the synod of Rome A. D. 503; the life of Epiphanius, his predecessor at Pavia; life of Antony, a monk of Lerins; two books of poems or epigrams; and various other little pieces: all of which were published by Ja. Sirmond, Paris, 1611, 8vo; and in the Works of Sirmond, vol. i. Paris, 1696; also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. *Tr.*]

⁸ [See above, p. 22. § 6. and note². He has left us nothing in writing, except his monastic regulations, two

Dionysius, surnamed *Exiguus* on account of his lowliness of mind, has deserved well of his own age and of posterity, by his *collection of ancient canons*, and his chronological researches.⁹ *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, an African, procured himself reputation by some small treatises, especially by his *Abridgment of the canons*; but his diction has no charms.¹ *Facundus*, of Hermiane, was a strenuous defender of the *three chapters*, of which an account will be given hereafter.² *Arator* versified the *Acts of the Apostles*, in Latin, not badly.³ *Primasius*, of Adrumetum, wrote *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul*, and a *book on heresies*; which are yet extant.⁴ *Liberatus*, by his *Breviarium*, or concise

Epistles, and two discourses; which are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. p. 640, &c. *Tr.*]

⁹ [A monk of Scythian extract, who flourished at Rome A.D. 533, and died before A.D. 556. He was intimate with Cassiodorus; who gives him a high character for intelligence and virtue. Being familiar with Greek, he collected and translated a body of canons, including the first fifty Apostolic Canons, and those of the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Chalcedon, Sardica, and some in Africa; he also made a collection of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs from Siricius to Anastasius II.; both are extant in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canonici*, tom. i. He likewise translated a synodic epistle of Cyril of Alexandria; a paschal epistle of Proterius; the life of St. Pachomius; an Oration of Proclus; Gregory Nyssen *de Opificio Hominis*; and a history of the discovery of the head of John the Baptist; and composed a Paschal Cycle of ninety-seven years, commencing A.D. 527, of which only a fragment remains. In the last work he proposed, that Christians should use the *time of Christ's birth* as their *era*; which proposal was soon followed universally. Hence the Christian era is called the *Dionysian era*. But Dionysius miscalculated the time of Christ's birth, placing it four years (as most writers suppose) too late. *Tr.*]

¹ [Fulgentius Ferrandus was a pupil of Fulgentius Ruspensis, and a deacon at Carthage. He flourished A.D. 533 and onwards. His *Abridgment of the canons* is a short digest of ecclesiastical law, reduced to 232 heads; it is in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. i. He also wrote the *Life of Fulgentius of Ruspe*, and seven doctrinal Epistles. All his

works were published by Chifflet, Dijon, 1649, 4to, and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. *Tr.*]

² [Facundus was bishop of Hermiane in Africa, but spent many years at Constantinople, as a representative of the African churches at the imperial court. It was here, and in the years 546 and 547, that he composed his twelve books *pro Defensione trium Capitulum*, which he presented to the emperor Justinian. He also wrote a book against Mutianus Scholasticus, who had inveighed against the African churches for refusing communion with Vigilius. These, together with an Epistle in defence of the three chapters, were published by Ja. Sirmond, Paris, 1629, 8vo, and annexed to Optatus of Milevi, Paris, 1675, fol. and thence in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 1. 109. *Tr.*]

³ [Arator was first an advocate, then one of the court of king Athalaric, and finally a subdeacon at Rome. He flourished from A.D. 527 to 544; in which latter year he presented his poetic version of the Acts, in two books, to Vigilius the Roman pontiff. He was much esteemed and honoured both by Athalaric and Vigilius. The poem was first published, with a commentary, at Salamanca, 1516; and afterwards in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 125. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Primasius, bishop of Adrumetum or Justinianopolis in Africa, was a delegate to the court of Constantinople, A.D. 550 and 553, and defended the *three chapters*. His *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* was compiled from Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others. He likewise composed a *Mystical Exposition of the Apocalypse*, in five books. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. He moreover wrote *de Hæresibus*, libri iii.; which are lost, unless they are those published

history of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, merits a respectable place among the writers of these times.⁵ *Fortunatus* possessed a happy vein for poetry, which he employed on various subjects, so that he is read with pleasure at the present day.⁶ *Gregory* of Tours, the father of French history, would have been in higher esteem with the moderns if his *Annals of the Franks*, and his other writings, did not exhibit so many marks of weakness and credulity.⁷ *Gildas*, of Britain, is not to be passed over, because he is the most ancient of the British writers, and because his little book *on the destruction of Britain*

in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvii. the author of which has been so much disputed. See *Cave, Hist. Litterar.* tom. i. p. 525, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Liberatus was archdeacon of the church of Carthage. He was sent twice as a legate to Rome, in 534 and 535. His *Breviarium* is esteemed very authentic and correct, though not elegant. It contains the history of that controversy for 125 years, or to about A. D. 553; and was the result of great research and labour. It was published by Garnier, Paris, 1675, 8vo, and is in most of the Collections of Councils. *Tr.*]

⁶ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 464. [Venantius Honorarius Clementianus Fortunatus was born in Italy, and educated at Ravenna. About the middle of the century, having been cured of his diseased eyes by St. Martin of Tours, he determined to visit the tomb of that saint. From Tours he went to Poitiers, where he lived to the end of the century; wrote much, became a presbyter, and at last bishop of Poitiers. His poetic works are, two books of short poems, dedicated to Gregory of Tours, four books on the life of St. Martin; and several other short poems. They are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. and were published by Brower, Mogunt. 1603, and 1616, 4to. His prose writings are, short Explanations of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Apostles' Creed; and the lives of eight or ten Gallic saints; viz. St. Albinus, bishop of Angers; St. Germanus, bishop of Paris; St. Radegund, a queen; St. Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers; St. Marcellus, bishop of Paris; St. Amantius, bishop of Rodez; St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims; and St. Paternus, bishop of Avranches. The two following are doubtful; St. Mauritius, bishop of Angers;

and St. Medard, bishop of Noyon. All these are extant either in Surius, or Mabillon's collections. *Tr.*]

⁷ A particular account is given of him in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 372. For an account of his faults, see Fran. Pagi, *Diss. de Dionysio*, Paris, § xxv. p. 16, annexed to his *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. But many of his defects are extenuated by Jo. Launoy, *Opp.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 131, &c. [Georgius Florentinus Gregorius was born of noble parentage, in Auvergne, A. D. 544. After an education under his bishop, he went to Tours in the year 556, became deacon in 569, and bishop in 573, and died in 595, aged 52. He was much engaged in councils, and in theological disputes, and at the same time a great writer. Orthodox, active, and rather indiscreet, he was frequently involved in difficulties, for he was deficient in judgment and acumen. His great work, *Annales Francorum*, (sometimes called *Chronica*, *Gesta*, *Historia*, and *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*,) in ten books, gives a summary history of the world, from the creation, to the establishment of the kingdom of the Franks; and afterwards a detailed history to the year 591. He also wrote *Miraculorum libri vii.*; containing the miracles of St. Martin, in four books; on the glory of Martyrs, two books; and on the glory of Confessors, one book. Besides these, he wrote *de Vitis Patrum*, (monks) *Libri unus*; *de Vita et Morte VII. Dormientium*; and an Epitome of the History of the Franks, composed before he wrote his *Annales*. All his works, collectively, were best edited by Theod. Ruinart, Paris, 1699, fol. They are also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xi. *Tr.*]

contains many things not unworthy of notice.⁸ *Columbanus*, of Ireland, acquired celebrity by his *Rule* for monks, some poems, and uncommon zeal for the erection of monasteries.⁹ *Isidore*, of Seville, composed various grammatical, theological, and historical works; but he seems to have been deficient in judgment.¹ The list of Latin authors in this century may be well closed by two very learned men, the illustrious *Boëthius*, a philosopher, orator, poet, and theologian, who was second to no one of his times for elegance and acuteness of genius²; and *M. Au-*

⁸ Concerning Gildas and Columbanus, none have treated more accurately than the Benedictines, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 279 and 505. [Gildas was surnamed the Wise, and also Badonius, from the battle of Badon (Bath), about the time of his birth, which was A. D. 520. By these epithets he is distinguished from Gildas Albanus, who lived a little earlier. He was well educated, became a monk of Bangor, and is said to have visited and laboured some time in Ireland. On his return he visited the monastery of Llanancarvan, lately founded by a nobleman of South Wales; whose example Gildas urged others to imitate. He spent some time in the northern part of Britain; visited France and Italy; and returned and laboured as a faithful preacher. He is supposed to have died at Bangor, A. D. 590; though some place his death twenty years earlier. His only entire work now existing, is his *Epistola de Excidio Britanniae, et Castigatione Ordinis Ecclesiastici*; in which he depicts and laments over the almost total ruin of his country, and the profligacy of manners then prevailing. It was first published by Polydore Virgil, in 1525, but the best edition is that of Tho. Gale, in the first vol. of his *Historia Britannica, Saxonica, &c. Scriptores quindecim*, Lond. 1691, fol. He also wrote several letters, and perhaps some other pieces, of which only extracts remain. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.* tom. i. p. 538, &c. *Tr.*—A new edition of Gildas in 8vo, greatly improved, edited by Mr. Stevenson, was published in London for the *Historical Society* in 1838. *Ed.*]

⁹ [For a notice of Columbanus, see above, p. 21, note ⁶. *Tr.*]

¹ [Isidorus Hispalensis, or *junior*, was the son of Severian, præfect of Carthagera in Spain, and brother of Fulgentius, bishop of Carthagera, and of

Leander, whom he succeeded A. D. 595, as bishop of Seville. He presided in the council of Seville in 619, and in that of Toledo, A. D. 633, and died A. D. 636. He was a voluminous writer; and has left us a *Chronicon*, from the creation to A. D. 626; *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, et Suevorum*; *Originum sive Etymologiarum libri xx.*; *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, (a continuation of Jerome and Gennadius, embracing twenty-three writers); *de Vita et Morte Sanctorum utriusque Testamenti Liber*; *de Divinis sive ecclesiasticis Officiis, libri ii.*; *de Differentiis sive Proprietate Verborum, libri ii.*; *Synonymorum, sive soliloquiorum, libri ii.*; *de Natura Rerum, sive de mundo, Liber philosophicus*; *Liber proæmiorum ad libros utriusque Testamenti*; *Commentaria in libros historicos Veteris Test.* (a compilation); *Allegoriarum quarundam S. Scripturæ liber*; *Contra nequitiam Judæorum, libri ii.*; *Sententiarum, sive de summo bono, libri iii.*; *Regula Monachorum*; *de Conflictu vitiorum et virtutum liber*; *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum*; several Epistles and minor treatises. To him is falsely ascribed a collection of councils and decretals. His works were best published, Paris, 1601, fol., and Cologne, 1617, fol. *Tr.*]

² [Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëthius, born of an illustrious family at Rome, about A. D. 470, was sent in his childhood to Athens for education, where he spent eighteen years; and then returned to Rome, the most learned man of the age. He was consul in the years 510 and 522. Soon after his return to Rome, he was made a patrician, and admitted to the senate. When Theodoric king of the Goths entered Rome, A. D. 500, Boëthius was appointed by the senate to address him. The king soon after made him one of his council, and master of his palace. After faith-

relius Cassiodorus Senator, who was, indeed, inferior in many respects to the former, yet no contemptible author.³ Both have left us various productions of their pens.⁴

fully serving the king and his country for more than twenty years, he was in 523 falsely accused of a treasonable correspondence, condemned on suborned testimony, and sent to Pavia, where he was kept in close confinement a year or more, and then privately put to death by order of the king. He was a voluminous writer. Besides more than forty books of translations and commentaries on Aristotle, Porphyry, and Cicero, he wrote two books on arithmetic, five books on music, two books on geometry, and several tracts against the Eutychians, Nestorians, and other errorists. But his most famous work was *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, libri v. written while in prison at Pavia. This was translated into Saxon by Alfred the Great, (printed, Oxford, 1698,) and into English by Chaucer, and by queen Elizabeth. It was composed partly in verse and partly in prose; and has the form of a dialogue between Boëthius himself and *Philosophy* personified; who endeavours to console him with considerations, derived not from Christianity, but from the doctrines of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle. The works of Boëthius were published with notes, Basil, 1570, fol. See Cave, *Hist. Litterar.* tom. i. p. 495, &c.; and Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.* tom. iii. Gervaise, *Histoire de Boëce*, Paris, 1715, 2 vols. 8vo; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvi. p. 99—121. *Tr.*—A new edition of King Alfred's *Boëthius*, by J. S. Cardale, was printed at London, with an English translation, and notes, in 1829. *Ed.*

³ See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclési. de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 211, &c. [*Senator* was part of the name, not the title of Cassiodorus. This eminent statesman and monk was born of honourable parents, at Squillace in the kingdom of Naples, probably before A. D. 470. Odoacer in 491, made him *Comes rerum privatarum et sacrarum largitionum*. Two years after, Theodoric became master of Italy, and made him his private secretary; and, subsequently, governor of Calabria; but soon recalled him to court, and made him successively quæstor of the palace, master of the officers, consul, and prætorian prefect. The death of Theodoric in 526

did not deprive Cassiodorus of his high rank; but in 539, being now about seventy years old, he retired to a monastery, founded by himself, near his native town in Calabria, where he lived more than twenty years in honourable retirement, devoted to literature and religion. His works are voluminous; viz. *Epistolarum libri xii.* (his official letters); *Historia Eccles. Tripartita libri xii.* (an abridgment from the Latin translations of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, by Epiphanius Scholasticus); *Chronicon ab Adamo usque ad annum*, 519; *Computus Paschalis; de Rebus Gestis Gothorum libri xii.* (which we have, as abridged by Jornandes; the original is supposed still to exist in MS.); *Expositio in Psalmos Davidis; Institutionis ad divinas lectiones libri ii.*; *de Orthographia Liber; de VII. Disciplinis Liber* (on the seven liberal arts; viz. the *trivium*, or grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the *quadrivium*, or arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy); *de Anima Liber; de Oratione, et VIII. partibus Orationis*; short Comments on the Acts, the Epistles, and Apocalypse (published separately by bishop Chandler, Lond. 1722, 8vo). Most of the other works are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xi. and all of them were well edited by the Benedictines in two vols. fol. Rouen, 1679. See Cave, *Histor. Litterar.* tom. i. p. 501, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xvi. p. 128—154. *Tr.*]

⁴ [The following are the Latin writers omitted by Dr. Mosheim.

Paschasius, deacon of the church of Rome, who took sides with Laurentius, in his contest for the pontificate in 498, and died in 512. He has left us an Epistle to Eugypsius; and two books on the Holy Spirit against Macedonius; which are in the eighth vol. of the *Biblioth. Patrum*.

Laurentius, bishop of Novara in the north of Italy, flourished about A. D. 507. Two of his Homilies on penitence and alms, are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Epiphanius Scholasticus, an Italian, who flourished about A. D. 510. He translated the Eccles. Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret into Latin; that Cassiodorus might thence

make out his *Historia Eccles. Tripartita*, in twelve books. The original translations are lost.

Eugyppius, abbot of a monastery near Naples, about A. D. 511. He wrote the life of St. Severinus, the apostle of Noricum; published by Surius.

Hormisdas, Roman pontiff A. D. 514—523; who made peace, after a long contest, between the oriental and western churches. He has left us eighty Epistles, and some Decretals in the *Concilior.* tom. iv.

Orentius, or Orientius, bishop of Eliberis in Spain, A. D. 516. He wrote *Commonitorium fidelibus, metro Heroico*, in two books. The first book is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. vii.; and both, with other short poems, in Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. Paris, 1717.

Peter, a deacon, who vigorously aided the deputation of oriental monks at Rome, A. D. 520, and wrote *de Incarnatione et Gratia D. N. Jesu Christi, Liber*; extant among the works of Fulgentius, and in *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Felix IV. Roman pontiff A. D. 526—530. Three *Epistles*, in the *Concilior.* tom. iv. are ascribed to him; but the two first are spurious.

Justinian I. emperor A. D. 527—565. Besides the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, (viz. *Institutionum* lib. iv. *Pandectar. sive Digestorum* lib. l. *Codices* lib. xii. A. D. 528—535; and *Novellæ*, after A. D. 535,) he issued six *Decrees* and *Epistles* relating to ecclesiastical affairs, which are in the *Concilior.* tom. v.

Nicetius, of Gallic extract, a monk, abbot, and archbishop of Treves, A. D. 527—568. He was distinguished for piety, and the confidence reposed in him. Two of his tracts, *de Vigilis Servorum Dei*, and *de Bona Psalmodia*, were published by Dacherius, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. (*ed. nova*, tom. i. p. 221. 223); and two of his letters (to the emperor Justinian, and to queen Chlosuinda) are in the *Concilior.* tom. v.

Justus, bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, Spain, flourished A. D. 529, and died about A. D. 540. His *Commentary on the Canticles* is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix. Two *Epistles* of his are also extant.

Boniface II. Roman pontiff A. D. 530—532 has left us two *Epistles*; in the *Concilior.* tom. iv.

Cogitosus, an Irish monk, grandson of St. Brigit, and supposed to have lived about A. D. 530. He wrote *Vita Sanctæ*

Brigide; which is published by Canisius, Surius, and Bolland.

Montanus, archbishop of Toledo in Spain, during nine years, about A. D. 531. He has left us two *Epistles*; extant in the *Concilior.* tom. iv.

John II. Roman pontiff A. D. 532—535. At the request of Justinian, he solemnly sanctioned the orthodoxy of the expression, *One of the Trinity suffered crucifixion*. One spurious and five genuine *Epistles* of his are in the *Concilior.* tom. iv.

Marcellinus, Comes of Illyricum, flourished A. D. 534. His *Chronicon* (from the year 379, where Jerome's closes, to the year 534,) has been often published; and is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ix.

Agapetus, Roman pontiff A. D. 535, 536. Seven of his *Epistles* (one of them spurious) are in the *Concilior.* tom. iv. and one in tom. v.

Vigilius, Roman pontiff A. D. 537—555. He obtained his see by intrigue and duplicity; conspired against his predecessor, whom he brought to the grave; and when confirmed in his see, showed himself supremely ambitious, and ready to sacrifice consistency, conscience, the truth itself, to promote his own selfish designs. He issued the most solemn declarations, both for and against the three chapters. In 547 Justinian called him to Constantinople, where he detained him seven years, and compelled him to condemn the three chapters, and himself also, for having repeatedly defended them. We have eighteen *Epistles*, and several of his contradictory Decretals, in the *Concilior.* tom. v.

Gordianus, a monk of Messina, carried off by the Saracens, in the year 539, when they burned and plundered that monastery. Gordian escaped from the Saracens, and returned to Sicily, where he wrote the *Life of Placidus*, the Benedictine abbot of Messina, who with many others was slain in the capture of that monastery. It is extant in Surius, and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i.

Victor, bishop of Capua, about A. D. 545. He translated into Latin Ammonius' Harmony of the four Gospels, falsely ascribed to Tatian; and extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. iii. p. 265.

Cyprianus, a Gaul, and pupil of Cæsarius of Arles. He flourished A. D. 546, and wrote the *first book of the life and achievements of Cæsarius*. Both books are in Surius, and in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i.

Mutianus Scholasticus flourished A. D.

550. At the suggestion of Cassiodorus, he translated thirty-four Homilies of Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Hebrews into Latin; printed at Cologne, 1530.

Rusticus, a deacon at Rome, who accompanied pope Vigilius to Constantinople in 547, and showed more firmness than his bishop. His *Dialogus sive disputatio adversus Acephalos*, (in which he inveighs against Vigilius,) is extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x.

Junilius, an African bishop, who lived about A. D. 550, has left us *de Partibus Divinæ Legis* libri ii. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 339.

Jornandes, or Jordanus, of Gothic extract, bishop of the Goths at Ravenna. His one book *de Rebus Geticis*, or *Historia Gothorum*, from the earliest times to A. D. 540, is an abridgment of the twelve books of Cassiodorus, on the same subject. His *de Regnorum et Temporum successione Liber*, is translated from Florus. Both works are extant in Muratori, *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. i. 1723.

Eugyppius, an African presbyter and abbot, who flourished about A. D. 553. He compiled from the works of St. Augustine a collection of sentences on various subjects, in 338 chapters; printed Basil, 1542.

Victor, bishop of Tunis in Africa, a resolute defender of the three chapters, in prisons and banishments, from A. D. 555—565. He wrote a *Chronicon*, from the creation to A. D. 566; but the last 122 years of it are all that remain; published by Scaliger, with the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

Germanus, (St. Germain,) born at Autun, France, A. D. 496; deacon, 533; presbyter, 536; and bishop of Paris, A. D. 555—576. An epistle of his to queen Brunehild, written A. D. 573, is in the *Concilior.* tom. v. His life, written by Venantius Fortunatus, in his *Mailillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 222, &c.

Pelagius I. Roman pontiff A. D. 555—559. He was papal legate at Constantinople A. D. 535—545; and a strenuous opposer of the three chapters. Sixteen of his epistles are in the *Concilior.* tom. v.

Martin, a monk, born in Pannonia. He travelled in Palestine, preached and became an abbot in Spain, and finally bishop of Braga in Portugal, A. D. 563—583. He has left us *Collectio Canonum*, (extant, in *Concilior.* tom. v.; and in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. i.) *Sententiæ Patrum Ægyptiorum*, (in Roswiyd, *de Vitis Patr.*) and *Formula Honestæ Vitæ*, extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 282.

Pelagius II. Roman pontiff A. D. 579—590. He had much contention with the Western bishops, who defended the three chapters; and, after A. D. 589, with John, bishop of Constantinople, who assumed the title of *universal bishop*. Ten of his Epistles, and six Decrees, are extant, in the *Concilior.* tom. v.

Marius, bishop of Avenches in Switzerland for twenty years, flourished A. D. 581. He has left us a *Chronicon*, continuing that of Prosper, from 455 to 581.

Licinianus, bishop of Carthage, in Spain, A. D. 584. He has left us three Epistles; in de Aguirre, *Collect. Max. Concil. Hispan.* tom. ii.

John, a Spanish Goth, educated at Constantinople, returned to Spain A. D. 584, became an abbot, was persecuted by Leuvigild the Arian king, and died early in the seventh century. He has left a *Chronicon*, from A. D. 565 to 590.

Leander, Archbishop of Seville (Hispalensis) in Spain, flourished A. D. 583, and died 595. He was a monk, an ambassador to Constantinople, and a principal means of the conversion of the Arian Goths of Spain to the catholic faith. A monastic *Rule* is all we have of him; unless he was author of the *Missa Mozarabum*.

Dynamius, collector of the revenues of the Romish church in Gaul. He flourished A. D. 593; and wrote the life of St. Maximus, bishop of Reiz; and the life of St. Marius, abbot of Bobi.

Eutropius, a monk, and bishop of Valencia in Spain, flourished A. D. 599. One of his Epistles is preserved by L. H. Holstenius, *Codex Regular.* Paris, 1663. *Tr.]*

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Continued sinking of theology.—§ 2. This exemplified.—§ 3. State of exegetical theology.—§ 4. Faults of the interpreters.—§ 5. Dogmatic theology.—§ 6. Practical theology.—§ 7. Lives of saints.—§ 8. Polemic theology.—§ 9. Contests about Origenism.—§ 10. about the three chapters.—§ 11. The fifth general council.—§ 12. Contest about one of the Trinity being crucified.

§ 1. THE barriers of ancient simplicity and truth being once torn up, there was a constant progress for the worse, nor can it easily be said how much of impurity and superstition religion gradually received. The controversialists of the East were continually darkening the great doctrines of revelation, by the most subtle distinctions, and I know not what determinations of the philosophers. Those who instructed the people, were only intent upon imbuing them more and more with ignorance, superstition, reverence for the clergy, and admiration of empty ceremonies; so that they lost all sense and knowledge of true piety. Nor is this wonderful, for *the blind*,—that is, persons for the most part ignorant and unreflecting,—*were leaders of the blind*.

§ 2. Whoever wishes to know these things more distinctly, only needs the patience to make himself acquainted with what is read as well in the epistles and other writings of *Gregory the Great*, as elsewhere, respecting the worship of images and saints, the fire to purify souls after death, the efficacy of good works, that is, of human prescriptions and devices for attaining salvation, the power of relics to remove defects both of soul and body, and other things of the like character. A man of sense cannot help smiling at the good *Gregory's* generosity in distributing his relics; but he must feel pity for the simple, stupid people, who could be persuaded that oil taken from lamps burning at the

sepulchres of the martyrs, possessed uncommon virtues and utility, and brought great holiness and security to its possessors.¹

§ 3. To give directions for expounding the Holy Scriptures, was the object of *Junilius*, in his two books *on the parts of the divine law*.² The treatise consists of a few questions, neither scientifically arranged, nor judiciously considered; for the author was deficient in the learning necessary for his undertaking. *Cassiodorus* likewise laid down some rules for interpretation, in his two books *on the divine laws*. Among the Syrians, *Philoxenus* translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of David into Syriac.³ The number of interpreters was considerable. Among the Greeks, the best were *Procopius* of Gaza (rather a pleasing expositor)⁴, *Severus* of Antioch, *Julianus*, and some others. Among the Latins, the more prominent were *Gregory* the Great, *Cassiodorus*, *Primasius*⁵, *Isidore* of Seville⁶, *Bellator*⁷, and a few others.

§ 4. All these, a few only excepted (and particularly the Nestorians in the East, who, following the example of *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia, searched for the true sense and meaning of the words), scarcely deserve the name of interpreters. They may be divided into two classes. Some merely collected the opinions and interpretations of the earlier doctors, in works which were afterwards called *Catenæ* (or *Chains*) by the Latins.⁸ Such is the *Catena* of *Olympiodorus* on Job, that of *Victor* of Capua on the four Gospels, and the Commentary of *Primasius* on the Epistle to the Romans, compiled from Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and others. Nor is *Procopius* of Gaza to be wholly excluded from this class, although he sometimes followed his own judgment. The others tread in the footsteps of *Origen*, and

¹ See the *List of sacred oils* which Gregory the Great sent to queen Theodelinda; in Theod. Ruinart, *Acta Martyr. Sincera et Selecta*, p. 619, [and in Muratori, *Anecdota Latina*, tom. ii. p. 194. *Schl.*]

² See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 229.

³ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 83.

⁴ See Rich. Simon, *Lettres choisies*, tom. iv. p. 120, of the new edition.

⁵ Rich. Simon, *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Test.* cap. xxiv. p. 337, and *Critique de*

la Bibliothèque de M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 226.

⁶ Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 259.

⁷ [Bellator was a presbyter, a friend of Cassiodorus, and flourished A.D. 550. He wrote numerous Commentaries; viz. four books on Esther, five books on Tobit, seven books on Judith, eight books on the Wisdom of Solomon, and ten books on the Maccabees; all of which are now lost. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Step. le Moine, *Prolegom. ad varia Sacra*, p. 53, &c. and Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, lib. v. cap. 17, or vol. vii. p. 727, &c.

neglecting wholly the literal meaning, run after allegories and moral precepts, deducing whatever they wish or desire from the sacred books, by the aid of a roving imagination. Of this class is *Anastasius* of Sinai, whose *Anagogical Contemplations on the Hexæmeron* expose the ignorance and credulity of the author; likewise *Gregory* the Great, whose *Morals on Job* were formerly extolled undeservedly; also *Isidore* of Seville, in his *Book of allegories on Scripture*; and *Primasius*, in his *Mystic exposition of the Apocalypse*; with many others.

§ 5. An accurate knowledge of religious doctrines, and a simple and lucid exposition of them, no one will expect from the teachers of these times. Most of them reason like blind men about colours, and show themselves quite satisfied with their performances, if they can supply readers with a crude mass of ill-digested matter, and overwhelm opponents with words. There are, however, among writers of this age, clear traces and seeds of teaching theology in that three-fold form, which still obtains both with Greeks and Latins. For some collected together sentences from the ancient doctors and councils, backed by citations from the Scriptures. Such was *Isidore* of Seville, among the Latins, whose *three Books of sentences* are still extant; and among the Greeks, *Leontius* of Cyprus, whose *Common Places*⁹, compiled from the works of the ancients, have been commended. From these originated that species of theology which the Latins afterwards called *Positive Theology*. Others attempted to unfold the nature of religious doctrines by reasoning; which was the method generally adopted by those who disputed against the Nestorians, Eutychians, and Pelagians. These may be fitly called *Scholastics*. Others again, who call themselves *Mystics*, believed that all divine truth must be learned by internal feeling and contemplation. This three-fold method of treating religious subjects, has continued down to the present day. A regular and well-arranged system of theology in all its branches no one produced; but light was thrown repeatedly upon various parts of it.

§ 6. To illustrate and inculcate piety and Christian duty, some gave *precepts*, while others employed *examples*. Those who gave precepts for a pious life, endeavoured to form the Christian character either of persons engaged in the business of

⁹ Loci Communes.

active life, or of those more perfect, and removed from the contagious influence of the world. A Christian life, in the former case, they represent as consisting in certain external virtues and badges of piety ; as appears from the homilies and exhortations of *Cæsarius*, the Monitory Chapters of *Agapetus*, and especially from the Summary of a Virtuous Life, by *Martin* of Braga.¹ In the latter case, they would separate the soul, by contemplation, from the intercourse and contagion of the body ; and therefore advised to macerate the body by watching, fasting, constant prayer, and singing of hymns ; as is manifest from *Fulgentius* on fasting, *Nicetius* on the Vigils of the servants of God, and on the advantages of Psalmody. The Greeks followed as their leader in these matters, for the most part, *Dionysius*, denominated the Areopagite ; on whom *John* of Scythopolis, during this age, published annotations. How exceedingly defective all these views are, is visible to every one who is acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.

§ 7. To inculcate piety by *examples* was the aim of all those who wrote *Lives of the Saints*. The number of these, both among the Greeks and the Latins, was very considerable. *Ennodius*, *Eugyppius*, *Cyril* of Scythopolis, *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Cogitosus*, and others, are well known. Nearly all these entertain their readers with marvellous and silly fables ; and propose for imitation none but delirious persons or those of perverted minds, who did violence to nature, and adopted austere and fantastic rules of life. To endure hunger and thirst without repining, to go naked about the country like madmen, to immure themselves in a narrow place, to wait with closed eyes for an indescribable divine light ; this was accounted holy and glorious. The less any one resembled a sane man with all his wits about him, the more confidently might he hope to obtain a post of high distinction among heroes and demi-gods.

§ 8. In efforts to settle theological controversies, many were diligent, none successful. Scarcely an individual can be named who contended against the Eutychians, Nestorians, or Pelagians, with fairness, sobriety, and decorum. *Primasius* and *Philoponus* treated of all the heresies : but time has swept away their works. A book of *Leontius*, on the sects, is extant ; but it deserves little praise. Against the Jews, *Isidore* of Seville, and *Leontius* of

¹ See *Acta Sanctor. Martii*, iii. p. 86, &c. [and *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. x. p. 382. *Tr.*]

Neapolis, engaged in controversy; with what dexterity may easily be conjectured by those who reflect on the circumstances of the age. It will be better, therefore, to proceed to a brief account of the controversies themselves, that disturbed the church in this century, than to treat in detail of these miserable disputants.

§ 9. Although *Origen* lay under the condemnation of many decrees and decisions, his popularity was found, especially among the monks, to defy all bounds. In the West one *Bellator* translated various books by him into Latin.² In the East, particularly in Syria and Palestine, which were the principal seats of Origenism, the monks contended for the authority and truth of his opinions with a vehemence almost beyond belief; and they had the approbation of certain bishops, especially of Theodore, who filled the see of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia.³ The subject being brought before the emperor *Justinian*, he issued a long and full edict, addressed to *Mennas*, the bishop of Constantinople, in which he strongly condemned *Origen* and his opinions, and forbade them to be taught.⁴ Soon after, however, began the contest about the *three Chapters*, and Origenism not only revived in Palestine, but also made fresh progress. These commotions were brought to a termination by the fifth [general] council, at Constantinople, assembled by *Justinian* in the year 553, when *Origen* and his adherents were again condemned.⁵

² [This is founded on a conjecture of Huet, (*Origeniana*, p. 252.) who ascribes the Latin translation of Origen's Homilies on Matthew, in particular, to this Bellator. *Schl.*]

³ See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabæ*; in Jo. Bapt. Cotelier, *Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ*, p. 370, &c. and Hen. Noris, *Diss. de Synodo Quinta*, cap. i. ii. in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 554.

⁴ This decree is extant in Jo. Harduin, *Concilior.* tom. iii. p. 243, &c. [It was first published by Baronius, *Annal. Eccl.* ad ann. 538; and thence passed into all the collections of councils. *Tr.*]

⁵ See the decree of the council, in Jo. Harduin, *Concilior.* tom. iii. p. 283, &c. See also Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 38, and on this whole subject, see Ja. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. lib. x. c. 6, p. 517, &c. Pet. Dan. Huet, *Origeniana*, lib. ii. p. 224. Lud. Doucin, *Diss.* subjoined to his *Historia Origeniana*,

p. 35, &c. [Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xviii. p. 40—58, but especially C. W. F. Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. vii. p. 618—760.—This contest respecting Origen commenced among the Palestine monks, about the year 520. One Nonnus with three other monks belonging to the new *Laura* (or cluster of cells), were discovered to hold and to be propagating the opinions of Origen. Sabas, abbot of the old *Laura*, and supervisor of all the Palestine monks, opposed the schismatics. They were rejected from the *Laura*; but were restored again; and in spite of opposition and persecution, they brought over many in both *Lauras* to their views. The commotion became violent, and expulsions, fighting, and bloodshed ensued. Still it was only a contest among a few monks, living in two little societies or neighbourhoods in Palestine. Justinian's decree, addressed to Mennas, who pro-

§ 10. This controversy produced another, which was much more lasting and violent ; but which, as to the subject of it, was far less important. The emperor *Justinian* burned with zeal to extirpate the more strenuous *Monophysites*, who were called *Acephali*. On this subject he consulted *Theodore* of Cæsarea, a friend to Origenism, and a Monophysite as well. By this prelate a new controversy was thought likely to gain peace for the Origenists. He wished besides to fasten some stigma upon the council of Chalcedon, and to inflict an incurable wound on the

bably issued about the year 540 ; and it has been supposed that the council of Constantinople, which anathematized fifteen errors of Origen, was an accidental council, held about the year 541 ; and not the general council held in 553. However that may be, the death of Nonnus in the year 546 caused the Origenist party among the monks to become divided, and to fall into a declining state. The fullest enumeration of errors held by the Origenists, which has come down to us, is that of the fifteen anathemas by the council of Constantinople. Yet Justinian's decree, or letter to Mennas, is nearly as full ; and it is more precise and lucid, as well as better substantiated by references to the works of Origen. In this decree, after a concise introduction, the emperor proceeds, like a theologian, through ten folio pages, to enumerate and confute the errors of Origen. He then directs the patriarch Mennas to assemble what bishops and abbots could be found at Constantinople, and condemn the subjoined list of Origenian errors, their doings to be afterwards transmitted to all bishops and abbots for their confirmation ; so that after this general consent shall be obtained, no bishop or abbot may be ordained, without his condemnation of Origenism as well as the other heresies. The list of errors to be condemned, is then subjoined as follows.—1. If any one says or believes, that human souls *pre-existed*, i.e. were once mere spirits, and holy ; that having become weary of divine contemplation, they were brought into a worse condition ; and that, because they ἀποψυχίσας, i.e. *cooled down* as to the love of God, they were therefore called in Greek ψυχὰς, that is, *soul* ; and were sent down to inhabit bodies, as a punishment ; *let him be anathema*.—2. If any one says or believes, that the soul of our Lord pre-existed ;

and that it was united to God the Word, before his incarnation and birth of the Virgin ; *let him be anathema*.—3. If any one says or believes, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was first formed in the womb of the blessed Virgin, as those of other men are ; and that afterwards God the Word and the pre-existent soul became united with it ; *let him be anathema*.—4. If any one says or believes, that God the Word was made like to all the celestial orders, that to the Cherubim he was made a Cherub, and to the Seraphim a Seraph, and to all the celestial Virtues one like them ; *let him be anathema*.—5. If any one says or believes, that in the resurrection, the bodies of men will be raised *orbicular*, and does not confess that we shall be resuscitated *erect* ; *let him be anathema*.—6. If any one says or believes, that heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters above the heavens, are *animated*, and are a sort of material Virtues ; *let him be anathema*.—7. If any one says or believes, that Christ the Lord is to be crucified in the future world, for the devils, as he was in this for men ; *let him be anathema*.—8. If any one says or believes, that the power of God is *limited* ; and that he created all things he could comprehend ; *let him be anathema*.—9. If any one says or believes, that the punishment of devils and wicked men will be *temporary*, and will have an end ; or that there will be a recovery and restoration of devils and wicked men ; *let him be anathema*.—10. And *Anathema to Origen*, who is called *Adamantius*, together with his nefarious, execrable, and abominable doctrine ; and to every one who believes it, or in any manner presumes at all to defend it at any time ; in Christ Jesus, our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. *Tr.*]

Nestorians. He persuaded the emperor accordingly, that the *Acephali* would return to the church, if only the Acts of the council of Chalcedon were purged of those three passages, or *three Chapters*, in which *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia, *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus, and *Ibas* of Edessa, were acquitted of error; and certain writings of these men, favourable to the Nestorian errors, were condemned. Theodore was believed; and the emperor, in the year 544, ordered those three chapters to be expunged, but without prejudice to the authority of the council of Chalcedon.⁶ This edict, however, was resisted by the bishops of the West and of Africa; especially by *Vigilius*, the Roman pontiff, who complained of great injury done by it,

⁶ This decree is extant in Jo. Harduin, *Concilior.* tom. iii. p. 287, &c. Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. c. 38. [It is called *Justinian's Creed*; and professes to define the catholic faith, as established by the first four general councils, those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and to condemn the opposite errors. Dr. Mosheim's description of the *three Chapters* would lead us to suppose that certain *chapters*, sections, or paragraphs, in the *Acts of the council* of Chalcedon, were the three things condemned by Justinian. But this was not the fact. His decree does not *avowedly* condemn any thing contained in the Acts of that council; nor does it use the phrase *three Chapters*. The phrase was afterwards brought into use, and denoted three *subjects*, (*capitula, κεφάλαια*,) which were condemned by the decree of Justinian; viz. 1. the *persons and writings of Theodorus*, bishop of Mopsuestia, whom the decree pronounced a heretic, and a Nestorian; 2. the *writings of Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus; not universally, but only so far as they favoured Nestorianism, or opposed Cyril of Alexandria, and his twelve anathemas; and, 3. an *Epistle* said to have been written by Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to one Maras, a Persian, which censured Cyril and the first council of Ephesus, and favoured the cause of Nestorius. The council of Chalcedon had passed no decree respecting Theodorus; and it had left all the three bishops in good standing, though the epistle of Ibas and some of the writings of Theodoret received censure. Hence Justinian's decree did not openly and avowedly contravene the decisions at Chalcedon; though virtually, and in effect, it did so.

To understand the contest about the three *Chapters*, it should be remembered, that the Nestorians, who separated the two natures of Christ too much, and the Eutychians or Monophysites, who commingled them too much, were the two extremes; between which the orthodox took their stand, condemning both. But the orthodox themselves did not all think alike. Some, in their zeal against the Nestorians, came near to the Monophysite ground; and these of course felt willing to condemn the three Chapters. Others, zealous only against the Monophysites, were not far from being Nestorians; and these of course defended the three Chapters; for Theodorus, Theodoret, and Ibas had been leading men of this very character. Hence the interest shown by the oriental bishops in this controversy. But in the West, where the Nestorian and Eutychian contests had been less severe, and where the persons and writings of Theodorus, Ibas, and Theodoret were little known; the *three Chapters* were felt to be of little consequence, except as the condemning them seemed to impair the authority of the decrees of Chalcedon, and to asperse characters once held venerable in the church.—It was doubtless a most rash thing, in Justinian, to condemn the three Chapters. But having done it, he resolved to persevere in it. The church was agitated long and severely; and at length this precipitate act of the emperor, being sanctioned by the requisite authority, had the effect to shape the creed of the catholic church, from that day to this. See Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 3—468, but especially, p. 437, &c. *Tr.*]

not only to the council of Chalcedon, but also to men now among the blessed.⁷ *Justinian* summoned *Vigilius* to Constantinople, and compelled him to condemn the *three Chapters*. But the African and Illyrian bishops, on the other hand, compelled *Vigilius* to revoke that condemnation. For no one of them would own him for a bishop and a brother, until he had approved those three chapters. *Justinian* on the other hand condemned the three chapters by a new edict, in the year 551.

§ 11. After various contentions, it was thought best to leave this controversy for decision to a council of the whole church. *Justinian*, therefore, in the year 553, assembled at Constantinople what is called the *fifth general council*. In this council, besides *Origen's* opinions⁸, the *three Chalcedonian Chapters*, as the emperor wished, were pronounced noxious to the church; really, however, by the Eastern bishops, for very few from the West were present. *Vigilius*, then at Constantinople, would not assent to the decrees of this council. He was therefore treated indignantly by the emperor, and sent into banishment; nor did he return till he received the decrees of this fifth council.⁹ *Pelagius*, his successor, and the subsequent Roman pontiffs, in like manner, received those decrees. But neither *their* authority, nor that of the emperors, could prevail with the western bishops to follow their example. Many of them, indeed, on this account seceded from communion with the Roman pontiff; nor could this great wound be healed, except by length of time.¹

⁷ Hen. Noris, *de Synodo Quinta*, cap. x. &c. Opp. tom. i. p. 579. Ja. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. x. c. vi. p. 523, &c. [also Dr. Walch, ubi supra.]

⁸ [According to the acts of this council, as they have come down to us, Origen was no otherwise condemned by this general council, than by having his name inserted in the list of heretics, collectively anathematized in the 11th anathema. The celebrated 15 anathemas of as many Origenian errors, said to have been decreed by this council, are found in no copy of its Acts; nor are they mentioned by any ancient writer. Peter Lambecius first discovered them in the imperial library at Vienna, in an old MS. of Photius' *Syntagma Canonum*, bearing the superscription, "Canons of the 165 holy Fathers of the fifth holy

council at Constantinople;" and published them with a Latin translation: whence Baluze first introduced them into the Collections of Councils. But Cave, Walch, Valesius, and others, suppose they were framed in a council at Constantinople, about A.D. 541. See note⁵ above, p. 42; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 558; Walch, *Historie der Ketzerereyen*, vol. vii. p. 644. 761; Valesius, note on Evagrius, *H. E.* lib. iv. c. 58. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Peter de Marca, *Diss. de Decreto Vigili pro Confirmatione Synodi Quinta*; among the Dissertations subjoined to his work, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, p. 207, &c. [and Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (*Vigilius*.) vol. ii. p. 382—413. ed. Lond. 1750. *Tr.*]

¹ See in preference to all others, Hen. Noris, *de Synodo Quinta Œcumenica*;

§ 12. Another considerable controversy broke out among the Greeks, in the year 519; namely, *Whether it could properly be said, that one of the Trinity was crucified.* Many adopted this language, in order to press harder upon the *Nestorians*, who separated the natures of *Christ* too much. Among these were the Scythian monks at Constantinople, who were the principal movers of this controversy. But others argued against this language as allied to the error of the *Theopaschites* or Eutychians, and therefore rejected it. With these, *Hormisdas*, bishop of Rome, when consulted by the Scythian monks, having agreed, great and pernicious altercations ensued. Afterwards, the fifth council, and *John II.*, who succeeded *Hormisdas*, by approving of this language, restored peace to the church.² Connected with this question was another: *Whether Christ's person could be rightly called compounded?* which the Scythian monks affirmed, and others denied.

yet *Noris* is not free from partiality. Also *Christ. Lupus*, Notes on the fifth Council, among his *Adnotat. ad Concilia*.

² See *Hen. Noris, Historia Controversiæ de uno ex Trinitate passo*; Opp. tom. iii. p. 771. The ancient writers who mention this controversy, call the monks, with whom it originated, Scythians; but *Matur. Veiss. la Croze, Thesaur. Epistolar.* tom. iii. p. 189, conjectures that they were Scetic monks from Egypt, and not Scythians. This conjecture has some probability. [But *Dr. Walch, Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. vii. p. 296, 297, says of this conjecture: "it is not only improbable, but is certainly false." And the documents relative to the controversy (of which he had there just closed the recital) do appear, as *Dr. Walch* affirms, "adequate to prove, that these men were really from Scythia." Together with the two modes of expression relative to the Trinity, which they advocated, these monks were strenuous opposers of Pelagianism. Having had disagreement with some bishops of their

province, particularly with *Paternus*, bishop of *Tomis*, a deputation of them went to Constantinople with their complaint. Among these deputies, *John Maxentius*, *Leontius*, and *Achilles*, were the principal. The emperor rather favoured them; but the bishops of the East were not agreed. The emperor obliged the pope's legates at the court to hear the cause. But they were not disposed to decide it; at least, not as the monks wished. A part of them now repaired to Rome, where they stayed more than a year. *Hormisdas* disapproved their phraseology, but was not very ready to condemn it outright. While at Rome, these monks wrote to the exiled African bishops in *Sardinia*, and by taking part in *their* controversy obtained their friendship. They certainly had many friends; but the ancient historians have transmitted to us only some slight notices of their history. See *Walch, Hist. der Ketzereyen*, vol. vii. p. 262—313. *Bower, Lives of the Popes*, (*Hormisdas*,) vol. ii. p. 306—309. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES.

§ 1. Rites multiplied.—§ 2. Explanations of the ceremonies.—§ 3. Public worship. The Eucharist. Baptism.—§ 4. Temples. Festivals.

§ 1. IN proportion as true religion and piety, from various causes, declined in this century, the external signs of religion and piety, that is, rites and ceremonies, were augmented. In the East, the Nestorian and Eutychian contests occasioned the invention of various rites and forms, which might serve as marks to distinguish the contending sects. In the West, *Gregory* the Great was wonderfully dexterous and ingenious in devising and recommending new ceremonies. Nor will this appear strange to those who are aware that he was of the opinion that the words of the Holy Scriptures were *images* of recondite things. For whoever can believe this, can easily bring himself to inculcate all the doctrines and precepts of religion, by means of rites and signs. Yet in one respect, he is to be commended; namely, that he would not obtrude his ceremonies upon others:—perhaps he would not, because he *could* not.

§ 2. This multitude of ceremonies required interpreters. Hence a new kind of science arose, both in the East and in the West, the object of which was to investigate and explain the grounds and reasons of the sacred rites. But most of those who deduce these rites from Scripture and reason, talk nonsense, and exhibit rather the fictions of their own brains than the true causes of things. If they had been acquainted with ancient opinions and customs, and had examined the pontifical laws of the Greeks and Romans, they would have taught much more correctly; for from this source were derived many of the rites which were looked upon as sacred.

§ 3. The public worship of God was still celebrated in the

vernacular language of each nation; but it was generally enlarged by various hymns and other minute things. The new mode of administering the *Lord's supper*, magnificently, and with a splendid apparatus, or the *Canon of the Mass*, as it is called, was prescribed by *Gregory the Great*; or, if it will be more satisfactory, he enlarged and altered the old *Canon*. But many ages elapsed before the other Latin churches could be prevailed on to adopt this Romish form.¹ *Baptism*, except in cases of necessity, was conferred only upon festivals, and those also the greater ones, or of the highest class.² Upon the *Litanies*, as they are called³, to saints, the various kinds of supplications, the *stations* of *Gregory*⁴, the forms of *consecration*, and other rites, invented in this century, to act upon men's eyes and ears by a certain semblance of religion, I shall not speak, for fear of being long. This matter could not be carefully and industriously treated without a separate work.

§ 4. The temples erected in memory and honour of the saints, were immensely numerous, both in the East and the West.⁵ There had long been houses enough every where in which people met to worship God; but this age courted the favour of departed saints, with these edifices, as with presents, nor did it doubt that the saints took the provinces, cities, towns, and

¹ See Theod. Chr. Lilienthal, *de Canone Missæ Gregoriano*, Lugd. Bat. 1740, 8vo, and the writers on Liturgies. [Different countries had different Missals. Not only the East differed from the West, but in both there were diversities. In Gaul, the old Liturgy continued till the time of Charlemagne. In Milan, the Ambrosian Liturgy (so named from St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan,) is not yet wholly abandoned. In Spain, the Mozarabic, or ancient Spanish, is still used occasionally in certain places, though the Roman canon was introduced partially in the eleventh, and more fully in the thirteenth and following centuries. In England, the ancient Britons had one Liturgy; and the Anglo-Saxons received another from Augustine their apostle and his companions; and this not precisely the Roman. See Krazer, *de Liturgiis*, sec. ii. chap. 2—6. Gregory the Great introduced the responsive chant, and established a school for church music, which was in existence at Rome as late as the ninth century. *Tr.*]

² [Especially Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Whitsuntide, and St. John the

Baptist, at least in Gaul. See Gregory of Tours, *de Gloria Confessor.* c. 69, 76, and *Historia Francor.* lib. viii. c. 9. *Schl.*]

³ [The Litanies, of which there were the larger and the smaller, the common and the special, were, in the previous centuries addressed only to God; but superstition now led men to address them to Mary, and to the other saints. *Von. Ein.*]

⁴ [Stations denoted, in early times, *fasts*; but afterwards the *churches*, *chapels*, *cemeteries*, or other places where the people assembled for worship. (See du Cange, *Glossar. Med. et. Infim. Latinit.* sub hac voce.) Gregory discriminated the different times, occasions, and places of public worship, and framed a service for each. This is the principal cause of the vast multiplication of liturgical formulas in the Romish church. *Tr.*]

⁵ [See Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, lib. iv. and v.; also *de Edificiis Justiniani*, where is mention of many churches erected to the Virgin Mary. *Schl.*]

lands, in which they saw residences prepared for them, under their protection against every ill.⁶ The number of feast-days almost equalled that of the churches. In particular, the list of festivals for the whole Christian body was swelled by the consecration of the day of the *purification of the holy virgin Mary*, that the people might not miss their *Lupercalia*, which they were accustomed to celebrate in the month of February⁷, by the day of our *Saviour's conception*⁸, by the birth-day of *St. John*⁹, and some others.

⁶ [Thus, the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, built a church for John the Baptist, that he might pray for her and her people. (Paul Diacon. *Hist. Longobard.* l. iv. c. 7.) And the French king, Clothaire, built a splendid temple to St. Vincent, because he believed that saint had helped him to vanquish the Goths. (Siegbert, *Chron.*) For the same reason rich presents were made to the churches. Thus Childebert, after conquering Alaric, gave to the church sixty cups, fifteen dishes, and twenty cases for the holy Gospels; all of the finest gold, and set with costly gems. (Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francor.* l. iii. c. 10.) *Schl.*]

⁷ [This was instituted in the reign of Justinian, and fixed to the second day of February. The Greeks called it *ἑπαντή*, or *ὑπαπαντή*, *meeting*; because then Simeon and Anna met the Saviour in the temple. The Latins call it the *feast of St. Simeon*, the *presentation of the Lord*, and *Candlemas*, because many candles were then lighted up; as had been done on the *Lupercalia*, the festival of the ravishment of Proserpine, whom her mother Ceres searched for with candles. See Hospinian, *de Festis Christianor.* p. 52, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ [This feast is generally celebrated the 25th of March; and is called by the Greeks *ἡμέρα ἀσπασμοῦ*, sive *εὐαγγελισμοῦ*, the *day of the salutation*, or of the *annunciation*; because on it the angel Gabriel *announced to Mary* that she should bring forth the Saviour. The Latins absurdly call it the *annunciation*

of *Mary*. To avoid interrupting the Lent fast, the Spaniards celebrated it on the 18th of December, and the Armenians on the 5th of January; the other churches kept it the 25th of March. It is mentioned in the 52nd canon of the council in Trullo, A.D. 691, as a festival then fully established and known, but at what time it was first introduced is uncertain. See Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 1234. *Tr.*]

⁹ [I know not what induced Dr. Mosheim to place the introduction of this feast in this century. If the superscriptions to the homilies of Maximus of Turin (who lived A.D. 420) are correct, this feast must have been common in the fifth century; for three of these homilies are superscribed, as being composed for this feast. Perhaps Dr. Mosheim had his eye on the twenty-first canon of the council held at Agde, A.D. 506, (Harduin's Collection, tom. ii. p. 1000,) where the festival of St. John is mentioned among the greater feasts. Yet as it is there mentioned as one already known, it must have been in existence some years. Moreover heathenish rites were mixed with this feast. The feast of St. John, and the dancing around a tree set up, were usages, as well of the German and northern nations, as of the Romans. The former had their Noodfyr, (on which Joh. Reiske published a book, Francf. 1696, 8vo.) and the latter used, about this time, [the 24th of June,] to keep the feast of Vesta, with kindling a new fire, amid dances and other sports. *Schl.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES AND SEPARATIONS FROM THE
CHURCH.

§ 1. Remains of the ancient sects. Manichæans. Pelagians.—§ 2. Donatists.—
§ 3. Arians.—§ 4. State of the Nestorians.—§ 5. Eutychian contests. Severus.—
§ 6. Jac. Baradaeus, the father of the Monophysites.—§ 7. Their state.—§ 8. Con-
troversies among them.—§ 9. The Agnoëtæ.—§ 10. Tritheists.

§ 1. THE ancient sects, though harassed in numberless ways, did not cease to raise dangerous commotions in various places. Among the Persians, the Manichæans are said to have become so powerful as to seduce even the son of *Cabades* the king: but he avenged the crime, by making a great slaughter of them. They must also have been troublesome in other countries; for *Heracianus* of Chalcedon wrote a book against them.¹ In Gaul and Africa, the contests between the Semi-Pelagians and the followers of *Augustine* continued.

§ 2. The Donatists were comfortably situated so long as the Vandals reigned in Africa. But they were less favoured when this kingdom was overturned in the year 534. Yet they not only kept up their church, but near the close of the century, or from the year 591, ventured to defend it with more courage, and to extend its influence. These efforts of theirs were vigorously opposed by *Gregory* the Great; who, as appears from his *Epistles*², endeavoured in various ways to depress the sect now raising its head again. And his measures, doubtless, were successful; for the Donatist church became extinct in this century; at least no mention is made of it at any subsequent time.

¹ See Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* cxiv. p. 291.

² See his *Epistolar.* lib. iv. ep. 34, 35, p. 714, 715, and lib. vi. ep. 65, p. 841, ep. 37, p. 821, and lib. ix. ep. 53, p. 972, and lib. ii. ep. 48, p. 611. *Op. tom. ii.* [The emperor Mauricius is-

sued penal laws against them in the year 595. It is a probable conjecture of Witsius, (*Historia Donatist.* cap. viii. § 9,) that the conquests of the Saracens in Africa, in the 7th century, put an end to the Donatist contest. *Schl.*]

§ 3. The Arians, at the commencement of this century, were triumphant in some parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Not a few of the Asiatic bishops favoured them. The Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Italy, many of the Gauls, the Suevi, the Burgundians, and the Spaniards, openly espoused their interest. The Greeks, indeed, who approved of the Nicene council, oppressed and also punished them, where they could: but the Arians returned the like treatment, especially in Africa and Italy.³ This prosperity of the Arians wholly terminated when, under the auspices of *Justinian*, the Vandals were driven from Africa, and the Goths from Italy.⁴ For the other Arian kings, *Sigismund* king of the Burgundians, *Theodimir* king of the Suevi in Lusitania, and *Reccared* king of Spain, without violence and war, suffered themselves to be led to a renunciation of the Arian doctrine, and to efforts for its extirpation among their subjects by means of legal enactments and councils. Whether reason and arguments, or hope and fear, had the greater influence in the conversion of these kings, it is difficult to say.⁵ But this is certain, that the Arian sect was from this time dispersed, and could never afterwards recover any strength.

§ 4. The Nestorians, after they had obtained a fixed residence in Persia, and had located the head of their sect at Seleucia, were as successful as they were industrious, in disseminating their doctrines in the countries lying without the Roman empire. It appears from unquestionable documents still existing, that there were numerous societies in all parts of Persia, in India, in Armenia, in Arabia, in Syria, and in other countries, under the jurisdiction of the *patriarch* of Seleucia, during this

³ Procopius, *de Bello Vandal.* l. i. c. 3, and *de Bello Gothico*, lib. i. c. 2. Evagrius, *Historia Eccles.* l. iv. cap. 15, &c.

⁴ See Joh. Ja. Mascovii *Historia Germanor.* tom. ii. the subversion of the Vandalic kingdom, p. 76, of that of the Goths, p. 91. On the accession of the barbarians to the Nicene faith respecting God, see *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii, p. 275, and tom. ii. Aprilis, p. 134.

⁵ [The latter is to me the most probable. The kings of these nations were very ignorant, and made war rather than science their trade. Among

such a people, conviction of the understanding is little to be expected. Arguments of expediency would have more effect. They were surrounded by orthodox Christians, who would deprive them of their territories, on the ground that they were heretics. If therefore they would enjoy peace and quietude, they must make up their minds to embrace the Nicene faith. Many of these conversions also were brought about by ladies; for instance, the conversion of Hermengild, a West Gothic prince, by his French wife Ingunda. *Schl.*]

century.⁶ The Persian kings were not, indeed, all equally well affected towards this sect; and they sometimes severely persecuted all Christians resident in their dominions⁷: yet generally their disposition was far more favourable towards the Nestorians than to those who followed the council of Ephesus: for they suspected the latter to be spies of the Greeks, with whom they agreed as to religion.

§ 5. The sect of the *Monophysites* was no less favourably situated; and it drew over to its side a great part of the East. In the first place, the emperor *Anastasius*⁸ was attached to the sect and to the dogmas of the *Acephali*, or more rigid *Monophysites*⁹; and he did not hesitate, on the removal of *Flavianus* from the see of Antioch, in 513, to prefer in his place *Severus* a learned monk of Palestine, who was devoted to that sect, and from whom the *Monophysites* took the name of *Severians*.¹ This man exerted all his powers to destroy the credit of the council of Chalcedon in the East, and to strengthen the party which professed but *one nature* in Christ: and his zealous efforts produced most grievous commotions.² But the emperor *Anastasius* dying in the year 518, *Severus* was expelled from his see; and the sect which he had so zealously propagated, was restrained and depressed by *Justin* and the succeeding emperors,

⁶ Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, lib. ii. p. 125, in Bern. de Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum Græcor.* of which, the Preface, p. xi. &c. is worth reading.

⁷ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 109. 407. 411. 441. 449, and tom. iii. pt. ii. cap. v. § 2, p. lxxiii. &c.

⁸ [A. D. 491—518. *Tr.*]

⁹ Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 30. 44, &c. Theodorus Lector, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. p. 562. A catalogue of the Works of Severus, collected from MS. copies, is in Bernh. de Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 53, &c. [According to Evagrius, *loc. cit.* Anastasius was not zealous for any party; but was a great lover of peace, and determined neither to make, nor to suffer, any change in the ecclesiastical constitution; that is, he adhered to the *Henoticon* of Zeno his predecessor. This was taking the *middle ground*; for the more strenuous Monophysites rejected the *Henoticon*, and insisted on an explicit condemnation of the council of Chalcedon; while the more rigid catholics, who also disliked

the *Henoticon*, were for holding fast every tittle of the decisions of Chalcedon. See Walch, *Historie der Ketzeren*, vol. vi. p. 930. 946, 947, 948. *Tr.*]

¹ See Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 47. 321, &c. Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 127, 128. 130. 135. 138, &c. [See a notice of Severus, above, ch. ii. note³, p. 27. *Tr.*]

² Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 33. Cyrillus, *Vita Sabæ*, in Jo. Bapt. Cotelier's *Monumenta Eccles. Græca*, tom. iii. p. 312. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critique*, tom. i. art. *Anastasius*. [There is some ambiguity in Dr. Mosheim's statement. Who was *this man*, that exerted all his powers against the council of Chalcedon? Dr. Maclaine understood Mosheim to refer to the emperor Anastasius. But other translators preserve the ambiguity. Historical facts show that it was Severus, rather than Anastasius, who persecuted the Chalcedonians. See Evagrius, as referred to above, lib. iii. c. 33. *Tr.*]

to such a degree, that it seemed very near ruin: it nevertheless elected *Sergius* for its patriarch, in place of *Severus*.³

§ 6. When the Monophysites were all but hopeless of preservation, and very few of their bishops remained, some of them being dead, and others in captivity, an obscure man, *Jacobus*, surnamed *Baradaeus*, or *Zanzalus*, to distinguish him from others of the name, restored their fallen state.⁴ He was a monk, with no resources but constancy of mind, and extraordinary patience of labour, who, being consecrated bishop by some prelates confined in prison, travelled over all the East, on foot, constituted a vast number of bishops and presbyters, revived every where the drooping spirits of the Monophysites, and effected so much by his eloquence and astonishing diligence, that when he died, in the year 578, at Edessa, where he had been bishop, he left his sect most flourishing in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and other countries.⁵ He extinguished nearly all the dissensions among the Monophysites: and as their churches were so widely dispersed in the East, that a single bishop at Antioch could not well govern them all, he associated with him a *Maphrian* or *primate* of the East, whose residence was at *Tagritum*, on the borders of Armenia.⁶ His efforts were not a little aided in Egypt and the neighbouring regions, by *Theodosius* of Alexandria. From this

³ See Abulpharaji *Series Patriarch. Antiochen.* in Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 323. [For a full and minute examination of the Monophysite history, see Walch's *Historie der Ketzereyen*, namely, during the reign of Anastasius, vol. vi. p. 936—1054; under Justin, vol. vii. p. 52—128; and under Justinian, *ibid.* p. 128—362. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. ii. cap. viii. p. 62. 72. 326. 331. 414, &c. Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 119. 133. 425, &c. and *Liturgie Oriental.* tom. ii. p. 333. 342. Faustus Nairon, *Euoplia Fidei Catholice ex Syrorum Monumentis*, pt. i. p. 40, 41. [Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 481—490. Jacobus Baradaeus was a Syrian monk, and a pupil of Severus, archbishop of Antioch. His ordination is placed by some in the year 545, by others in 551. His death all place in the year 578. Some call him bishop of Edessa; others make him to have been bishop at large.

The number of bishops, priests, and deacons ordained by him is reported to be 100,000. That he put an end to the divisions and contests among the Monophysites, as Dr. Mosheim asserts, is not stated in any of the authorities quoted by Walch. As the Monophysites, all over the East, are to this day called Jacobites, from this Jacobus Baradaeus; so the orthodox Greeks are called Melchites, from the Syriac, *Melcha*, a king, as being adherents to the religion of the imperial court. *Tr.*]

⁵ For the Nubians and Abyssinians, see Asseman, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 330. Heron. Loba, *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 36. Job. Ludolph, *Comment. ad Historiam Ethiop.* p. 451. 461. 466. For the other countries, see the writers of their history.

⁶ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 410. 414. 418. likewise his *Dissert. de Monophysitis*, prefixed to tom. ii. of this *Bibliotheca*.

man, as the second father of the sect, all the Monophysites in the East are called *Jacobites*.

§ 7. Thus the imprudence of the Greeks, and their inconsiderate zeal for maintaining the truth, caused the Monophysites to become consolidated into a permanent body. From this period, the whole community has been under the government of two bishops or *patriarchs*, one of Alexandria and the other of Antioch, who, notwithstanding a disagreement between the Syrians and Egyptians, in some particulars, are very careful to maintain communion with each other, by letters and kind offices. Under the patriarch of Alexandria, is the *primate* or *Abbuna* of the Abyssinians; and under the patriarch of Antioch, the *Maphrian* or *primate* of the East, whose residence is at Tagritum in Mesopotamia. The Armenians have their own bishop, and are distinguished from the other Monophysites by some peculiar rites and opinions.

§ 8. Before the sect of the Monophysites could acquire this organisation and strength, various disagreements and controversies prevailed among them; and particularly at Alexandria, a difficult, knotty question was moved concerning the body of Christ. *Julian* of Halicarnassus⁷, in the year 519, maintained that the divine nature had so insinuated itself into the body of Christ, from the very moment of conception, as to change its nature, and render it *incorruptible*. With him agreed *Cajanus* [or *Gajanus*] of Alexandria; from whom believers in this opinion were called *Cajanists*.⁸ The advocates of this doctrine became divided into three parties; two of which disagreed on the question, whether Christ's body was *created* or *uncreated*; and the third maintained, that Christ's body was indeed corruptible, but on account of the influence of the divine nature, never became in fact corrupted. This sect was vigorously resisted by the celebrated *Severus* of Antioch, and *Damianus*, who maintained that the body of Christ, before his resurrection, was *corruptible*, that is, was liable to the ordinary changes of human

⁷ [Julian is noticed among the writers of the century, above, p. 27, note ³. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Gajanus was archdeacon of Alexandria, under the patriarch Timotheus III.: and on his death, in the year 534, elected patriarch of Alexandria, by the monks and the populace, in opposition to Theodosius, the bishop of the court

party. Great commotions now existed in Alexandria; and Gajanus was soon deposed. He fled first to Carthage, and then to Sardinia; and we hear little more about him. It is not known that he wrote any thing. See Liberatus, *Breviar.* cap. 20, and Leontius, *de Sectis*, art. v. *Tr.*]

nature. Those who agreed with *Julian*, were called *Aphthartodocetæ*, *Docetæ*, *Phantasiastæ*, and also *Manichæans*; because, from their opinion it might be inferred that *Christ* did not *really* suffer, feel hungry, fall asleep, and experience the other sensations of a man; but that he only *appeared* to suffer, sleep, be hungry, thirsty. Those who agreed with *Severus*, were called *Phthartolatræ*, and *Ktistolatræ* or *Creaticolæ*. This controversy was agitated with great warmth in the reign of *Justinian*, who favoured the *Aphthartodocetæ*: but it afterwards gradually subsided.⁹ A middle path between the two parties was taken by *Xenaias*, or *Philoxenus* of Maubug¹; for he and his associates held, that *Christ* really suffered what happens to our nature, but from no physical compulsion, only from choice.²

§ 9. Some of the *Corrupticolæ*, as they were called, particularly *Themistius*, a deacon of Alexandria, and *Theodosius*, bishop of that city, in the ardour of disputation, fell upon another sentiment towards the close of this century³, which caused new commotions. They affirmed that while all things were known by the *divine* nature of *Christ*, to his *human* nature which was united with it, many things were unknown. As they admitted but one nature in *Christ*⁴ others interpreted their doctrine as making the divine nature a participator in this ignorance; and hence they were called *Agnoëtæ*.⁵ But this new sect was feeble;

⁹ *Timotheus, de Receptione Hæreticor.* in Jo. Bapt. Cotelier's *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* tom. iii. p. 409. Liberatus, *Breviarium Controv.* cap. 20. Jo. Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-theologicae*, lib. iii. c. 18, 108, &c. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 457. [The contests respecting the *corruptibility* of *Christ's* body, both among the Monophysites and the orthodox, are fully examined, in Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 550—644. *Tr.*]

¹ [Or Hierapolis. *Tr.*]

² Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 22, and p. 168, &c.

³ [This controversy began before the middle of the century; for *Themistius* was a deacon under *Timotheus III.* who died in the year 535. *Theodosius* succeeded in that year; but was removed about A.D. 537. The heat of the controversy seems to have been about A.D. 550 or 560; yet it was rife in the time of

Gregory the Great, and the sect existed till some time in the seventh century. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Or were *Monophysites*. *Tr.*]

⁵ Jo. Bapt. Cotelier, in the *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* tom. iii. p. 641. Mich. Le Quien, on *Damascenus de Hæresibus*, tom. i. p. 107. Jo. Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-theol.* lib. iii. cap. 19, p. 119. *Phoebastius, Biblioth. Codex cccxx.* p. 882. [Walch has given a full and satisfactory account of the *Agnoëtæ* or *Themistianî*, in his *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 644—684. It appears, that the *Agnoëtæ* merely denied that the *human* nature of *Christ* became *envisaged*, by being united with the *divine* nature;—a doctrine which few at this day will condemn. Nor did their contemporaries in general understand them to go further. But the writers of the middle ages represent them as denying altogether the omniscience of *Christ*; and many of the mo-

and therefore wasted away sooner than might have been anticipated from the animated eloquence of the disputants.

§ 10. From the controversies with the Monophysites, arose the sect of the *Tritheists*. Its author was one *John Ascunage*, a Syrian philosopher, and a Monophysite.⁶ This man imagined that there were in God three natures, or substances, numerically distinct, and connected by no common bond of *essence*: from which dogma, his adversaries deduced *Tritheism*. Among the patrons of this opinion, no one was more celebrated than *John Philoponus*, a grammarian and philosopher of great fame at Alexandria: who hence by many was accounted founder of the sect; and the members of it have been called *Philoponists*.⁷ As the sect advanced, it became divided into two parties, the *Philoponists* and the *Cononites*; the latter being so named from its leader, *Conon*, bishop of *Tarsus*.⁸ These parties agreed respecting the doctrine of three Persons in the Godhead, but were at variance respecting the explanation of the doctrine concerning the *resurrection* of our bodies. For *Philoponus* maintained that both the *matter* and the *form* of all bodies were generated, and corruptible; and, therefore, that both would be resuscitated at the resurrection: but *Conon* held, that the *matter* only, and not

derns, till quite recently, had similar views of this sect. See Walch, loc. cit. p. 675—679. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Gregory Abulpharajus, in Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 328, &c. [This is the only ancient writer that mentions this John Ascunage; and his statement is, that this John was a disciple of Samuel Peter, a Syrian philosopher who taught philosophy twenty years at Constantinople; that John succeeded him in the school; but having advanced his new doctrine, he was banished by the emperor Justinian. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* lib. v. c. 37, tom. ix. p. 358. Jo. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1288. Timotheus, *de Receptione Hæreticor.* in Jo. Bapt. Cotelier's *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* tom. iii. p. 414. John Damascenus, *de Hæresibus*, Opp. tom. i. p. 103, ed. Le Quin. [John Philoponus was born, and probably spent his life, at Alexandria: he was a literary layman, and deeply read in the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies; y^e was a Chris-

tian, and a Monophysite, as most of the Alexandrians in his day were. The time of his birth and death is unknown; but it appears, that he was a writer from about A.D. 560, till several years into the seventh century. Whether his own reflections or the books of John Ascunage first led him to his Tritheism, is uncertain. His works now extant are, a book on the *Hexæmeron*; another, on *Easter*, one against *Proclus*, to prove the world not eternal; a book on the *Gr. dialects*; and *Commentaries* on various works of Aristotle: his lost works were, on the *Resurrection*; against the council of *Chalcedon*; against the sentiments of John archbishop of Constantinople, respecting the *Trinity*; against *Jamblichus de Simulacris*; against *Severus*; and a book on *Union*, entitled *Διατριβὴς* sive *Arbiter*; a valuable extract from which is preserved. See Cave, *Hist. Litterar.* tom. i. p. 267, and Walch, *Historie der Ketzeren*, vol. viii. p. 702, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ Photius, *Biblioth. Codex* xxiv. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 329, &c.

the form, of bodies was corruptible and to be resuscitated.⁹ To both these stood opposed the *Damianists*; so named from *Damianus*¹ of Alexandria. These made a distinction between the divine *essence* and the three *Persons* of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In other words, they denied that each Person, by himself and in nature, was God; but maintained that the three Persons had a *common God or divinity*, by an undivided participation of which, each one was God. The Father, Son and Holy Spirit, they denominated *Hypostases*²; and what was common to them, *God, substance, and nature*.³

⁹ [For a full account of the disagreement between the Cononites and the other Philoponists, respecting the resurrection of the body, see Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 762—778. *Tr.*]

¹ [The Monophysite patriarch. *Tr.*]

² [Or *Persons*. *Tr.*]

³ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. ii. p. 78. 332, &c. [The controversies respecting the Trinity in unity, which are the subject of this section, are minutely investigated by Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. viii. p. 685—762. He concludes that Philoponus and his sect were really, though perhaps unconsciously, Tritheists: for

Philoponus held to a merely *specific unity* in God, and not to a *numerical unity*; that is, he taught that the three Persons in the Trinity had a *common nature*, in the same sense that Paul and Peter had a common nature, and as all the angels have a common nature. (Walch, l. c. p. 728, &c.) The Damianists, on the contrary, rejecting the idea of a mere *specific unity* in God, held the three divine Persons to be *numerically one*, except as distinguished by *certain characteristic marks*: so that he was really on Sabellian ground. (Walch, loc. cit. p. 753—757.) See also Münscher's *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. iii. p. 512—716, ed. Marp. 1818. *Tr.*]

CENTURY SEVENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPERITY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity propagated in China.—§ 2. The English converted. —§ 3. Also the Gauls, Suevi, Frieslanders, Franks, and Helvetii.—§ 4. Judgment concerning these Apostles.—§ 5. Jews compelled to embrace Christianity.

§ 1. THE Christian religion was, in this century, diffused beyond its former bounds, both in the eastern and western countries. In the East, the Nestorians, with incredible industry and perseverance, laboured to propagate it from Persia, Syria, and India, among the barbarous and savage nations inhabiting the deserts and the remotest shores of Asia; and that their zeal was not inefficient, appears from numerous proofs still existing. In particular, the vast empire of China was illumined, by this zeal and industry, with the light of Christianity. Those who regard as genuine and authentic, that very famous *Chinese monument of Sigan*, which was discovered in the seventeenth century, believe that Christianity was introduced into China in the year 636, when *Jesujabas* of Gadala presided over the Nestorian community.¹ And those who look upon this as a fabri-

¹ This celebrated monument has been sons; in particular, by Athan. Kircher, published and explained by several per- *China Illustrata*, p. 53. Andr. Muller,

cation of the Jesuits, may be fully satisfied by other and unexceptionable proofs, that China, especially the northern part of it, contained, in this century, or perhaps even earlier, numerous Christians, over whom presided, during several subsequent centuries, a *metropolitan*, sent out by the patriarch of the Chaldeans or Nestorians.²

§ 2. The Greeks were hindered by intestine dissensions, from caring much for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen.³ In the West, among the Anglo-Saxons, *Augustine*,

in a distinct treatise, Berlin, 1762, 4to. Euseb. Renandot, *Relations Anciennes des Indes et de la Chine, de deux Voyageurs Mahométans*, p. 228—271, Paris, 1718, 8vo. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. c. iv. § 7, p. 538, &c. A more accurate copy, with notes, was expected from the very learned Theoph. Siegfr. Bayer, much distinguished for his knowledge of Chinese literature; but his premature death frustrated the expectation. I see no reason why I should not regard this monument as genuine; nor can I conceive what advantage the Jesuits could have promised themselves, from a fabrication of this sort. See Gabr. Liron, *Singularités Histor. et Littéraires*, tom. ii. p. 500, &c. [See also Tho. Yeates, *Indian Church History*, p. 85—96, Lond. 1818, 8vo. Kircher's translation of the inscription, with a comment and some notes, is given in the Appendix to Mosheim's *Historia Eccles. Tartarorum*, p. 2—28. The monument is said to be a marble slab, ten feet long, and five broad; dug up in the year 1625, at a town near Sin-gan-fu, capital of the province Shen-si. The top of the slab is a pyramidal cross. The caption to the inscription consists of nine Chinese words, formed into a square, and is thus translated: "This stone was erected to the honour and eternal memory of the Law of Light and Truth brought from Ta-cin, [Judea, or Syria,] and promulgated in China." The principal inscription is in Chinese characters; and consists of twenty-eight columns, each containing sixty-two words. It first states the fundamental principles of Christianity, and then recounts the arrival of the missionaries in 636, their gracious reception by the king, their labours and success, and the principal events of the mission, for 144 years, or till, A.D. 780. There were two persecutions, in the years 699

and 713. Soon after the second persecution, some new missionaries arrived. Then follows the date and erection of the monument, in A.D. 782. On the one side of this principal inscription there is a column of Chinese characters; on the other side, and at the bottom, is a Syriac inscription, in the Estrangelo character, containing catalogues of priests, deacons, and others, with a bishop, arranged in seven different classes. *Tr.*—"It should be added, that Böhlen disputes the genuineness of this record; but the alternative of supposing that the Jesuits forged a document, setting forth Nestorian doctrines and enterprise, is too improbable to be readily adopted."—Grant's *Bampton Lectures*, 113. *Ed.*]

² See Renandot, loc. cit. p. 51. 68, &c. *et passim*. Asseman, loc. cit. cap. ix. p. 522, &c. Theoph. Siegfr. Bayer tells us, (*Præfat. ad Museum Sinicum*, p. 84,) that he possesses some testimonies which put the subject beyond controversy. [It is the constant tradition of the Syrian Christians, that St. Thomas the Apostle made an excursion to China, and the Christians of Malabar celebrate this event in their ordinary worship; and their primate styled himself metropolitan of Hindoo and China, when the Portuguese first knew them. See Tho. Yeates, *Indian Church Hist.* p. 71—84. See also M. de Guignes, Diss. in the 30th vol. (p. 802, &c.) of the *Mémoires de Littérature, tirées des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*: which contains a defence of the genuineness of the Sigan monument, against the objections of la Croze and Beausobre. Likewise Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 291—298. *Tr.*]

³ [Yet Constantinus Porphyrogenitus states, (*de Administrando Imperio*, c. 31, in Banduriev's *Imperium Orientale*, p. 97. ed. Paris,) that the Chrobates, (the Croatians,) who then inhabited Dalma-

till his death in 605, and afterwards, other monks sent from Rome, laboured to extend and enlarge the church. And the result of their labours and efforts was, that the other six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hitherto continued in paganism, gradually came over to Christianity, and all Britain became professedly Christian.⁴ Yet we need not believe, that this change was wholly owing to the sermons and exhortations of these Roman monks and teachers; a great part of it is rather to be ascribed to the Christian wives of the kings and chiefs, who employed various arts to convert their husbands; and likewise to the rigorous laws enacted against the worshippers of idols; not to mention other causes.

§ 3. Many of the Britons, Scotch, and Irish, in this century, eager to propagate the Christian religion, visited the Batavian, Belgic, and German tribes, and there founded new churches. And this it was, that led the Germans afterwards to erect so many monasteries for Scots and Irishmen; some of which are still in being.⁵ *Columbanus*, with a few companions, had already, in the preceding century, happily extirpated in Gaul and the contiguous regions, the ancient idolatry, the roots of which had previously struck deep every where; and he persevered in these labours till the year 615, in which his death is placed; and with the aid of his disciples, carried the name of the Saviour to the Swabians, Bavarians, Franks, and other nations of Germany.⁶ *St. Gall*, one of his companions, imparted a knowledge of Christianity to the Helvetians and Swabians.⁷ *St. Kilian*,

tia, from which they had expelled the Avares, by order of Heraclius, made application to that emperor for religious instructors; and that he procured priests for them from Rome, who baptized them, and one of whom became their archbishop. See Semler's *Schœta Cap. Hist. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 20. Lucius, *de Regno Dalmaticæ*, lib. i. c. 11. Muratori, *Historia Italie*; and Jos. Sim. Asseman, in *Calendar. Eccles. Univerſe*, tom. i. p. 499, &c. *Schl.*]

⁴ Beda, *Historia Eccles. gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91, &c. cap. xiv. p. 116; lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, ed. Chillet. Rapiu Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. i. p. 222, &c.

⁵ See *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 362.

⁶ Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, sæc. ii. p. 560, &c. tom. iii.

p. 72. 339. 500, and elsewhere. Adamanni, lib. iii. de S. Columbano; in Hen. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 674. —[See a brief account of St. Columbanus, above, p. 21, note *. *Tr.*]

⁷ Walafrid Strabo, *Vita Sti Galli*; in Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, sæc. ii. p. 228 [ed. Venice, p. 215, &c.] Hen. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. i. p. 783. [St. Gall, or St. Gallus, was born in Ireland, of religious parents, who early committed him to Columbanus for education. He became a monk of Bangor, under Columbanus, and was one of the twelve Irish monks who left Ireland with Columbanus about the year 589, travelled through England to the continent, and erected the monastery of Luxeuil in Burgundy. When Columbanus was driven from this monastery, twenty years after, St. Gall accompa-

a Scotchman, converted a great many to *Christ*, among the eastern Franks.⁸ Near the close of the century, in the year 690, *Willibrord*, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, namely, *Suidbert*, *Wigbert*, *Acca*, *Wilibald*, *Unibald*, *Lebwin*, the two *Ewalds*, *Werenfrid*, *Marcelin*, and *Adalbert*, crossed over to *Batavia*, lying opposite to Britain, with a view to convert the Frieslanders to Christianity. Then they went, in the year 692, to *Fostelandia*, which most writers suppose to be the island of *Heligoland*: being driven thence by *Radbod*, king of the Frieslanders, who put *Wigbert*,

nied him in exile. Ascending the Rhine, they penetrated the heart of Switzerland, about the year 610, and took residence among pagans, at Tuggen, at the head of the lake of Zurich. Attacking idolatry, St. Gall here burned the pagan temple, and cast their offerings into the lake. This enraged the people, and the monks had to flee. Travelling through the canton of St. Gall, they came to Arbon, on the shores of the lake of Constance. Here Willimar, the presbyter of the place, treated them kindly, and aided them to form a settlement at Brengents, at the eastern extremity of the lake. Here the monks attempted to convert the surrounding pagans, and were not without some success. But at the end of two years the unconverted procured an order from the duke for the monks to quit the country. Columbanus and the rest now retired to Bobbio, in Italy; but St. Gall was left behind, sick. When recovered, he retired into the wilderness with a few adherents, and erected the monastery of St. Gall, in the province of the same name. Here he spent the remainder of his days, in great reputation and honour. He refused the bishopric of Constance, which he conferred on his pupil John. His monastery flourished much, and spread light over the surrounding country. St. Gall died at Arbon, but was interred in his monastery, at the age of ninety-five, according to Mabillon. His sermon at the ordination of John at Constance, and some epistles, are published by Canisius, *loc. cit.* His life by Walafrid Strabo, from which this notice is extracted, though full of legendary tales, is written in a far better style than the ordinary monkish biographies. It appears, according to Strabo, that Switzerland was almost wholly pagan when

first visited by Columbanus in 610; but that Christianity had then made considerable progress in Germany, from the lake of Constance all along the right bank of the Rhine. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Or Franconians. *Tr.*] Vita S. Kiliani, in Henr. Canisii, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. p. 171, &c. J. Pet. de Ludiwig, *Scriptores rerum Würtzburgens.* p. 966. [See also the life of St. Kilian, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* sæc. ii. p. 951—953, ed. Venice, 1733. According to the authorities, St. Kilian, Chilian, Cylian, Cilian, or Kyllena, was an Irishman, of honourable birth and good education. In early life he had a great thirst for knowledge; and, being very pious, and possessing a perfect knowledge of missionary enterprises, he planned one of his own. Taking with him Coloman, Gallon, and Arneval, presbyters, Donatus, a deacon, and seven others, he penetrated into Franconia, which was wholly pagan, and took residence at Herbipolis, or Würtzburg. Finding their prospects good, Kilian, Coloman, and Totnan, went to Italy, to obtain the papal sanction to their enterprise; which having readily obtained from Conon, (who was pope eleven months, ending Sept. 686) they returned to Würtzburg, converted and baptized Gosbert, the duke, and a large number of his subjects. But afterwards, persuading the duke that it was unlawful for him to have his brother's wife, Gelian, she seized an occasional absence of her husband, and murdered all the missionaries. This cruel act is placed in the year 696. But the massacre did not prevent the progress of Christianity; for the duchess became deranged, the assassins repented; and St. Kilian became the tutelar saint of Würtzburg. *Tr.*]

one of the company, to death, they wandered over *Cimbria* and the adjacent parts of *Denmark*. Returning to *Friesland*, in the year 693, they attacked the superstition of the country with better success. *Willibrord* was now created by the Roman pontiff, archbishop of *Willeburg*⁹, and died, at an advanced age, among the Batavians: while his associates spread a knowledge of Christianity among the Westphalians, and other neighbouring nations.¹

§ 4. Upon these and other expeditions, undertaken for extending Christianity, a man strictly guided by the truth cannot speak in one unvarying tone of commendation. That some of the missionaries were men of honest simplicity and piety, no one can doubt. But most of them show manifest proofs of various sinful passions, as arrogance, avarice, and cruelty; and having received authority from the Roman pontiff to exercise their sacred functions among the barbarians, they did not so much collect holy congregations of devout Christians, as procure for themselves a people, among whom they might act the part of sovereigns and lords. I cannot, therefore, strongly censure those who suspect that some of these monks, being desir-

⁹ [Since called Utrecht. *Tr.*]

¹ Alcuin, *Vita Willebrordi*, in Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. sæc.* iii. p. 604, &c. [559, &c. ed. Venice.] Jo. Möller, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 980, &c. [Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 11, 12. This famous missionary was born in Northumberland, about A. D. 659, of pious parents. Educated in the monastery of Ripon (Hripum) in Northumberland, (Yorkshire, anciently in the kingdom of Northumbria,) at the age of twenty, he went to Ireland, where he studied twelve years. At the age of thirty-three he commenced his mission, and sailed up the Rhine to Utrecht, in the dominions of Radbod, the pagan king of the Friesians. Soon after he went to France, and by advice of king Pipin, visited Italy, and obtained the sanction of pope Sergius to his enterprise. Returning to Utrecht, he in vain attempted the conversion of Radbod and his subjects. Therefore, proceeding northwards, he landed at an island called Fositeland, which was on the confines of Denmark and Friesland, and so sacred, that its fruit, its animals, and even its waters, were holy, and whoever profaned them was to be punished with death. Willibrord and his company

wholly disregarded the sacredness of the place, violated the laws, were arraigned before Radbod, who cast lots on their destiny, by which one was doomed to death, and the others dismissed. They now penetrated into Denmark. On their return to the confines of France, Pipin, who in 693 had vanquished Radbod, sent Willibrord again to Italy, to be consecrated archbishop of Utrecht. Pope Sergius now gave him the name of Clemens. Returning clothed with dignity, his friend Pipin aided him in his work; and for about fifty years, from his leaving England, he laboured, and with much success, as the apostle of the Frieslanders. He died about the year 740, at the advanced age of 81. Thus far Alcuin's narrative goes. Of his followers, it is said, that the two Ewalds (the one called the *white*, and the other the *black* Ewald,) were put to death by a Saxon king, and their bodies cast into the Rhine; that Suidbert preached to the Brueteri near Cologne, and at last at Kaiserwerth, on the Rhine, where he died A. D. 713; that Willibald became bishop of Eichstadt in Bavaria; and Marcellinus, bishop of the country along the Issel. *Tr.*]

ous of ruling, concealed for a time their vicious propensities under the veil of religion, and imposed upon themselves various hardships, that they might acquire the rank and honours of bishops and archbishops.

§ 5. Of the Jews, very few, if any, voluntarily embraced Christianity. But the Christians compelled many of them, in different places, by means of penalties, to make an outward profession of belief in *Christ*. The emperor *Heraclius*, being incensed against them, as is reported, by the influence of Christian doctors, made havoc of the miserable nation; and ordered vast numbers of them to be dragged reluctantly to baptism.² The kings of Spain and Gaul had no hesitation to do the same, although even the Roman pontiffs were indignant.³ Such were the evils that resulted from ignorance of true Christian principles, and from the age's barbarism.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.*

§ 1. Augustine despatched on a mission into England.—§ 2. Its partial failure.—§ 3. Christianity established in Kent.—§ 4. Conversion of Northumbria, and eventual triumph of the Roman party.—§ 5. Conversion of Mercia.—§ 6. Conversion of Essex.—§ 7. Conversion of East Anglia.—§ 8. Conversion of Wessex. § 9. Conversion of Sussex.

§ 1. THE importance of England, from political power, extension of language, literary eminence, and primitive ecclesiastical polity, demands a particular account of her conversion, by way of supplement to notices of the prosperous events of the seventh century. The known history of her Christian profession begins, indeed, at the close of the preceding age, when Augustine, the Roman monk, obtained a permanent footing in Kent.¹ This devoted and indefatigable missionary had been prior of the monastery of St. Martin, at Rome. Gregory I., or the Great, then

² Eutychius, *Annales Ecclesie Alexandr.* tom. ii. p. 212, &c.

³ [See some authorities on this subject, quoted by Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* ad.

ann. 614, sub fin. tom. viii. p. 239, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Augustine's commission from the pope is dated 596, his arrival in Kent,

pope, had meditated a mission into England, during several years, and being unable to undertake it in person, he selected Augustine for the honourable enterprise. There were several reasons obviously encouraging expectation of success. Britain had been converted early, though the precise period is unascertainable, and a flourishing church there had been found by the pagan Saxons. Under the weight of their long hostilities, and heathen zeal, it had necessarily fallen; but still the Christian Britons were not extinct. They remained unsubdued in Wales, and in the furthest portions of Western England. Probably they remained also intermingled with their Saxon conquerors, through every district of South Britain. But Gregory chiefly calculated upon success, from a favourable opening at the Kentish court. Ethelbert, king of Kent, the *Bretwalda*, or admitted chief among the Anglo-Saxon monarchs of his day, had espoused Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris, on condition of allowing her to continue in the profession of Christianity. She, probably, soon undermined the pagan prejudices of her husband.² Augustine, accordingly, seems to have found little difficulty in converting Ethelbert, and in giving a Christian face to the petty kingdom of Kent.

§ 2. But his views took a much wider range, though not entirely from missionary zeal. His employer, Gregory, was anxious to organise a British church, strictly conformable to that of Rome. He did not, indeed, wish to force the Roman ritual upon the insular Christians. Augustine had his express permission to use any other that might seem more eligible.³ The missionary was, however, meant for primate of Britain⁴, and all the island was to be rendered conformable with Roman usages. Now these objects were obviously of no easy attainment. The Welsh and West of England Britons had bishops of their own, were *quarto-decimans*, or kept Easter according to the ancient fashion of Asia Minor, and varied in some other particulars from the religious habits of Rome.⁵ Augustine had sufficient

597. Wharton, *de Vera Success. Archiep. Cantuar. Anglia Sacra*, i. 89.

² Gregory writes to her that she *ought* to have done so. (*Epist.* 59, lib. 9.) He probably knew that she *had* done so.

³ Bed. *Hist. Eccl.* ed. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, p. 60.

⁴ Whether this was formally pro-

posed to the British Christians, does not appear. They were, however, aware of Augustine's claim, and peremptorily repelled it: *Neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros esse respondant*, lb. 102.

⁵ "The peculiarities of the later church in Britain are an argument against its deriving its origin from Rome;

influence to obtain two conferences with their prelacy, and some others, to represent their opinions, upon the borders of Worcestershire. But disappointment closed both interviews. Exception was taken to his haughty manners; and the Britons had evidently no thought of surrendering their independence or peculiarities. At his death, which appears to have happened shortly after, Augustine had effected little more than the organization of a church in Kent, in communion with that of Rome.⁶

§ 3. Even this contracted establishment soon appeared on the very verge of extinction. Ethelbert, in declining age, lost Bertha, his Christian wife, and then espoused a younger female. When he died himself, his own son, Eadbald, married the widow, and eluded Christian objections to such indecency, by relapsing into paganism. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury, not only found expostulation hopeless, but also saw very little prospect of retaining any hold upon the Kentish population. He therefore made preparations for a withdrawal to the continent. When all was ready, he tried a last experiment upon the semi-savage prince, by submitting to such a flagellation, as left marks upon his shoulders. These he exhibited to the king of Kent, assuring him that the chastisement had come from no meaner hand than that of St. Peter himself, who had, last night, thus added pungency to severe animadversions upon his proposed dereliction of duty. His hearer was no match for this. He relinquished his incestuous connexion, became a Christian again, and saved the Kentish church.⁷

§ 4. A sister of his, named Ethelburga, or Tate, was married to Edwin, king of Northumbria, and went into the north, as her mother, Bertha, did into Kent, under an express stipulation of allowance in the profession of Christianity.⁸ By her influence,

for that church departed from the Romish in many ritual points; it agreed far more with the churches of Asia Minor, and it withstood for a long time the authority of the Romish church. This appears to prove, that the British received, either immediately or by means of Gaul, their Christianity from Asia Minor, which may easily have taken place through their commercial intercourse." (Rose's trans. of Neander's *Hist. of the Christ. Rel. and Ch.* p. 80.) "There are many traces of a connexion

having existed between the Christians in that part of the world" (the south of France) "and those of Asia Minor. It has been supposed that Polycarp sent missionaries into Gaul." Burton's *Hist. of the Christ. Ch.* Lond. 1838, p. 237.

⁶ Wharton refers Augustine's death to 604. But the date is uncertain, and various years have been named, down to 616.

⁷ Bed. 113.

⁸ Ib. 120.

aided by the dexterity of Paulinus, her principal chaplain, the prince and court of Northumbria became Christian; an example which was imitated extensively by the population.⁹ A successful pagan invasion, however, drove Ethelburga with Paulinus back into Kent, and gave to the country its former heathen appearance.¹ Its final adoption of Christianity flowed from the exertions of Oswald, one of the old royal family, who had been educated in Scotland, among members of the ancient British church.² He sent into that country for some one to conduct a mission, and Aidan, a distinguished monk of Iona, answered the summons. For him an episcopal see was founded at Lindisfarne, and his high character was fully maintained in Northumbria. It was under this bishop and his two admirable successors, Finan and Colman, that the north of England was converted to Christianity. All the three were not only unconnected with Rome, but also at variance with her about Easter and other matters. Her influence in that portion of the island was finally established at the council or conference of Whitby, in 664. This was convened by means of Oswy, king of Northumbria, who had married Eanfleda, daughter of Edwin and Ethelburga, but educated in Kent, and immoveably attached to the Roman usages. Oswy's education had been among the adherents of the ancient British church, in his native Northumbria, and he long withstood his wife's example; probably, also, her importunities. At length he seems to have been wearied out with opposition, and anxious only for an opening through which he could decently give way. On hearing, accordingly, at Whitby, that St. Peter, who keeps the keys of heaven, commanded the Roman Easter, Oswy said that he must not disobey him, for fear of having the door shut when he should require admittance.³

§ 5. Still more free than even Northumbria from obligations to Roman missionary zeal, was the great kingdom of Mercia, or all the centre of England. Its king, Peada, sought a wife from the court of his northern neighbour. But the Northumbrian family would only receive such a proposal, on condition of the suitor's conversion to Christianity. These terms being accepted,

⁹ Paulinus was said to have once spent thirty-six days in catechising and baptizing upon one of the royal domains.

The king and queen were with him. Ib. 138.

¹ Ib. 152.

² Ib. 155.

³ Ib. 227.

Peada renounced paganism, and admitted a prelate from Northumbria, as the religious head of his people.⁴ The next three bishops of Mercia were all members of the ancient British church, and the whole middle of England was thus planted with a Christian population, by means of missionaries in actual opposition to Rome.

§ 6. To the ancient British church also did the kingdom of Essex really owe its conversion. This district had nominally become Christian by means of Ethelbert, the Kentish sovereign, whose name has become so famous from its connexion with Augustine. But the prospect of an escape from paganism then proved no more than a deceitful gleam. Ethelbert's influence having ceased at his death, Essex immediately relapsed into its former heathenism. It was not until Sigebert, a subsequent sovereign of the country, had been converted at the Northumbrian court, that this portion of England, eventually distinguished as the site of London, was rendered permanently Christian.⁵ Thus Northumbria, the religious pupil of anti-Roman Scotland, again stepped forward as the successful enemy of Anglo-Saxon paganism. Rome had tried in vain. The Gospel's triumph was reserved for native zeal.

§ 7. The counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, then forming the kingdom of East Anglia, found their most zealous and effective missionary in Fursey, an Irish monk.⁶ Ireland long remained free from papal influence; and records illustrative of her ancient religion, prove its general coincidence with the Protestantism of later times.⁷ Fursey's evangelical labours in East Anglia, therefore, connect the conversion of that country rather with a native mission, than with that which Gregory planned.

§ 8. To the south of the Thames, Anglo-Saxon Christianity chiefly came from Rome. Not only was it entirely so with Kent, but in Wessex, likewise, eventually the dominant kingdom, Birinus, a Roman monk, instigated by Pope Honorius, was the leading instrument in evangelizing the people. But even this

⁴ Ib. 205.

⁵ Ib. 208.

⁶ Bed. iii. 19, p. 197. Fursey appears to have arrived in England about the year 633, to have gone over into France in 648, and to have died at Mazières, in Poitou, in 650. Note to Stevenson's *Bede*, 198.

⁷ See Abp. Ussher's *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*. This was republished, with the archbishop's *Answer to a Jesuit*, and other tracts on popery, by the University of Cambridge, making altogether an octavo volume, in 1835.

missionary's success appears to have been greatly facilitated by Northumbrian influence. While Birinus struggled for a footing, Oswald, the zealous Christian king of Northern England, but a member of the ancient national church, was in Wessex for the purpose of marrying into the royal family there. He did not leave the country until he saw his father-in-law, and his bride, both members of the Christian church. To the former he stood sponsor at baptism⁸, and it is hardly doubtful that his favourable interference was highly useful to Birinus. Thus, although the mission was Roman, a power at variance with Rome seems to have been its principal dependence. Nor did Northumbrian interest in the evangelisation of Wessex cease with Oswald. Oswy, who succeeded him, persuaded Agilbert, a French monk, to preach the Gospel in that country.⁹ But this missionary had spent no small time in Ireland reading Scripture.¹ He must have brought across the channel sentiments in general unison with those of ancient Britain.

§ 9. Sussex may be considered as a Roman conversion.² The successful missionary was not, indeed, sent from Rome; but it was no other than Wilfrid, a native Saxon, famed for appeals to the pope, and an ardent papal partisan through life.³ Thus two Anglo-Saxon kingdoms only, and those the least, Kent and Sussex, were converted entirely without aid from the ancient church of Britain. All the rest of England was, more or less, indebted for Christianity to native zeal. The northern and middle regions had hardly any thing even of assistance from Rome; the evangelists of those extensive districts being in active opposition to her pontiffs and peculiarities.

⁸ Bed. iii. 7, p. 169. The conversion of Wessex is referred to 635.

⁹ Rudbourn, *Hist. Maj. Winton*, apud Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 192.

¹ Bed. iii. vii. p. 171.

² Mr. Stevenson, the recent editor of Bede, refers Wilfrid's conversion of Sussex to the year 681.

³ For the case of Wilfrid and his appeals, the reader is referred to the editor's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 82, 89. Romish writers represent him as an authority for appeals to Rome from ancient England. He certainly is an instance of such; but it appears that his countrymen disregarded them. His case really, therefore, makes against the establishment of papal authority over England.

He lived, indeed, when Italian dexterity was only beginning to triumph over the rudeness of ancient Britain. The supplanted party, though humbled, must have continued obstinate and numerous during all his life. His own applications to Rome were evidently mere experiments dictated by existing difficulties. To say nothing of his own identification with the Roman party, the ancient capital of Europe contained such canonists, and other sources of information, as were to be found no where else in the West. He might, therefore, plead, that a decision in his favour from a quarter so trustworthy, was entitled to a degree of deference that no domestic authority could challenge.

CHAPTER III.

ADVERSITIES OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Persecutions of the Christians.—§ 2. Mahumed.—§ 3. Judgment concerning him.—§ 4. Causes of the rapid progress of his religion.—§ 5. Disposition of the Mahumedans towards the Christians.—§ 6. Sects among them.

§ 1. THE Christians suffered less in this, than in the preceding centuries. By the Persian kings, they were at times persecuted; but the rage against them soon subsided. In England, some of the petty kings oppressed the new converts to Christianity: but soon after, these kings themselves became professed Christians. In the East, especially in Syria and Palestine, the Jews sometimes rose upon the Christians with great violence¹; yet so unsuccessfully, as to suffer severely for their temerity. Those living among the Christians, who secretly consulted about restoring the pagan religion, were too weak to venture on any positive measures.

§ 2. But a new and most powerful adversary of Christianity started up in *Arabia*, A. D. 612, in the reign of *Heraclius*. This was *Mahumed*, an illiterate man², indeed, but of noble birth, naturally eloquent, and possessing great acuteness of mind.³

¹ Eutychius, *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 236, &c. Jo. Hen. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, lib. i. c. iii. p. 129, &c.

² Mahumed himself professed to be destitute of science and learning, and even to be unable to read and write: and his followers have deduced from this ignorance of his, an argument for the divinity of the religion which he taught. But it is hardly credible, that he was so rude and ignorant a man. And there are some among his adherents who question the reality of the fact. See Jo. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 33, 34. Indeed when I consider that Mahumed, for a long time, pursued a gainful commerce in Arabia and the adja-

cent countries, I think that he must have been able to read, and write, and cast accounts; for merchants cannot dispense with this degree of knowledge.

³ The writers on his life and religion are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delectus et Syllabus Argumentor. pro veritate religionis Christiane*, cap. l. p. 733, &c. To which may be added count Boulanvilliers, *Vie de Mahomet*, Lond. 1730, 8vo, which, however, is rather a romance than a history. Jo. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols. 12mo, Amsterd. 1732, is commendable for the ingenuousness of the author, yet the style is dry. George Sale, a distinguished and very judicious author, in his preliminary dis-

He proclaimed that he was sent from God, not only to overthrow polytheism, but also to purge and reform the religions, first, of the Arabs, then those of the Jews and Christians. He now framed a new law, which is called the *Koran*⁴, and after gaining some victories over his enemies, he compelled an immense multitude of persons, first in Arabia, and then in the neighbouring countries, to assent to his doctrines. Elated with this unexpected success, he even began to think of founding an empire; and he effected his object with no less success than boldness; so that, at his death, he saw himself the sovereign of all Arabia, and of some neighbouring countries.

course, prefixed to his version of the *Koran*, sec. ii. [p. 45, &c. ed. Lond. 1825. H. Prideaux, *Life of Mahomet*, 1697, 8vo. Abulfeda, *Annales Muslem.* Ar. and Lat. 2 vols. 4to, Hafniae, 1790. Abulfeda, *de Vita et Rebus Gestis Mohammedis*, Arab. and Lat. Oxon. 1723. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 327—405. *Tr.*]

⁴ For an account of the *Koran*, see in preference to all others, Geo. Sale, Preliminary Discourse, prefixed to his English version of that book. Add Vertot, *Discours sur l'Alcoran*; annexed to the third volume of his *History of the Knights of Malta*, in French. Jo. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 281, new ed. The book which the Mahumédans called the *Koran*, is a collection of papers and discourses discovered and published after the death of Mahumed; and is not that *Law* which he so highly extolled. Perhaps some parts of the true *Koran* are still found in the modern *Koran*: but that the *Koran* or *Law*, which Mahumed prescribed to the Arabians, differed from the present *Koran*, is manifest from the fact, that Mahumed in our *Koran* appeals to and extols that other true *Koran*. A book which is commended and extolled in any writing, must certainly be different from that in which it is commended. May we not conjecture, that the true *Koran* was an *Arabic poem*, which Mahumed recited to his adherents, and wished them to commit to memory, but which he did not write out? Such, it is well known, were the laws of the Gallic Druids; and such is said to be that Indian law, which the Brahmins learn and preserve in their memories. [These conjectures of Dr. Mosheim appear wholly without foundation. There is no reason to believe there ever was a *Koran* essentially differ-

ent from that which we now have; or that Mahumed declined committing his pretended revelations to writing. The only argument adduced by Dr. Mosheim is of no force at all, considering the manner in which the *Koran* came into existence. The book itself professes to have been composed by God, in the highest heavens; and thence sent down to the lower heavens by the angel Gabriel, who communicated it, by parcels, to Mahumed, during the twenty-three years that he claimed to be a prophet. Moreover, the parcels revealed last, often revoked or modified what had been revealed before; and likewise replied to the objections of infidels against the book. See Sale's *Koran*, vol. i. ed. Lond. 1825, ch. vi. p. 159, and vol. ii. ch. x. p. 31. ch. xvi. p. 107, ch. xxv. p. 213, ch. xlvii. p. 497. The Mahumedan doctors say, the *Koran* existed, together with the decrees of God, from all eternity, engraven on a table of stone, hard by the throne of God, and called the *preserved table*; that God sent the angel Gabriel, with a transcript of the entire *Koran*, down to the lowest heavens, where, during twenty-three years, he revealed it by parcels to Mahumed; that Mahumed caused these parcels to be written down by his scribe, as they were received, and published them at once to his followers, some of whom took copies, while the greater part got them by heart; that the original MSS. of the scribe, when returned, were thrown promiscuously into a chest, whence they were taken, after the prophet's death, and published collectively, in their present form and order, which is wholly without regard to dates, or a classification of subjects. See Sale's *Prelim. Discourse*, sec. iii. p. 77—95. *Tr.*]

§ 3. No one can, at this day, form a perfect judgment of the entire character, views, and designs of *Mahumed*. For we cannot safely rely on the Greek writers, who made no hesitation to load their enemy with slanders and falsehoods; nor can we trust to the Arabians, the very worst of historians, who conceal his vices and crimes, and pretend that nothing ever was more divine than he. Besides, a very considerable part of his life, and that too, from which the motives and secret springs of his conduct would best appear, lies concealed from us. It is very probable, however, that abhorrence of the superstition, in which he saw his countrymen involved, so wrought upon him as to throw him into a disordered state of mind; and that he really believed himself divinely commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabs, and re-instate among them the worship of the one true God. But it is also certain, that afterwards, when he saw his attempt answer to his wishes, he deluded the fickle, credulous multitude, with impious tricks and impositions, in order to strengthen his cause; and even feigned divine revelations, whenever occasion seemed to require it, or any great difficulty occurred. Nor is this inconsistent with a character of fanaticism; for most fanatics think deception, so far as seems necessary to their designs, to be holy and approved of God; and they of course resort to deception, when they can do it safely.⁵ The religion which he inculcated is not what it would have been, if his designs had not been opposed. The pertinacity with which the Arabians adhered to the opinions and customs of their ancestors, and the hope of gaining over the Jews and Christians to his cause, undoubtedly led him to approve and tolerate many things, which he would have rejected and abrogated, if he had been at liberty to do exactly as he would.

§ 4. The causes of this new religion's rapid progress among so many nations, are not difficult to be discovered. In the first place, the terror of arms, which *Mahumed* and his successors carried with great success into different countries, compelled vast multitudes to receive his law. In the next place, his law

⁵ This, in my judgment, is the best way of deciding the controversy, which has been agitated by learned men of our age; whether Mahumed was a fanatic, or an impostor? See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique*, tom. iii. artic. *Mahomet*, note ^k. Sim. Ockley, *Conquest of*

Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens, tom. i. p. 68, Lond. 1708, 8vo. George Sale, *Preliminary Discourse* to his translation of the Koran, sec. ii. [p. 53, &c. ed. Lond. 1825. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 380, &c. *Tr.*]

itself was admirably adapted to the natural dispositions of men, but especially to the manners, opinions, and vices prevalent among the people of the East: for it was extremely simple, proposing very few things to be believed; nor did it enjoin many and difficult duties to be performed, or such as laid severe restraints on the propensities of men.⁶ Moreover, the consummate ignorance, which characterized, for the most part, the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and other nations of the East, gave a bold and eloquent man ready access to the minds of immense numbers. We may add, that the virulent contests among the Christian Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians and Monophysites, which filled a large part of the East with carnage and horrible crimes, rendered their religion odious in the eyes of many. Besides all this, the Monophysites and Nestorians themselves, whom the Greeks oppressed most grievously, rendered assistance to the Arabians, and thus facilitated their conquest of some provinces.⁷ Other causes will suggest themselves to those who consider attentively the state of the world, and the character of the Mahumedan religion.⁸

§ 5. After the death of *Mahumed*, in the year 632, his followers issued forth from Arabia, with their native fortitude stimulated by a furious fanaticism, and aided, as has been already observed, by those Christians who were persecuted by the Greeks, extended their conquests over Syria, Persia, Egypt, and some other countries.⁹ Nor could the Greeks, harassed with intestine commotions and various wars, put forth *sufficient* energy to check their rapid career. The victors, at first, used their prosperity with moderation; and were very indulgent towards the Christians, especially to those who opposed the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon. But, as is common in cases where every thing succeeds, they insensibly swerved from this moderation into severity, and so loaded the Christians with

⁶ See Hadr. Reland, *de Religione Mahomedica*, libri ii. Utrecht, 1717, 12mo. Geo. Sale, *Prelim. Dissert. to the Koran*, sec. iv. v. vi. [Han. Moore, *Dictionary of all Religions*, art. *Mahometans*, ed. 1817. Schroeckh, *Kirchen-gesch.* vol. xix. p. 356, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 163, 169. [and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, *sec.* chap. li. where this is shown by the conduct of the Copts, or Jacobites in Egypt. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Among these causes, must be reckoned the pagan race which Christianity commonly wore. Opponents could thus easily brand Christians as apostates, for whose purgation a new mission from above was absolutely necessary. *Ed.*]

⁹ See Simon Ockley, *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens*, vol. i. Lond. 1708, and vol. ii. Lond. 1817, 8vo. [also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, *sec.* ch. i. li. *Tr.*]

taxes and other burdens and injuries, that their condition more resembled that of slaves, than that of citizens.

§ 6. The civil dissensions among the Mahumedans, which arose soon after the death of their prophet, were not a little injurious to the success of their enterprises. *Abubeker*, the father-in-law, and *Ali*, the son-in-law, of *Mahumed*, engaged in a severe struggle about the right to the throne, which each claimed for himself; and this controversy being handed down to posterity, divided the whole race into two great parties, separated not only by a difference in opinions and practices, but also by deadly hatred. The two sects are called, the one *Sonnites*, and the other *Shiites*.¹ The former contend, that *Abubeker* was the true *Kalif*; the latter, that *Ali* was the legitimate successor of *Mahumed*. Both regard the *Koran* as of divine origin, and the authoritative rule in religion; but the *Sonnites* unite with it the *Sonna*, a sort of oral law, derived from *Mahumed*, and serving to explain the *Koran*; which the *Shiites* wholly discard. The Turks, Tartars, Africans, and most of the Indians, are *Sonnites*; the Persians and Mogores are *Shiites*; yet the Mogores seem to belong to neither sect.² Besides these two grand divisions, there are among the Mahumedans, four principal sects, and a great many subordinate ones; which contend sharply respecting various subjects in religion, yet practise mutual toleration.³

¹ See Adr. Reland, *de Religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 36, 70, 74, 85. Joh. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236, &c.

² The principles of the *Sonnites* may be learned from the tract published by Adr. Reland, *de Relig. Turcica*, lib. i. The religion and opinions of the *Shiites* are clearly stated by John Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. the whole.

³ On the Mahumedan sects, see Jo. Henr. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. Ricaut, *Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, lib. ii. p. 242. Jo. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236. Geo. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, sec. viii. p. 207, &c.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. State of learning. The monks its patrons. — § 2. Ignorance of the bishops. —
 § 3. History and other sciences corrupted. — § 4. State of philosophy.

§ 1. THE profound ignorance and barbarism of this century will hardly appear credible to those who have not themselves inspected the monuments which remain of it. What little of learning and wisdom still remained, with a few exceptions, was confined to the cloisters of the monks, especially among the Latins. The laws forbade any one to be made an *abbot*, unless he had some learning. The monks themselves were enjoined to employ certain hours in reading; and that they might derive greater profit from this exercise, they were required, in most monasteries, to converse and debate together, at stated times, on the subjects which they had read.¹ It was their business also to educate young men destined for the sacred office. But all the institutions of this sort were of little service to the cause of learning and to the church; because very few had any just conception of the ends and nature of the liberal arts and sciences; and most of them were more intent on the perusal of worthless writers, and the lives of saints, than on the study of valuable authors. Those who did best, were assiduous

¹ Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 479, 513, *et passim.*

in perusing the works of *Augustine* and *Gregory* the Great; and scraps gathered from these fathers, constituted the best productions of the Latin church in this century.

§ 2. Kings and noblemen were attentive to every thing, rather than to the cause of learning. The rude and unlearned bishops suffered the schools, which had been committed to their care, to languish and become extinct.² It was very rare to find among them such as could compose their own public discourses. Those who possessed some genius among them, strung together from *Augustine* and *Gregory* a parcel of jejune addresses; a part of which they kept for their own use, and the rest they imparted to their more dull and stupid colleagues, that *they* might have something fit for bringing forward. This is manifest from the examples of *Casarius* of Arles, and of *Eligius* of Noyon. There is extant also a Summary of Theology, unskilfully compiled by *Tajo*, bishop of Saragossa, from the writings of *Augustine* and *Gregory*: and this insipid performance was so highly esteemed, that the other bishops did not hesitate to pronounce the author of it *the true salt of the earth*, and a *divine luminary* in the church.³ Many such proofs of the ignorance of the times may be easily collected by one acquainted with the writers of this century. England, however, was in a happier state, in this respect, than the other countries of Europe; for *Theodore*, a Cilician, who held the see of Canterbury, of whom more will be said hereafter, introduced into that country some attachment to letters and learning.⁴

§ 3. The Greeks who attempted to write, either in poetry or prose, obscured plain and simple subjects by an inflated and tumid phraseology. The style of the Latins, with very few exceptions, was so base and corrupt, that it cannot even be commended for this perversion of taste. History was wretchedly abused, both by Greeks and Latins. Among the former *Moschus*, *Sophronius*, with others, among the latter, *Braulio*, *Jonas* an Hibernian *Audoenus*, *Dado*, and *Adamannus*, have left us biographies of several saints, but such as are insipid and ridiculous, and have neither the light of truth, nor any seasoning of language. The Greeks led the way in committing to writing indiscriminately whatever tales were current among the vulgar

² *Histoire Littéraire de la France, par les Moines Bénédict. Sept. Siècle*, tom. iii. p. 428, &c.

³ Jo. Mabillon, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 77.

⁴ Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Bri-*

about ancient times, and hence came those numerous medleys of fables, which the Latins afterwards drank in with greedy ears and minds.

§ 4. Philosophy, among the Latins, was at an end. Those who were unwilling to neglect it altogether, were satisfied with committing to memory a few words and sentences, taken from *Boethius* and *Cassiodorus*. For they were neither willing to reason for themselves, nor able to consult the Greeks, from ignorance of their language. The Greeks, abandoning *Plato* to certain of the monks, betook themselves to *Aristotle*, whose precepts were nearly indispensable, in the theological contests of the age, with the Monophysites, Nestorians, and Monothelites: for all these resorted to the Stagirite for aid, whenever they were called to the combat. Hence *James* of Edessa, a Monophysite of this century, translated Aristotle's *Dialectics* into Syriac.⁵

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Disputes about pre-eminence, between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople — § 2. The former opposed by many. — § 3. Vices of the clergy. — § 4. State of the monks. — § 5. Greek writers. — § 6. Latin writers.

§ 1. THE contest for pre-eminence between the Roman and Constantinopolitan prelates, had gained such a height in this century, that we may clearly discern the commencement of that unhappy schism which afterwards separated the Latins from the Greeks. It is commonly asserted, by men of the greatest learning, and best acquainted with ancient history, that the Roman pontiff, *Boniface III.*, prevailed on that abominable tyrant, *Phocas*, who mounted the imperial throne, after murdering the emperor *Mauricius*, to divest the bishop of Constantinople of the title of *œcumenical bishop*, and to confer it on the Roman pon-

tanicæ, tom. i. p. 42. Herm. Conrin-
gius, *Antiquitates Academicæ*, p. 277.

⁵ See Jos. Sim. Asseman. *Biblioth.
Orient. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 498.

tiff. But this is stated solely on the authority of *Baronius*¹; for no ancient writer has given such testimony. Yet *Phocas* did something analagous to this, if we may believe *Anastasius*, and *Paul Diaconus*.² For whereas the bishops of Constantinople had maintained, that their church was not only fully equal to that of Rome, but also had precedence of all other churches, *Phocas* forbade this, and determined that the priority of rank and dignity should be given to the church of Rome.

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs used indeed every means to maintain and enlarge the power and dignity which they had obtained: yet the history of this period affords many proofs, not only that emperors and kings, but that nations also, resisted those attempts. Many indications of the existence of the regal power in religious matters, and even over the pontiff himself, may be collected from the Byzantine history, and from the *Formulas of Marculfus*. The Roman writers tell us, that *Constantine Pogonatus* formally relinquished the right of confirming the election of a Roman pontiff: and they cite *Anastasius* as a witness; who states, that *Pogonatus* ordered, that a Roman pontiff elect, should be ordained forthwith and without delay.³ But this testimony does not reach the point to be proved. It appears, however, to have been the fact, that this emperor, in the time of the pontiff *Agatho*, remitted the customary payment to the court, of a sum of money for the confirmation of a pontifical election.⁴ The ancient Britons and Scots could not be moved

¹ [Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 606, No. 2. *Schl.*]

² *Anastasius, de Vitis Pontificum*, (Bonifacius III.) Paulus Diaconus, *de Rebus gestis Longobardor.* lib. iv. cap. 37, in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 465. [Anastasius says, that "whereas the church of Constantinople had claimed to be the first of all the churches, Boniface obtained from the emperor Phocas, that the Romish church, the apostolic seat of the blessed apostle Peter, (*caput esset omnium ecclesiarum*) should be the head of all the churches." Paul Diaconus says: "This emperor, Phocas, at the request of pope Boniface, decreed that the see of the Roman and apostolic church should be the first, (*primam esse*), whereas the Constantinopolitan had before assumed to be the first of all."—By being the first and the head, both the bishops of Constantinople, and the usurper Phocas,

seem to have understood merely *priority of rank*, and not that *supreme authority and dominion* which the Roman pontiffs afterwards claimed. It was intended as a compliment; but it was construed into a grant of unlimited power. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (Boniface III.) vol. ii. p. 545, &c. ed. Lond. 1750. *Tr.*]

³ *Anastasius, de Vitis Pontif.* (Benedict,) in Muratori, *Scriptor. Rerum. Italic.* tom. iii. p. 146. [The words of Anastasius are, *concessit, ut persona, quæ electa fuerit in sedem Apostolicam, e vestigio absque tarditate Pontifex ordinaretur*. That is, it should not be necessary to write to Constantinople, but merely to obtain liberty from the emperor's vicerent, the exarch of Ravenna, previously to the ordination. Moreover, history shows, that succeeding emperors did not respect this privilege. *Schl.*]

⁴ *Anastasius, de Vitis Pontif.* (Agatho,) p. 144. Compare Jo. Ja. Moscov.

for a long time, either by the threats or the promises of the papal legates, to subject themselves to the Roman decrees and laws; as is abundantly testified by *Bede*.⁵ The Gauls and the Spaniards, as no one can deny, attributed just so much authority to the pontiff, as they thought likely to make for their own advantage.⁶ Nor in Italy itself could he make the bishop of Ravenna, and others, bow obsequiously to his will.⁷ And of private individuals, there were many who expressed openly their detestation of his vices and his greediness of power. Nor are those destitute of arguments, who assert that the Waldenses, even in this age, had fixed their residence in the valleys of Piedmont, and inveighed freely against Roman domination.⁸

§ 3. That the bishops of inferior rank, and all who were intrusted with sacred offices, as well those in the monasteries as those without, lived in the practice of many enormities is expressly admitted by every writer of any note in this century. Every where simony, avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, insolence to the people at large, and even vices worse than these might be seen reigning in the places consecrated to holi-

Historia Germanor. tom. ii. note, p. 121, &c. [According to Anastasius, the emperor did not *wholly* remit, but only diminish the amount of the payment; "relevata est *quantitas*, quæ solita est dari;" and this too with the express injunction that the ancient rule should be observed, and no ordination take place till the consent of the emperor should be obtained from court. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (Agatho) vol. iii. p. 131, &c. ed. Lond. 1754. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Beda, *Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 2, l. iii. c. 25. *Schl.*—The case of Wilfrid, bishop of York, who, being deposed and banished by the Saxon king in 678, appealed to Rome, and returned acquitted, but was imprisoned nine months, and then banished the kingdom, is a strong case in point. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, (Agatho) vol. iii. p. 98—105. *Tr.*]

⁶ [It is well known, that the French kings often deposed bishops, whom the popes, by all their efforts, were not able to restore; and that in Spain, Julianus, the bishop of Toledo, freely censured pope Benedict II. for sending into Spain his disapprobation of a synodic letter; and accused his holiness of ignorance, negligence, and jealousy. Yet this Julianus is a canonized saint. See the fifteenth

council of Toledo, in Harduin, *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1761, &c. *Schl.*]

⁷ Mich. Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts.* vol. ii. p. 6, &c. [and Muratori, *Hist. of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 157; where is a diploma of the emperor Constantine IV. in which he releases Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, from obedience to the pope. At his death, this archbishop warned his clergy not to subject themselves to the Roman pontiff, but to apply to the emperor for a pall for the new archbishop. And to the present time, the archbishops claim a kind of independence of the Romish see. Even the abbot, St. Columbanus, defends the ancient Irish manner of keeping Easter, against the popes, with great intrepidity; and likewise the subject of the three chapters; and this, at the instigation of king Agilulph. He maintains, that Vigilius was not watchful enough, and that the pope ought to purge the seat of St. Peter from all errors, from which it was not now free. See his five Epistles, in the *Biblioth. Mar. Patr. Lugd.* tom. xii. p. 1, &c. *Schl.*]

⁸ Anton. Legier, *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, lib. i. p. 15, &c. [and Spanheim, *Introduct. Plen.* tom. ii. p. 598, &c. *Schl.*]

ness and virtue.⁹ Between the monks and the bishops, many pertinacious quarrels existed in different places. For the latter laid their greedy hands on the rich possessions of the monks, that they might support their own luxury. And the monks, feeling this very sensibly, first applied to the emperors and kings; but not finding *their* protection adequate, resorted to the Roman pontiff.¹ He therefore readily took them under his care, and gradually exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks, in return, defended the interest of the pontiff, as if it were their own; and they recommended him as a sort of God to the ignorant multitude, over whom their reputed sanctity gave them great influence. That these *exemptions* of the monks gave occasion to many of their vices and disorders, is admitted by most of the best writers.²

§ 4. In the mean time the monks, from the favour of the pontiff, and their display of a fictitious piety, were every where making surprising progress, especially among the Latins. Parents eagerly consecrated their children to God, with good portions of their property made over to the monasteries; that is, they devoted them to what was esteemed the highest bliss on earth,—a life of solitude.³ Those who had spent their lives in guilty deeds, hoped to expiate their crimes by conferring the greater part of their property on some society of monks. And immense numbers, impelled by superstition, robbed their heirs of their richest possessions, in order to render God propitious to them through the prayers of monks. Rules for monastic life

⁹ [Thus we read of Desiderius, a nobleman, that he assumed the garb of a beggar, and conducted Brunechild, who was expelled the court of Theodebert, in safety to the court of Burgundy. At her solicitation, her faithful conductor was advanced to the bishopric of Auxerre; (Daniel, *History of France*, vol. i. p. 351, of the German translation;) a worthy candidate for the episcopal office! To the *simony* of the clergy, the national Synod of Toledo, A. D. 653, Can. 3, bears testimony; to their *avarice*, the provincial synod of Merida in Spain (Harduin, tom. iii. p. 997); to their *violence*, the council of Braga, A. D. 675, where they were forbidden to inflict blows. In the same year, a council at Toledo commanded the clergy to read the Bible on pain of excommunication (Harduin, tom. iii. p. 1017); and required every new bishop to make oath,

that he had neither paid nor promised to pay money for his bishopric. Even the papal chair was not free from simony. To the *pious frauds* must be reckoned the multitude of fables which were emulously fabricated. Quite a collection of them is exhibited by Dr. Semler, *Historia Eccles. selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 55, &c. 60, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ See Jo. Launoy, *Assertio Inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani*; Opp. tom. iii. pt. i. p. 50, &c. Baluze, *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 159, tom. iv. p. 108. Muratori, *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. ii. p. 944, 949, &c.

² See Jo. Launoy, *Examen Privilegii S. Germani*; Opp. tom. iii. pt. i. p. 282. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, tom. i. p. 43, 44, 49, &c.

³ Gervais, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. i. p. 9—16.

were drawn up by *Fructuosus*, *Isidore*, *John Gerundinensis*, *Columbanus*, and others, among the Latins⁴: for the *Rule* prescribed by *St. Benedict* was not as yet become the universal and the only rule.

§ 5. Among the writers, few can be named who were respectable for their genius or erudition. The best among the Greeks were the following: *Maximus*, a monk who contended very fiercely against the Monothelites, and wrote some explanatory works on the Scriptures, was by no means destitute of native talent; but he was a man of a violent spirit, and in that respect unhappy.⁵ *Isychius*, bishop of Jerusalem, expounded some books of Scripture, and has left us a few *Homilies*, and other minor works.⁶ *Dorotheus*, an abbot in Palestine, acquired fame by the *Ascetic Dissertations*, with which he would instruct monks how to live.⁷ *Antiochus*, a superstitious monk of *St. Sabas* in

⁴ Lucas Holstenius, *Codex Regular*. tom. ii. p. 225, &c.

⁵ [Maximus was born of noble parentage at Constantinople, about A.D. 580. The emperor Heraclius made him his secretary, and intended he should write the civil history of his times. But the emperor falling into the heresy of the Monothelites, which Maximus abhorred, either disagreement between them, or the propensity of Maximus to a monkish life, led him to retire from court, and take residence in a monastery at Chrysopolis near Constantinople. Here Maximus became the abbot. Before the year 640, the prevalence of Monothelitic principles, or the political disquietudes of the country, led him to travel. He went to Egypt, where he had warm disputes with the principal Monothelites. In the year 645, he went to Rome, and enjoyed the intimacy of pope Martin I. In 653, the emperor Constans II., who was a Monothelite, caused him to be arrested and brought to Constantinople to be tried for seditious conduct. He was acquitted; but refusing to promise silence, in the controversy then raging with the Monothelites, he was banished to Thrace, and confined in different places till the year 662, when he died in the castle of Schemra, on the confines of the Alans. His collected works, published Gr. and Lat. by Fran. Combefis, Paris, 1675, 2 vols. fol., consist of about fifty small works, answers to biblical questions, polemic and dogmatic tracts, moral and monastic pieces, and Letters.

Besides these, he has left us Commentaries on the Canticles, on Dionysius Areopagita, and on some parts of Gregory Nyssen. He is an inelegant, obscure, metaphysical, and mystical writer, yet learned and zealous. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiast.* de M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 261. [Hesychius, or Isychius, first a presbyter, and then bishop of Jerusalem, flourished about A.D. 601. A Commentary on Leviticus, in seven books, is extant in a Latin translation, about which there has been much discussion, whether it was a production of this Hesychius, or of some other. See Labbé, *Diss. Historica*; in Bellarmin, *de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* p. 227, &c. ed. Venice, 1727. The works of Hesychius, which are extant in Greek, are arguments to the twelve minor prophets and Isaiah; two hundred sentences on temperance and virtue; seven Homilies; a life of St. Longinus; an introduction to the book of Psalms; and a Comment on Ps. 77 — 107, and 118. He also wrote an *Eccles. History*; and some other Commentaries, which are lost. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 571, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Dorotheus probably lived about A.D. 601. He wrote twenty-four ethical and ascetic dissertations, (*ὑποσκαλαίαι*, seu *Doctrinae, de Vita recte et pie Instituenda*,) and several Epistles; which are extant, Gr. and Lat. in the *Orthodoxographia*, and in Fronto Ducreus, *Auctarium*, tom. i. *Tr.*]

Palestine, composed a *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*, that is, Institutes of the Christian Religion, a work of no great merit.⁸ *Sophronius*, bishop of Jerusalem, acquired the veneration of after-ages by his conflicts with those reputed as heretics in his days, especially with the *Monothelites*.⁹ He was evidently the cause of the whole Monothelite controversy. *Andreas* of Crete has left us several *Homilies*, which are neither truly pious nor eloquent; and which some, therefore, suspect to have been falsely ascribed to him.¹ *Gregory Pisides*, a Constantinopolitan deacon, besides a *History of Heraclius and of the Avars*, composed a few poems and other short pieces.² *Theodore* of Raithu is author of a book against those sects, which were considered as

* [Antiochus flourished A. D. 614, and was alive in 629. His *Pandecta divine Scriptura*, or compendium of the Christian religion and of the holy Scriptures, comprised in 130 Homilies, is extant in Fronto Ducaeus, *Auctarium*, tom. i. He also wrote *de Vitiosis Cogitationibus liber*; and *de Vita S. Euphrosyni*. Tr.]

⁹ See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Martii, ad diem xi. p. 65. [Sophronius was a native of Damascus, and for some time a sophist, or teacher of philosophy and eloquence. He afterwards became a monk in Palestine; and in this character he sat in the council of Alexandria, held by Cyrus the patriarch of that see, in the year 633, for the purpose of uniting the Monothelites and the Catholics. Here Sophronius zealously opposed the seventh of the nine propositions which Cyrus wished to establish. From Alexandria he went to Constantinople, to confer with Sergius, the patriarch of that see, on the subject. Soon after he was made patriarch of Jerusalem, and wrote his long Epistle, or confutation of the Monothelites, addressed to Honorius the Roman pontiff, and to the other patriarchs. But his country was now laid waste. The Saracens having conquered all the northern parts of Syria, laid siege to Jerusalem in 637. The city capitulated to the Kalif Omar, who entered Jerusalem, treated Sophronius with much respect, promised him and the Christians safety and the free exercise of their religion; and having given orders for erecting the mosque of Omar on the site of the temple, retired to Arabia. Sophronius died a few months after, in the same year. His works are the Epistle or Dissertation above mentioned; four Homilies; an account of the

labours and travels of the apostle Paul; the Life of St. Mary, an Egyptian; and a tract on the Incarnation. The best account of him and his writings is said to be that of J. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 199, &c. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 519. Tr.]

¹ [Andreas was a native of Damascus, became a monk at Jerusalem, a deacon at Constantinople, and at last archbishop of Crete. His age is not certain; but he was contemporary with Sophronius of Jerusalem, A. D. 635, and lived some years after. Fr. Combefis, published, as his works, Paris, 1644, in fol. Gr. and Lat. seventeen Homilies; nine Triodia, Canons, or church Hymns; and several shorter Hymns, adapted to different festivals. He afterwards published three more Homilies, and some poems, in his *Auctar.* Nov. tom. i. and ii. A *Computus Paschalis*, ascribed to Andreas, was published, Gr. and Lat. by Dionys. Petavius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, tom. iii. The genuineness of some of these pieces is suspected. Tr.]

² [Gregory, or rather George, of Pisida, was first a deacon and chartophylax of the great church of Constantinople, and then archbishop of Nicomedia; he flourished about A. D. 640; and has left us *Cosmopoica*, an iambic poem, on the Hexæmeron, now in 1880 lines; and another poem, in 261 iambic lines, on the vanity of life; both published by Morel, Paris, 1585, 4to. Three other of his poems (Eulogy of Heraclius; on his Persian wars; and the assault of the Avars on Constantinople,) were promised to the public by Claud. Maltret, but were not published. Schroëckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xix. p. 106, &c. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 583. Tr.]

corrupting Christianity by their doctrines concerning the person of *Jesus Christ*.³

³ [Theodorus, a presbyter in the Laura Raithu, in Palestine, flourished A. D. 646, and wrote a short treatise on the incarnation of Christ, in opposition to the heresies of Manes, Apollinaris, Theodorus Mopsuest., Nestorius, Eutyches, Julian Halicar., Severus, and others. It is extant, Gr. and Lat. in Fronto Ducaeus, *Auctarium*, tom. i. and in Latin, in the *Biblioth. Max. Patr.* tom. viii. Tr.]

[The following Greek writers of this century are passed over by Dr. Mosheim, namely,

John Malala, a native of Antioch, who probably flourished about A. D. 601. He wrote *Historia Chronica*, from the creation to the death of Justinian I. A. D. 565, which was published, Gr. and Lat. by Humphr. Hody, Oxon. 1691, 8vo. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.* i. p. 568, &c.

About the same time lived Eusebius, bishop of Thessalonica, Conon, an opposer of John Philoponus, and Themistius surnamed Colonymus, all polemic writers on the side of the catholics. But only fragments of their essays and epistles have reached us in Photius and the Acts of Councils.

Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 608—639, a favourer of the Monothelite doctrine, and instigator of the famous Ecthesis of Honorius. He has left us three Epistles, extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Cyrus, bishop of Phasis A. D. 620, and patriarch of Alexandria A. D. 630—640. He held a synod at Alexandria in 633, in which he proposed a *Libellus satisfactionis*, in nine chapters, designed to unite the Theodosians or Severians to the catholics. But his seventh chapter, or position, containing the doctrine of the Monothelites, was opposed, and led to fierce contests. He also wrote three Epistles to his friend Sergius of Constantinople. All these are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Theophylactus Simocatta, an Egyptian, a sophist, and a prefect, who flourished A. D. 611—629. He wrote *Historie Rerum a Mauritio Gestarum*, libri viii. from the year 582—602, edited Gr. and Lat. Ingolst. 1603, 4to, and Paris, 1648, fol. also eighty-five short Epistles, (inter *Epistolas Græcicas*, Aurel. Allobrog. 1606, fol.) and *Problema Physica*, Gr. and Lat. Antw. 1598, 8vo.

Georgius, an abbot in Galatia, A. D. 614, wrote the life of his predecessor Theodorus, in Surius and other collectors of pious lives.

George, patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 620—630. He wrote the life of John Chrysostom, which is published with Chrysostom's works.

About the year 630, that valuable but anonymous work, called the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Fastus Siculi*, and *Chronicon Paschale*, was composed; perhaps by George Pisides, or by George Patr. of Alexandria. It extends from the creation to A. D. 628. The best edition is that of du Fresne, Paris, 1689, fol.

John Moschus, Epiratus, or Eueratus, a monk of Palestine, who flourished A. D. 630, after travelling extensively, wrote his monkish history, entitled *Pratum Spirituale*, *Hortulus norus*, *Linamarium*, and *Viridarium*; extant in Fr. Ducaeus, *Auctar.* tom. ii. and in Cotelier, *Monum. Eccl. Gr.* tom. ii.

Thalassius, abbot of a monastery in Libya, about A. D. 640, wrote several tracts; namely, *de Sincera Charitate*; *Vitæ continentia et mentis Regimine*, *sententiarum Hecatontadas IV.* extant in Lat. in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. and Gr. and Lat. in Fr. Ducaeus, *Auctar.* tom. ii.

Theodorus, bishop of Pharan in Arabia, near Egypt, a Eutychian and Monothelite controversial writer, from whose tracts large extracts occur in the Acts of the Lateran and sixth councils; *Concil.* tom. vi.

John, archbishop of Dara in Syria, who has been placed in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and perhaps lived about A. D. 650, wrote Commentaries, in Syriac, on the works of Dionysius Areopagita, and on the Apocalypse; extracts from which have been published by Abr. Echellens, Jno. Morin, and F. Nairon.

Basil, bishop of Thessalonica, say some, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, say others; and who flourished perhaps A. D. 675; wrote *Scholia* on fifteen Orations of Gregory Nazianzen.

Macarius, a Monothelite, patriarch of Antioch, about A. D. 680, whose Confession of faith, and extracts from other works, are extant, *Concilia*, tom. vi.

John, archbishop of Thessalonica, A. D. 680, has left us one oration, part of an-

§ 6. The most distinguished among the Latin writers were the following: *Ildefonsus* of Toledo, to whom the Spaniards gratuitously ascribe certain treatises concerning the holy virgin *Mary*.⁴ Two books of Epistles, by *Desiderius* of Cahors, were edited by *Hen. Canisius*.⁵ *Eligius* of Limoges has left us some *Homilies* and other productions.⁶ The *two books of Ecclesiastical Formulas* by *Marculphus*, a Gallic monk, help us much to discover the wretched state of religion and learning in this age.⁷ The Englishman *Aldhelm* composed various poems, with no great success, on subjects relating to a Christian life.⁸ *Julianus*

other, a fragment of a Hymn, and parts of a dialogue between a pagan and a Christian. *Tr.*]

⁴ See the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, tom. ii. p. 535. [Ildefonsus was nobly born at Toledo, educated at Seville, and after being a monk and abbot at Agli, became archbishop of Toledo, A. D. 657—667. His ten spurious homilies and discourses, and one spurious tract, concerning the virgin Mary, with one genuine tract on the same subject, were published by Feuardentius, Paris, 1576; and afterwards in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. We have from his pen, a tract on the ecclesiast. writers, in continuation of Jerome, Gennadius, &c. two Epistles, and a tract *de Cognitione Baptismi*. Several other tracts and letters, and a continuation of Isidore's *Gothic History*, are lost. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Desiderius was treasurer to Clothair II. A. D. 614, and bishop of Cahors in France, A. D. 629—652. His first Book of Epistles contains those which Desiderius wrote to his friends, the second contains those addressed to him. They are extant in Canisius, *Lectio. Antiqua*, tom. v. and in *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. viii. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Eligius was born near Limoges, became a goldsmith there, and was esteemed the best workman in all France. In 635, king Dagobert sent him as ambassador to Britanny. While a layman, he erected several monasteries and churches. He was bishop of Noyon, A. D. 640—659; and continued to found monasteries and churches, and besides laboured to spread Christianity among the Flemings, the Frieslanders, and the Swabians. He has left us a tract *de Rectitudine Catholicæ Conversationis*, (which has been ascribed to Augustine, and an Epistle to Desiderius of Cahors.

Of the 16 Homilies ascribed to him, and extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. the greatest part, if not the whole, are supposed to be spurious. They are compilations from the fathers, and several of them bear marks of the ninth and tenth centuries. *Tr.*]

⁷ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 565. [About the year 660, Marculphus, then seventy years old, at the request of the bishop of Paris, compiled this book of formulas of different instruments and writings used in ecclesiastical courts, and elsewhere, in the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and in the management of church property. It was published, Paris, 1665, 4to, and 1667, by Baluze, in *Capitul. Regum Francor.* tom. ii. p. 369. *Tr.*]

⁸ ["This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Dr. Mosheim. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the Paschal controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 121." *Macl.*—Aldhelm was grandson to Ina, king of the West-Saxons. When young, he travelled over Gaul and Italy; and pursued study with such ardour, that he became one of the most learned men of the age. Returning to England, he lived first as a monk, and then for 34 years as the abbot of Malmesbury; afterwards, he was bishop of Sherborne A. D. 705—709. Bede (lib. v. c. 19.) says, he was *undecunque doctissimus*. While abbot, he wrote, by request of an English synod, a book in confutation of the sentiments and practice of the ancient Britons and Scots in regard to Easter; which is now

Pomerius confuted the Jews, and has left us some other specimens of his genius, which are neither to be highly praised, nor utterly contemned.⁹ To these may be added *Cresconius*¹, whose *Abridgment of the Canons* is well known, *Fredegarius*², and a few others.³

lost. He also wrote a tract in praise of virginity, both in prose and in verse; likewise a book on the eight principal virtues; and a thousand verses of Enigmas. These and some other poems were published at Mayence, 1601, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xiii. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Julianus Pomerius was bishop of Toledo, A. D. 680—690. He wrote commentaries on Joshua; a demonstration that Christ has come, against the Jews, in three books; on death, the place of departed souls, the resurrection and final judgment, three books; on the discrepancies in the scriptures, two books; a history of king Wamba's expedition against Paul, the rebel duke of Narbonne; and an Appendix to Ildefonsus, *de Script. Ecclesiast.* His works are in the twelfth volume of the *Biblioth. max. Patr. Tr.*]

¹ [Cresconius was an African bishop, and flourished A. D. 690. His *Breviarium Canonum* is a methodical Index to the canons of councils and decrees of the Roman pontiffs, digested under 300 heads. He afterwards wrote *Concordia seu Liber Canonum*, which is the same thing, except that the canons and decrees are here recited at length; both works are in Voellus, and Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon. Tr.*]

² *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. iii. p. 506. [Fredegarius Scholasticus was a Gallic monk, who flourished A. D. 640. He compiled a Chronicle, from the creation, to the year of Christ, 641, in five books. The first three books, which reach to A. D. 561, are a compilation from Julius Africanus, Eusebius, as translated by Jerome, and others: the fourth book, comprising A. D. 561—564, is an abridgment of Gregory Turo-nensis' *History of the Franks*: the fifth book, from 584 to 641, was composed by Fredegarius: the *Chronicon* was afterwards continued by other hands, to A. D. 768. The fifth book is published among the *Scriptores Rerum Francicar.* The other books are, partly in Canisius, *Lectioes Antiq.* tom. ii. and partly in Gregory Turon. *Histor. Francor. Tr.*]

³ [The following catalogue embraces the Latin writers omitted by Dr. Mosheim.

Paterius, pupil of Gregory the Great, and bishop of Brescia, about A. D. 601. He wrote a Collection of scripture testimonies, in three books; two from the Old Test. and one from the New:—published with the works of Gregory the Great.

Faustus, a monk brought up by St. Benedict, and sent into Gaul with St. Maurus. He wrote, A. D. 606, the life of St. Maurus, and the life of St. Severinus. Both are extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i.

Marcus, a disciple and companion of St. Benedict, and versifier of the life of Benedict by Gregory the Great: fl. A. D. 606.

Boniface IV., pope A. D. 615, has left us an Epistle to king Ethelbert of Kent; and a Synodic Decree: in the *Concil.* tom. v.

Bulgaranus, a Spanish Goth, and count, A. D. 601. Six of his Epistles, still preserved, have been often consulted, but never published.

Sisebutus, a Gothic king in Spain A. D. 612—621. Several of his Epistles are preserved; and likewise his life and martyrdom of St. Desiderius.

Boniface V. pope A. D. 620—626. His Epistle to Justus, bishop of Rochester; another to Edwin, king of Northumberland; and a third to Edilburg, Edwin's queen, are extant in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 618 and 625, also in the *Concil.* tom. v.

Nennius, a British monk, and abbot of Bangor, about A. D. 620, and often confounded with the Irish Gildas. He wrote *de Gestis Britonum Liber, sive Breviarium*, or a *History of the Britons*; the MS. of which is still preserved at Westminster and at Cambridge. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 620.

Honorius, pope A. D. 626—638. He was a Monothelite. Eight of his Epistles, which fully prove the fact, are extant, in the *Concil.* tom. v. See Joh. Forbes, *Instruct. Hist. Theolog.* lib. v.

and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 401, 442, &c. 446, &c.

Brailio, bishop of Saragossa, A. D. 627—646. He wrote the life of St. Emilian, a monk, which is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. also two Epistles to Isidore Hispal. and a short Eulogy of Isidore, which are published with the works of Isidore.

Jonas, an Irish monk, and abbot of Luxeuil, flourished about A. D. 630. He wrote the Lives of St. Columbanus Bobiensis, of Eustatius abbot of Luxeuil, of Attala abbot of Bobio, of Bertulph abbot of Bobio, of St. John the founder and abbot of a monastery, and of St. Fara or Burgundofara first abbess of York. Most of these lives are in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. ii.

Cummianus or Comminus, surnamed Fata or Fada, *i. e. tall*, son of Fiachna the king of West Momonia in Ireland; born A. D. 592, died 661. He was a monk, abbot, and, *some* add, bishop in Ireland; and wrote an Epistle to Segienus, abbot of Hy, on the paschal controversy, (in Ussher's *Sylogæ Epistolæ Hibernicar.* p. 24) and a book *de Pœnitentiæ Mensura*, which is in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii.

John IV., pope A. D. 640, 641. He wrote an Epistle to the Scotch bishops, concerning the paschal controversy; another to the emperor Constantine III. in apology for pope Honorius; and a third to Isaac, bishop of Saracuse. These are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. v.

Andocnus, or Dado, archbishop of Rouen, A. D. 640—683. He lived to the age of 90, and wrote the life of St. Eligius of Noyon, in three books; published, imperfect, by Surius; and perfect, by L. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. v. also an Epistle.

Theodoros I., pope A. D. 642—649. He has left us two Epistles; in the *Concilia*, tom. v., and in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii.

Eugenius, archbishop of Toledo, A. D. 646—657. He composed some tracts in verse and prose, which are extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii.

Tajo or Tago, bishop of Saragossa, flourished A. D. 646. He was a great admirer of the works of Gregory the Great; went to Rome to obtain copies of them; and compiled five books of Sentences, from them.

Martin I., pope A. D. 649—655. For his opposition to a decree of the emperor

Constans, called his Typus, Martin was seized by an armed force in 653, carried prisoner to Constantinople, kept in jail for a long time, tried, and banished. He ended his days at Cherson, an exile. Seventeen of his Epistles are extant; eleven of them, Gr. and Lat. are in the *Concil.* tom. vi.

Anastasius, deacon and *apocrisiarius* of the Romish church. He adhered to St. Maximus, and shared in his fortunes. The year before his death, A. D. 665, he wrote a long letter, giving account of the sufferings and exile of himself, Maximus, and Anastasius patriarch of Constantinople, and defending their tenets in opposition to the Monothelites. It is in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xii. and also prefixed to the works of St. Maximus.

Fructuosus, of Royal Gothic blood, bishop of Braga, A. D. 656—675. He was founder of many monasteries, and particularly that of Alcalà; and drew up two *Rules* for monks, one in twenty-three chapters, the other in twenty. Both are published by Lu. Holstenius, *Codez Regular.* pt. ii.

Vitalianus, pope A. D. 657—671. In the year 668, he and Maurus the archbishop of Ravenna mutually excommunicated each other. Six of his Epistles are in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Syricius, bishop of Barcelona, about A. D. 657. He wrote two Epistles, which are extant in Lu. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. i. or, new ed. tom. iii.

Cummeneus, surnamed Albus; an Irish monk, and abbot of Hy, A. D. 657—669. He wrote the life of St. Columba, the first abbot of Hy; which may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i.

Jonas, a disciple of St. Columbanus, and an abbot somewhere. He wrote, about A. D. 664, the life and miracles of St. John, a Burgundian abbot, in two books. The latter book is in Mabillon, *Acta, &c.* tom. i.

Theodoros, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, whom the pope made archbishop of Canterbury A. D. 668. He was a man of learning, and very efficient in action. Introducing a fine library of Greek and Latin works into England, he gave an impulse to learning among the Anglo-Saxon clergy. He also did much to bring the British and Scotch clergy to adopt the Roman method of keeping Easter. His only work, except an epistle, is his *Pœnitentiale*, or directory for dealing with offenders in the Church.

Agatho, pope A. D. 680, 681, has left us three Epistles, which are in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Adamnanus or Adamannus, a Scotch-Irish monk, and abbot of Hy, A. D. 679—704. He was very active in bringing the Scotch and Irish to adopt the Roman practice respecting Easter. His life of St. Columbanus, in three books, is given by Canisius and Surius; and his topographical description of Jerusalem and other sacred places, as he learned them from Areulphus, a Gallic bishop and traveller, in three books, was published by Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* secul. iii. pt. ii. or tom. iv. p. 456—472.

Ceolfrid, abbot of Weremuth or Wiremuth, (Wearmouth,) in England, about A. D. 680, and preceptor to Bede. He visited Rome; obtained of pope Sergius privileges for his monastery, and brought home books for the use of his monks. A long Epistle of his to Naiton, king of the Picts, in defence of the Roman method of keeping Easter, is extant in Bede, l. v. c. 22, and in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Aphonius, very little known, but supposed to have lived about A. D. 680, wrote a Commentary on the Canticles, in six books; which is extant in the *Biblioth. max. Patr.* tom. xiv.

Valerius, a Spanish monk and abbot in Gallicia, about A. D. 680. His life of St. Fructuosus, is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. Some other lives and treatises exist in MS.

Leo II., pope A. D. 682—684. Five Epistles ascribed to him are extant in the *Concilia*, tom. vi. But Baronius and others think them spurious, because they represent pope Honorius to have been a Monothelite.

Benedict II., pope A. D. 684—686. He has two Epistles in the *Concilia*, tom. vi.

Bobolenus, a monk and presbyter, who probably lived about A. D. 690. He wrote the life of St. Germanus, first abbot of Granvel, in the bishopric of Bâle, who was slain about A. D. 666; extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Miserable state of religion.—§ 2. Expositors of the Scriptures.—§ 3. Dogmatic theology.—§ 4. Practical theology.—§ 5. Renewal of penitential discipline.—§ 6. State of polemical theology.

§ 1. DURING this century, true religion lay buried under a senseless mass of superstitions; and was unable to raise her head. The earlier Christians had worshipped only God, and his Son; but those called Christians in this age, worshipped the wood of a cross, the images of holy men, and bones of dubious origin.¹ The early Christians placed heaven and hell

¹ I will here quote a passage, well calculated to illustrate the piety of this age, taken from the life of St. Eligius, bishop of Noyon, in Lu. D'Achery's *Spicilegium Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 92: "The Lord conferred upon this most holy man, among other miraculous gifts, that, while searching and praying after them, with the most ardent faith, the bodies of the holy martyrs, which had lain concealed for so many ages, were discover-

ed." This most successful carcass-hunter of saints, therefore, discovered the bodies of Quintin, Piat, Crispin, Crispinian, Lucian, and many others, as his biographer minutely narrates. Such ability to find the concealed bones of saints and martyrs was claimed by most of the bishops, who wished to be esteemed by the people, and to amass riches.

before the view of men; these latter depicted a certain fire prepared to burn off the imperfections of the soul. The former taught that *Christ* had made expiation for the sins of men, by his death and his blood; the latter seemed to inculcate, that the gates of heaven would be closed against none, who should enrich the clergy or the church with their donations.² The former were studious to maintain a holy simplicity, and to follow a pure and chaste piety; the latter placed the substance, of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. Did any one hesitate to believe? Two irrefragable arguments were at hand; *the authority of the church*, and *miracles*; for the working of which in these times of ignorance, but a moderate share of dexterity was requisite.

§ 2. A few, both among Greeks and Latins, applied them-

² St. Eligius, a great man of this age, says, (in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. p. 96) "He is a good Christian, who comes often to church, and brings his offering to be laid on the altar of God; who does not taste of his produce, till he has first offered some of it to God; who, as often as the holy solemnities return, keeps himself, for some days before, pure even from his own wife, so that he may come to the altar of God with a safe conscience; and who finally has committed to memory the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer.—Redeem your souls from punishment, while ye have the remedies in your power—present oblations and tithes to the churches, bring candles to the holy places, according to your wealth—and come often to the church, and beg humbly for the patronage of the saints. Which, if ye shall have observed, ye will say, coming with confidence before the tribunal of the eternal Judge, in the day of judgment, *Give, Lord, for we have given.* ["We see here a large and ample description of the character of a *good Christian*, in which there is not the least mention of the *love of God*, *resignation* to his will, *obedience* to his laws, or *justice*, *benevolence*, or *charity* towards men; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in *coming often to the church*, *bringing offerings to the altar*, *lighting candles* in consecrated places, and such like vain services." *Macl.*—Robertson seems to have taken these extracts from Eligius, or Eloi, for a connected discourse, which he exhibits as a complete sample of the doctrine taught by him. This has given

violent offence to Romanists and others. Mosheim's statement has been branded with *foul calumny*, and the charge has been supported by citing other words of Eloi's, which prescribe substantial excellences. But Mosheim does no more than make Eloi inculcate those religious formalities, and that liberality which placed better things in the shade. Nor does he fasten this charge upon him by a disputable inference. He extracts passages from him which completely substantiate the charge. It is, in fact, a charge probable in itself. The vast personal sacrifices which religion, or perhaps rather superstition, wrung from men in the middle ages, demanded such representations as the words quoted from Eloi contain. That he and others also used language of a sounder character is nothing to the purpose. If public teachers put forth at any time, deliberately and publicly, objectionable doctrine, their own characters, and the age which suffers it to pass unrebuked, are justly to be holden responsible for it. An exposure of it is not to be assailed as false and malicious, because matter of a different tendency occurs in these same authors. The clamour, therefore, lately raised against this passage by advocates and extenuators of the Romish system, and abetted in some cases from want of due consideration, is entirely unfounded. Mosheim neither misrepresents the doctrine which Eloi mixed with sounder teaching, nor the age which could suffer such a mixture from any leading man. *Ed.*]

selves to the interpretation of Scripture. There remain some commentaries of *Isychius* of Jerusalem, on certain books of the Old Testament, and on the epistle to the Hebrews. *Maximus* composed *sixty-five Questions on the Holy Scriptures*, and some other works of like character. *Julianus Pomerius* showed his wish, and his inability to reconcile passages of Scripture between which there is apparent contradiction, and also to explain the prophecy of Nahum. To these the worst of modern interpreters are undoubtedly superior. The Greeks, especially those who would be thought adepts in mystic theology, ran after fantastic allegories; as may be seen by the *Questions* of *Maximus* above mentioned. The Latins had too little self-confidence even to venture on such a course, and therefore only culled flowers from the works of *Gregory* and *Augustine*; as is manifest, among other works, from the *Explanations of the Old and New Testament* collected by *Paterius* from the works of *Gregory* the Great.³ *Thomas* of Heraclea gave to the Syrians a new translation of the New Testament.⁴

§ 3. As among the Latins, philosophy was nearly extinct, and among the Greeks, only certain points of theology were brought under discussion; no one thought of reducing the doctrines of religion to a regular system, and of stating them philosophically. Yet one *Antiochus*, a monk of Palestine, composed a short summary of religious doctrines, which he calls *The Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. His claims to rank and influence as an author, may be estimated from a lugubrious poem, subjoined to this work, in which he dolefully deploras the loss of the wood of the cross, which the Persians were said to have carried away. A more neat and judicious Latin summary of the theology of this age has not come down to us, than that in *Ildefonsus*' book *de Cognitione Baptismi*, lately brought to light by *Baluze*;—a work indeed which *we* do not need, but one that contains some valuable testimonies for truths which were afterwards discarded.⁵ *Tajo*, or *Tago*, bishop of Saragossa,

³ This useless performance has been usually printed with the works of *Gregory* the Great; and therefore the Benedictine monks inserted it in their recent and splendid edition of *Gregory's Works*, vol. iv. pt. ii. but with no advantage to the public.

⁴ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 93, 94.

⁵ See *Baluze, Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 1, &c. From this book it clearly appears, among other things, that the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, as it is called, was unknown to the Latins in the seventh century, (ch. 137, p. 99)—that the sacred volume was read by all Christians, (ch. 80, p. 59)—and other facts of the like nature. *Ildefonsus* carefully

compiled *five Books of Sentences*, which are a dry and insipid body of theoretical and practical divinity, taken from *Gregory the Great*, though *Augustine* is sometimes taxed for contributions: yet that age esteemed it an admirable performance, and deserving immortality.⁶ On certain parts of Christianity, a few individuals employed their pens; as *Maximus*, who wrote *on theology* and *on the manifestation of the Son in the flesh*, and likewise *on the two natures in Christ*; and *Theodore* of Raithu, who wrote *on the incarnation of Christ*. But those acquainted with the character of that age, will easily conjecture what sort of doctors these were.

§ 4. The lamentable state of practical theology is manifest from every writer on the subject in this age. The best of them were *Dorotheus*, in his *Ascetic Dissertations*; *Maximus* and *Aldhelm*, in some tracts; *Hesychius* and *Thalasius*, in their *Sentences*; and a few others. But in these, how many and how great are the imperfections! how numerous the marks of superstition! what constant indications of a mind vacillating and unable to grasp the subject! The laity, as they were called, had no cause to tax their teachers with excessive severity. For it was customary to confine the obligations of men to a very few virtues; as is manifest from *Aldhelm's* tract *on the eight principal vices*. And those who neglected these duties, were to incur no very formidable punishment for their offences. A life of solitude, as practised by the monks, though adorned by no marks of true piety, was esteemed sufficient of itself to atone for all kinds of guilt; and it was therefore called, by the Latins, a *second Baptism*.⁷ This one fact is sufficient to show, how little the precepts of *Christ* were understood in this age. Among the swarms of Greek and oriental monks, very many laboured to attain perfection, by means of contemplation;

excludes philosophy and reason as authorities in religion; and teaches that there are two sources of theology, namely, the holy Scriptures, and the writings of the ancient doctors, or as he expresses himself (p. 14, 22) "*divina institutionis auctoritatem, et sacræ paternitatis antiquitatem*."

⁶ See Jo. Mabillon, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 68, &c.

⁷ [See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1771, where, in the *Capitula* of *Theodore* of Canterbury, we read: *At the ordina-*

tion of monks, the abbot ought to say mass, and utter three prayers over his head; and the monk should veil his head with a cowl seven days; and on the seventh day the abbot should remove the veil from the monk's head. As in baptism the presbyter removes the infant's veil on the seventh day, so should the abbot do the monk; for it is a *second Baptism*, according to the decision of the fathers; and all sins are forgiven, as in *Baptism*. *Schl.*]

and these endeavoured to transfuse into their very natures the spirit of *Dionysius*, that father of the mystics.

§ 5. *Theodore* the Cilician, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of *penance*, as it is called, which had fallen into neglect, and enforced it by strict rules borrowed from the Grecian ecclesiastical jurisprudence. This man, being unexpectedly raised to the see of Canterbury in England, A. D. 668, among many other laudable deeds, reduced to a regular system, that part of ecclesiastical law which is called *penitentiary discipline*. For, by publishing his *Penitential*, a work of which kind the Latin world had never before seen, he taught priests to discriminate between the heavier and the lighter sins, the secret and the open, and likewise to measure and estimate them according to the circumstances of time, place, character, disposition, and grief of sinners, and other things. He pointed out besides the punishment due to the several kinds of faults and sins; prescribed forms of consoling, admonishing, and absolving, and, in short, determined every thing required from those who hear confessions.⁸ This new discipline of penance, though it was of Grecian origin, gave extreme pleasure to the Latins; and, in a short time, it spread from Britain over the whole Latin world, being strengthened by *Penitentials* drawn up after the pattern of the original one by *Theodore*. Yet it gradually declined again, in the eighth century, and by the new system of *indulgences*, as they are called, was at length wholly subverted.

§ 6. Those who wrote against the religious sects that departed from the common faith, are scarcely worthy of being named; and they would not be worth reading, were it not that they serve to elucidate the history of their times. Against the pagans, *Nicias* composed two books⁹; and *Photius* mentions a person unknown to us, who he says contended against them, with a great array of arguments drawn from the fathers.¹ Against the Jews contended *Julianus Pomerius*. All the here-

⁸ The *Penitential* of Theodorus is still extant, though mutilated; published by Ja. Petit, Paris, 1679, 4to, with learned Dissertations and notes. We have also the one hundred and twenty *Capitula Ecclesiastica* of the same Theodorus, in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. ix. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1771, and elsewhere. [The *Penitential* of Theodore has been at length published completely

by Mr. Thorpe, from a MS. in the library of C. C. C. C., in the second vol. of the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*. Lond. 1840, under authority of the Record Commission. *Ed.*]

⁹ [Of this man, nothing more is known, than that he was a monk, and that he wrote a book against the seven chapters of Philoponus. *Schl.*]

¹ Photius, *Biblioth. Codex* clxx. p. 379.

sies are described and assailed, in the little work of *Timotheus*, on the Reception of Heretics. Of the theological contests among the orthodox themselves, little can be said. In this age were scattered the seeds of those grievous contests which afterwards severed the Greeks from the Latins; nor were they merely scattered, but likewise took root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman domination appeared altogether insufferable. In Britain, the ancient Christians of that country contended with the new or Romish Christians; that is, of the Saxon race, whom *Augustine* converted to *Christ*. They contended respecting various things; as baptism, and the tonsure, but especially about the time for the celebration of the feast of Easter.² But these controversies did not relate to religion itself; and they were settled and determined, in the eighth century, by the Benedictine monks, and in accordance with the views of the Romans.³

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites multiplied.—§ 2. Some examples.

§ 1. THE Greeks, in the council which is called *Quinisextum*, made various enactments respecting religious rites and forms of worship, in which there were several deviations from the Roman usage. These canons were publicly received in all the churches within the territories of the Greek emperors; and likewise by all churches which accorded in doctrine and worship with the Greeks, though situated in the dominions of barbarian kings.¹ Nearly all the Roman pontiffs likewise added some-

² Cummanus' Epistle, in Ja. Ussher's *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 23, &c. Bede, *Historia Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. iii. c. 25. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanni.* tom. i. p. 37, 42. *Acta Sanctor. Februarii*, tom. iii. p. 21, 84. [See also Dr. Warner's *Ecclesiastical Hist. of England*, book ii. and iii. *Macl.*]

³ Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. ii. &c.

¹ [This council was held at Constantinople, A. D. 692, and was composed chiefly of oriental bishops, of whom more than 200 were assembled. The place of the sessions was a hall in the imperial palace, called Trullus; whence the council was denominated *Concilium Trullanum*, and *Concilium in Trullo*. It was properly the seventh General council, and supplied canons for the church,

thing new to the ancient ceremonies; as if they had supposed that no one could teach Christianity with success, unless he could delight a Christian assembly with unusual sights and mummeries. These rites and usages were, in the time of *Charlemagne*, propagated from Rome among the other Latin churches; for the arrogance of the pontiffs would not suffer them to deviate from the Roman usage.

§ 2. A few specimens may serve for examples. The number of festivals, which was already oppressively great, was increased by the addition of a day consecrated to the wood of the cross on which the Saviour hung²; and another to the commemoration of his ascent into heaven.³ *Boniface V.* invested the churches with those rights of asylum, which afforded to all villains a license to commit crimes without much danger.⁴ The

which the fifth and sixth had neglected to make. Being thus a kind of *supplement* to the fifth and sixth general councils, it was called *Concilium Quinisextum*. See chap. v. § 12, below. *Tr.*]

² [This festival was instituted by the emperor Heraclius, in the year 631, after he had vanquished the Persians, and recovered from them the real cross, which Cosroes their king had carried off fourteen years before. The festival was established by pope Honorius, and was introduced into the West in this century. For the Roman pontiffs were then under the dominion of the Greek emperors, and were beginning gradually to withdraw themselves from their jurisdiction. The earliest mention of this festival, which the Greeks call *στανποφάχεια*, [and the Latins, *exaltatio crucis*, kept Sept. 14. See Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 628. *Tr.*] occurs in the *Collatio* of St. Maximus with Theodosius, bishop of Cæsarea, A. D. 650. See Baumgarten's *Erläuterung der Christl. Alterthümer*, p. 310. *Schl.*]

³ [It is to be wished, that Dr. Mosheim had here given his authority for placing the origin of the feast of Ascension in this century. Among the fifty days next following Easter, this festival had been observed by the Christians, with peculiar solemnity, ever since the fourth century, as may be inferred from Augustine, *Epist.* 118, ad Januar. Chrysostom, *Homil.* 62, tom. vii. and *Homil.* 35, tom. v. *Constitutiones Apostol.* l. viii. c. 33; l. v. c. 19, and especially from the *Concil. Agathense*, A. D. 506, where the

21st Canon says: *Pascha, Natale Domini, Epiphania, Ascensionem Domini, Pentecosten et natalem S. Johannis Baptistæ, vel si qui maximi dies in festivitibus habentur, nonnisi in civitatibus aut in parochiis teneant.* (Harleuin, tom. ii. p. 1000.) Instead of this festival, might be mentioned the *Feast of All Saints*, as originating in this century, under pope Boniface. In the eastern churches, it had indeed been observed ever since the fourth century, on the eighth day after Whitsunday, and was called the Feast of all the Martyrs. But in the western churches, it had the following origin: Boniface, in the year 610, obtained, by gift, the Pantheon at Rome, and consecrated it to the honour of the Virgin Mary and all the martyrs; as it had before been sacred to all the gods, and particularly to Cybele. On this occasion, he ordered the feast of all the Apostles to be kept on the 1st of May, which was afterwards assigned only to Philip and James; and the feast of all the martyrs, on the 12th of May. But this last feast being frequented by a large concourse of people, Gregory IV. in the year 834, transferred it to a season of the year when provisions were more easily obtained, that is, to the first day of November; and also consecrated it to *All Saints*. See Baumgarten's *Christl. Alterthümer*, p. 313. *Schl.*]

⁴ [Temples were anciently, even among pagans, places of safety for valuable goods, and for men in times of war or oppression. Among the Christians, at first, only the altar and the choir en-

art of ornamenting churches magnificently, was perfected with great diligence by *Honorius*.⁵ For, as neither *Christ* nor his apostles had enjoined any thing on this subject, it was but reasonable that their vicar should confer this favour on mankind. Of the sacerdotal garments, and the rest of the apparatus, which was deemed necessary in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and for giving dignity and grandeur to the assemblies for public worship, I shall say nothing.

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CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1, 2. Remains of the earlier sects.—§ 3. Nestorians and Monophysites.—§ 4. Monothelites.—§ 5. Their prosperous circumstances.—§ 6. Their adversities.—§ 7. Contests arising out of the *ἐκθεσις* and the *τύπος*.—§ 8. The sixth general council.—§ 9. Sum of the controversy.—§ 10. Different opinions among that sect.—§ 11. Their condition after the council of Constantinople.—§ 12. The council called *Quinisextum*.

§ 1. THE Greeks during this century, and especially in the reigns of *Constans*, *Constantine Pogonatus*, and *Justinian II.* were engaged in fierce combat with the *Paulicians*; whom they considered as a branch of the Manichæans, and who lived in Armenia and the adjacent countries. The Greeks assailed them, not only with arguments, but still more with military force, and

joyed this privilege. Afterwards, the *nave* of the church, and finally the whole *inclosure* participated in it. All persons under prosecution, whether in civil or criminal causes, might there be secure till their case was investigated. But public debtors, Jews, runaway slaves, robbers, murderers, banditti, and adulterers, were prohibited by law from this right of sanctuary. Yet in the western churches, this right of asylum degenerated into a source of the most shocking disorders; and to them this regulation of Boniface, especially, gave the occasion. Anastasius Bibliothecarius says of him, "He ordained, that no person, who had

taken refuge in a church, should be delivered up." *Schl.*]

⁵ [See Anastasius, in his Life of this pontiff. He says of him, among other things, that "he covered the Confessional of St. Peter with pure silver, which weighed 187 pounds. He overlaid the great doors at the entrance of the church, which were called *Medianæ*, with silver, weighing 975 pounds. He also made two large silver candlesticks, of equal dimensions, weighing each 62 pounds. He likewise made for the church of St. Andrew, a silver table before the Confessional, as above, which weighed 73 pounds," &c. *Schl.*]

with legal enactments and penalties. For one *Constantine*, during the reign of Constans, had resuscitated this sect, which was then exhausted and ready to become extinct; and had propagated its doctrines with great success.¹ But the history of this sect, which is said to have originated from two brothers, *Paul* and *John*, will be stated more explicitly under the ninth century, at which time its conflicts with the Greeks came to an open and bloody war.

§ 2. In Italy, the Lombards preferred the opinions of the *Arians* to the doctrines of the Nicene council. In Gaul and in England, the *Pelagian* and *Semi-Pelagian* controversies still produced some disquietude. In the East, the ancient sects, which the imperial laws had repressed, but had by no means subdued and extinguished, assumed courage, in several places, and were able to secure adherents. Fear of the laws and of punishment, induced these sects to seek a temporary concealment; but when the power of their foes was somewhat abridged, they again resumed courage.

§ 3. The condition of the *Nestorians* and *Monophysites*, under those new lords of the East, the Saracens, was far happier than before; so that, while the Greeks were oppressed and banished, both sects took every where a commanding position. *Jesujabus*, chief pontiff of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty first with *Mahumed*, and afterwards with *Omar*, and obtained many advantages for his sect.² There is likewise extant an *injunction* or *Testament*, as it is commonly called; that is, a diploma of *Mahumed* himself, in which he promises full security to all Christians living under his dominions: and though some learned men doubt the authenticity of this instrument, yet the Mahumedans, do not call it in question.³ The successors of *Mahumed*

¹ Photius, *Contra Manichæos*, lib. i. p. 61. Peter Siculus, *Historia Manichæor.* p. 41, &c. George Cedrenus, *Compend. Hist.* p. 431, ed. Venice.

² Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. xciv. &c.

³ This famous *Testament* of Mahumed was brought into Europe from the East, in the seventeenth century, by Pacificus Scaliger, a Capuchin monk; and first published, Arabic and Latin, by Gabriel Sionita, Paris, 1630; and afterwards, the Lutherans, John Fabricius, A. D. 1638, and Hinckelmann, A. D. 1690, published it in Latin. See Jo. Henr. Hottinger,

Histor. Oriental. lib. ii. c. 20, p. 237. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 95. Renaudot, *Histor. Patriarchar. Alexandr.* p. 168. Those who, with Grotius, reject this Testament, suppose it was fabricated by the monks living in Syria and Arabia, to circumvent their hard masters, the Mahumedans. Nor is the supposition incredible. For the monks of mount Sinai, formerly, showed a similar edict of Mahumed, which they said he drew up while a private man; an edict exceedingly favourable to them, and beyond all controversy fraudulently drawn up by them-

in Persia, employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs and business both of the court and of the provinces; nor would they suffer any patriarch, except the one who governed this sect, to reside in the kingdom of Babylon.⁴ The Monophysites, in Egypt and Syria, were equally fortunate. In Egypt, *Amru*, having taken Alexandria in the year 644, directed *Benjamin*, the Monophysite pontiff, to occupy the see of Alexandria; and from that time, for nearly a century, the Melchites, or those who followed the opinions of the Greek church, had no prelate.⁵

§ 4. Among the Greeks, who were otherwise greatly distracted, there arose a new sect, in the year 630, during the reign of *Heraclius*, which soon produced such commotions that both the East and the West united to put it down. An ill-timed effort at peace produced war. The emperor *Heraclius*, considering the immense evils resulting to the Greek empire from the revolt of the Nestorians to the Persians, was exceedingly desirous of reconciling the *Monophysites* to the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their secession from it. He therefore, during his war with the Persians, first had a conference in the year 622, with one *Paul*, a principal man among the Armenian Monophysites; and afterwards, in the year 629, at Hierapolis, with *Anastasius*, the *Catholicus* or patriarch of the Monophysites, respecting the means of restoring harmony. Both of them suggested to the emperor, that the

selves. The fraud was sufficiently manifest; yet the Mahumedans, a people destitute of all erudition, believed it was a genuine ordinance of their prophet, and they believe so still: this imposition is treated of by Demetr. Cantimir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. ii. p. 269, &c. The argument, therefore, which Renaudot and others draw, in favour of the *Testament* in question, from the acknowledgment of its authenticity by the Mahumedans, is of little weight; because, in things of this nature, no people could be more easily imposed upon, than the rude and illiterate Mahumedans. Nor is the argument of more force, which the opposers of the *Testament* draw from the difference of its style from that of the *Koran*. For it is not necessary to suppose, that Mahumed himself composed this *Testament*; he might have employed his secretary; but however dubious the *Testament* itself may be, the subject matter of it is not doubtful; for learned men

have proved, by powerful arguments, that Mahumed originally would allow no injury to be offered to the Christians, and especially to the Nestorians.—[This *Testament* is a formal compact, between Mahumed on the one part, and the Nestorians and Monophysites, on the other. He promises to them his protection; and they promise to him loyalty and obedience: he promises them entire religious freedom; and they promise him support against his enemies. Mahumed might have deemed it sound policy to conclude such a treaty with these sectaries; that, by their aid, he might subdue the countries of Asia subject to the Greek emperors. *Schl.*]

⁴ Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 97, &c. Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 163. 169.

⁵ Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrinor.* p. 168.

believers in one nature of *Christ*, might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and be reconciled to the Greeks; provided the Greeks would admit and profess, that in *Jesus Christ, after the union of the two natures, there was but one will, and one voluntary operation.* *Heraclius* stated what he had learned from these men, to *Sergius* the patriarch of Constantinople, who was a native of Syria, and descended from parents that were Monophysites. This prelate gave it as his opinion, that it might be held and inculcated, without prejudice to the truth, or to the authority of the council of Chalcedon, that, after the union of two natures in *Christ*, there was but one will, and one operation of will. *Heraclius*, therefore, in order to terminate the discord both in church and state, issued a decree, in the year 630, that this faith should be received and taught.⁶

§ 5. At first the affair seemed to go on well. For although some refused to comply with the imperial edict, yet the two patriarchs of the East, *Cyrus*, of Alexandria, and *Athanasius* of Antioch, did not hesitate to obey the will of the emperor: and the see of Jerusalem was then vacant.⁷ The consent of the Latin patriarch, or of the Roman pontiff, was perhaps not deemed necessary, in an affair which related so exclusively to the Oriental church. *Cyrus*, whom the emperor had promoted from the see of Phasis to that of Alexandria, held a council, by the seventh decree of which, the doctrine of *Monothelitism*, which the emperor wished to have introduced, was solemnly confirmed.⁸ And this modification of the decree of Chalcedon

⁶ The writers who give account of this sect, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. x. p. 204. The account which I have given in the text, is derived from the original sources, and rests on the most explicit testimony. [The most important of the ancient documents are found in the Acts of the council of the Lateran, A. D. 649, and in those of the sixth general council, held at Constantinople A. D. 681, 682. Among the modern writers, the most full and candid is Dr. Walch *Historie der Ketzeren*, vol. ix. p. 3—667. See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 386—453, and Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, from Honorius on to the end of this century. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 264.

⁸ [The documents of this council are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1327, &c. The intention of *Cyrus* was good. He wished to gain over the Severians and the Theodosians, who composed a large part of the Christians of Alexandria; and he considered the doctrine of *one will* and *one operation* as the best means for this end. He, therefore, in several canons, spoke of *one single theandric operation* in *Christ*, (ὁὖν ἐνεργούντα τὰ θεοπεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μὴ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ,) yet, for the sake of peace, he refrained from affirming either *one* or *two wills and operations*. This step, though taken with the best intentions,

was so influential with the Monothelites in Egypt, Armenia, and other provinces, that a great part of them returned to the church. They seem, however, to have explained the doctrine of *one will* in Christ, which was certainly equivocal, according to their own views, and not according to the general sentiments of their sect.

§ 6. But this fair prospect of peace and harmony was blasted, and a formidable contest was excited, by a single monk of Palestine, named *Sophronius*. He being present at the council of Alexandria, held by Cyrus in the year 633, strenuously resisted the article which related to *one will* in Christ. And the next year, 634, being made patriarch of Jerusalem, he assembled a council, in which he condemned the *Monothelites*; and maintained that, by their doctrine, the *Eutychian* error, respecting the amalgamation and confusion of natures in Christ, was revived and brought into the church. He drew over many, particularly among the monks, to his sentiments; and he made special efforts to gain over *Honorius* the Roman pontiff to his side.⁹ But *Sergius* of Constantinople wrote a long and discreet letter to *Honorius*, which induced him to decide, that those held sound doctrine who taught, that there was *one will* and *one operation* in Christ.¹ Hence arose severe contests, which

gave occasion afterwards to the most violent theological contests. *Schl.*]

⁹ [Sophronius was most sincere and decorous in his opposition to the doctrine of Monothelitism. In the council of Alexandria, he fell down before Cyrus, and entreated him not to sanction such a doctrine. But he was alone in his opposition. Cyrus treated him tenderly, advised him to confer with Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople on the subject, and wrote a letter to Sergius for Sophronius to carry. When arrived at Constantinople, Sergius endeavoured to soothe him, represented the point as unessential, agreed to write to Cyrus not to allow any controversy on the subject, but to leave every one at full liberty to speculate as he pleased about it. Sophronius now agreed to keep silence; but when made patriarch of Jerusalem, his conscience would not let him rest. Whether he assembled a provincial synod, as Dr. Mosheim asserts, is questionable: but his circular epistle to the other patriarchs on occasion of his con-

secration, contained an elaborate discussion of the subject, and a host of quotations from the fathers, in proof that the doctrine of *two wills* and *two operations* was the only true doctrine. See the letter in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1257. *Tr.*]

¹ This the adherents to the Roman pontiff's have taken the utmost pains to disprove, lest one of the pontiff's should seem to have erred in a matter of such moment. See, among many others, Jo. Harduin, *de Sacramento Altaris*, in his *Opp. Selecta*, p. 255, &c. And, indeed, it is not difficult either to accuse or excuse the man; for he appears not to have known what he did think on the subject, and to have annexed no very definite ideas to the words which he used. Yet he *did* say, that there was but *one will*, and *one operation of will* in Christ; and for this, he was condemned in the council of Constantinople. He was therefore a *heretic*, beyond all controversy, if it be true that universal councils cannot err. See Ja. Benign.

divided the commonwealth, as well as the church, into two parties.

§ 7. To quiet these great commotions, *Heraclius* published in the year 639 an *Ecthesis* drawn up by *Sergius*, that is, a formula of faith; in which, while he forbade all discussion of the question, whether there were *only one*, or a *twofold action or operation in Christ*, he clearly stated, that there was but *one will in Christ*.² This new law was approved by not a few, in the East, and first of all by *Pyrrhus* of Constantinople, who, on the death of *Sergius* succeeded to that see in the year 639.³ But the Roman pontiff *John IV.*, in a council held this year at Rome, rejected the *Ecthesis*, and condemned the Monothelites.⁴ As

Bossuet, *Defensio Declarationis quam Clerus Gallicanus, anno 1682, de Potestate Ecclesiastica sanxit*, pt. ii. lib. xii. cap. 21, &c. p. 182, &c. Add Ja. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 391, &c. [Honorius was made acquainted, by *Sergius*, in the above-mentioned letter, with the origin and whole progress of the controversy; and he was so impressed, that, in his answer to *Sergius*, (which is in *Harduin's Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1319, &c.) he so far agreed with *Sergius*, that he would not have either *one or two operations* and divine wills affirmed; yet he did very clearly maintain but *one will in Christ*, expressed his disapprobation of *Sophronius*, and declared the whole controversy to be unimportant and mere logomachy. There is extant also (*ibid.* p. 1351,) an extract from a second letter of *Honorius* to *Sergius*, in which he still further confirms his opinion. The friends of the Romish church have taken great pains to justify this mistake of *Honorius*. The Acts of the sixth general council, say they, are corrupted, and the name of *Honorius* has been wickedly foisted into them. *Honorius* was not condemned for *heresy*, but for his forbearance; he meant to deny only that there were two *opposite wills in Christ*. He wrote only as a private person, and not as a bishop, and also when ill-informed by *Sergius*; and moreover retracted afterwards his opinion. But even catholic writers have confuted these subterfuges: *e. g.* Richer *Hist. Concil. General.* p. 296, &c. Du Pin, *Biblioth.* tom. vi. p. 67, &c. *Honorius* was condemned, not only in the sixth general council, but also in the seventh and eighth, and in that in Trullo, and likewise by his own successors

(*Agatho*, *Leo II.*, *Hadrian*, &c.) and is named in several Rituals, and particularly in the Breviary, and in the festival of *Leo II.*, together with *Sergius* and *Cyrus*, as a person *damnatae memoriae*: this is manifest proof, that no one then even thought of an infallibility in the Romish popes, notwithstanding in modern times the name of *Honorius* has been erased from the Breviaries. *Schl.*—See *Bower's Lives of the Popes*, (*Agatho*), vol. iii. *Tr.*]

² [This *Ecthesis* is in *Harduin's Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 791, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [Previously to this, *Sergius* assembled the clergy at Constantinople, and not only established the new Concordat, but ordained that all clergymen who should not adopt it, should be liable to deposition, and all monks and laymen be liable to excommunication. Extracts from the Acts of this council are given in the Acts of the Lateran council [A. D. 649,] in *Harduin*, tom. iii. p. 795, &c. *Pyrrhus*, the successor of *Sergius*, likewise received this formula in an assembly of the clergy, A. D. 640, and commanded all bishops, whether present or absent, to subscribe to it. See the extracts from the Acts of this council in *Harduin*, tom. iii. p. 797. *Schl.*]

⁴ [*Heraclius* transmitted the *Ecthesis* to pope *Severinus* at Rome, by the exarch *Isaaius*. (*Harduin*, tom. iii. p. 803.) Whether *Severinus* submitted to it is uncertain; but that his envoys, sent to Constantinople to obtain the confirmation of his election, could not succeed, till they had engaged he should receive it, is certain. His successor, *John IV.*, rejected it, soon after his elevation to office, in a Romish council, of which we have only

the controversy still continued, the emperor *Constans*, in the year 648, published, with the consent of *Paul* of Constantinople, a new edict, called the *Typus*; by which the *Ecthesis* was annulled, and silence enjoined on both the contending parties, as well with regard to *one will*, as with regard to *one operation of will* in Christ.⁵ But by the impassioned monks, silence was viewed as a crime: and at their instigation, *Martin*, the bishop of Rome, in a council of 105 bishops, in the year 649, anathematized both the *Ecthesis* and the *Typus*, (but without naming the emperors,) and likewise all patrons of the *Monothelites*.⁶

§ 8. The audacity of *Martin*, in anathematizing the imperial edicts, provoked *Constans* to issue orders for the arrest of the pontiff, by the exarch *Calliopas*, and for his transportation, in the year 650, to the island of Naxia. *Maximus*, the ringleader of the seditious monks, was banished to Bizyea; and others, not less factious, were punished in different ways.⁷ The succeeding Roman pontiffs, *Eugenius* and *Vitalian*, were more discreet and moderate; especially the latter, who received *Constans*, upon his arrival at Rome, in the year 663, with the

very dubious accounts. On the side of this pope stood the island of Cyprus, and Numidia, Byzicene, the Provincia Proconsularis, and Mauritania; from all of which provinces synodal epistles are still extant, which show that the bishops there passed resolutions against the *Ecthesis*. They are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 727, &c. *Schl.*

⁵ [This *Typus* is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 823, &c. *Schl.*]

⁶ [This council was held in the church of St. John of the Lateran, and thence called the *Lateran council*. The Acts of it are in Harduin's Collection, tom. iii. p. 626—946. The year before, pope Theodore had held a council at Rome, in which he condemned Pyrrhus, who had lost the patriarchate of Constantinople, in consequence of his taking part in the civil commotions of that city at the election of a new emperor, together with his successor Paul; and had mingled some of the sacramental wine with the ink, with which he signed their condemnation. See Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 419. The emperor *Constans* hoped, by means of his *Typus*, to put an end to all these commotions; and he would undoubtedly have succeeded if he had had only candid

and reasonable men to deal with. But at Rome a determined spirit of self-justification prevailed; and unfortunately, pope Martin was a man who sought to gain a reputation for learning, by metaphysical wrangling. He condemned, in this council, the opinions of an Arabian bishop, Theodorus of Pharan, a zealous Monophysite; but touched so lightly on the doctrines of Honorius, as not even to mention his name. *Schl.*]

⁷ [Pope Martin, to give the proceeding a less exceptionable aspect, was accused of various crimes. He was charged with being a partizan of the rebel exarch Olympius, with sending supplies of money to the Saracens, &c. From Naxia he was brought to Constantinople, and there subjected to a judicial trial. He would certainly have lost his head as a traitor, had not the dying patriarch Paul moved the emperor to commute his punishment into banishment to Cherson; where he soon after died in great distress. See his fourteenth and following Epistles, in Labbé, *Concilia*, tom. vi. and *Concilia Regia*, tom. xv. also Muratori, *History of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 125, &c. *Schl.* — Also Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. *Tr.*]

highest honours, and adopted measures to prevent the controversy from being rekindled.⁸ It therefore slept in silence for several years. But as it was only a concealed fire that burned in secret, and as new commotions hazardous to the public peace were constantly to be feared, *Constantine Pogonatus*, the son of *Constans*, having advised with the Roman pontiff *Agatho*, summoned a *general council*, in the year 680, which is called the *sixth* of the oecumenical councils; and here he permitted the Monothelites, and the Roman pontiff *Honorius*, to be condemned in the presence of *Agatho's* legates; and he confirmed the decrees of the council, with the sanction of penal laws.⁹

§ 9. It is very difficult to define the real sentiments of the Monothelites, or what it was that their adversaries condemned: for neither party is uniform in its statements, and both disclaim the errors objected to them. I. The Monothelites disclaimed

⁸ [Vitalianus, as soon as he was elected, dispatched his envoys to Constantinople, and by them sent the customary confession of his faith to the patriarch. The discreet procedure of the pope, and the political circumstances of the times, caused his envoys to be well received, and to be sent back to Rome by Constantine with splendid presents. The patriarch of Constantinople also, in his letter of reply, expressed warm desires for union and harmony. When the emperor Constans, in the year 663, came to Rome, in his campaign against the Lombards, the pope showed him more honour than it became his papal character to show to one who had murdered his own brother; for the emperor, a few years before, had put his own brother, the deacon Theodosius, to death. The pope with all his clergy went out to meet him, two miles from Rome, and escorted him into the city. But all the honours he showed to the emperor did not prevent him from carrying off to Constantinople all the brass which ornamented the city, and even the plates which covered the roof of the Pantheon. See Anastasius, *de Vita Vitaliani*; and Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Longobardor.* lib. v. c. 6, 7. *Schl.*]

⁹ [This council was called by the emperor, who presided in it in person. The number of bishops was small at first, but increased to near 200. There were eighteen sessions from the 7th Nov. 680, to the 16th Sept. 681. No one of the ancient councils was conducted with

more decorum and fairness. Yet not the Bible, but the decrees of former councils, and the writings of the fathers, were the authority relied upon. All the great patriarchs were present, either personally or by their representatives. At first, the two parties were nearly balanced; but in the eighth session, March 7, George, the patriarch of Constantinople, went over to the side of the orthodox; and was followed by all the clergy of his diocese. Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch, who stood firm at the head of the Monothelites, was now outvoted, condemned, and deprived of his office. The Monothelites, as soon as they were adjudged to be heretics, lost their seats; and therefore the decrees of the council were finally carried by a unanimous vote. Theodoros of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople, Honorius of Rome, Macarius of Antioch, and some others, were condemned as heretics; and the doctrine of *two wills*, a human and divine, and two *kinds of voluntary acts* in Christ, defined and established. The Acts of this council, Gr. and Lat., are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1043—1644; and they are not falsified, as some Catholics formerly asserted. See Combefis, *Diss. Apologet. pro Actis VI. Synodi*, in his *Auctuar. Biblioth. Patr. nov.* tom. ii. p. 65. Jo. Forbes, *Instructio Hist. Theol.* l. v. c. 10. Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 61. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* tom. i. p. 605. Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, (*Agatho*,) vol. iii. *Tr.*]

all connexion with the *Eutychians* and the *Monophysites*; and confessed that there were, in Christ the Saviour, *two natures*, so united, without mixture or confusion, as to constitute but *one person*. II. They admitted that the human soul of Christ was endowed with a will, or the faculty of willing and choosing; and that it did not lose this power of willing and choosing, in consequence of its union with the divine nature. For they held and taught, that Christ was *perfect man*, as well as *perfect God*; and, of course, that his human soul had the power of willing and choosing. III. They denied this power of willing and choosing in the human soul of Christ, to be inactive, or inoperative: on the contrary, they conceded that it operated together with the divine will. IV. They therefore, in reality, admitted *two wills* in Christ, and that both were active and operative wills.¹ Yet, V., they maintained that, in a certain sense, there was but *one will* and *one operation* of will in Christ.

§ 10. But these positions were not explained in precisely the same manner by all who were called *Monothelites*. Some of them, as may be fully proved, intended no more than that the two wills in Christ, the human and the divine, were always *harmonious*, and in this sense *one*; or that the human will always accorded with the divine will, and was, therefore, always holy, upright, and good. And in this opinion there is nothing censurable.² But others, approaching nearer to the *Monophysites*, supposed that the two wills in Christ, that is, the two powers of willing, in consequence of the *personal union* (as it is called) of the two natures, were amalgamated and became *one will*; yet they still admitted, that the two wills could be, and should be, discriminated in our conceptions. The greatest part of the sect, and those possessing the greatest acumen, supposed that the will of Christ's human soul was the *instrument* of his divine will: yet, when moved and prompted to act, it operated and put forth volitions in connexion with the divine will.³ From this supposition, the position so obstinately

¹ [They admitted two *faculties* or voluntary *powers*, a human and a divine; but maintained, that when brought into action, they operated as if they were but *one*. By the expression *one will*, therefore, they seem to have intended *one volition*, or *act* of the will, and by *one operation* they intended *one mode of acting*.

See Walch, *Historie der Ketzerereyen*, vol. ix. p. 584, &c. *Tr.*]

² [See Walch, *Historie der Ketzerereyen*, vol. ix. p. 592, &c. where he names (in Ann. 1, p. 593,) Sergius, Honorius, and the Ecthesis, as giving these views. *Tr.*]

³ [According to Dr. Walch, *Historie*

maintained by the *Monothelites*, was unavoidable, that in Christ there was but *one will* and *one operation of will*. For the operation of an instrument, and of him who uses it, is not twofold, but one. Setting aside, therefore, the suspicion of *Eutychianism*, and other things connected with that question, the point in controversy was, *whether the human will of Christ sometimes acted from its own impulse, or whether it was always moved by the instigation of the divine nature*. This controversy is a striking illustration of the fallacious and hazardous nature of every religious peace, which is made to rest on ambiguous phraseology. The friends of the council of Chalcedon endeavoured to ensnare the *Monophysites* by means of a proposition of dubious interpretation; and they thus imprudently involved the church and the state in long protracted controversies.

§ 11. The doctrine of the *Monothelites*, condemned and exploded by the council of Constantinople, found a place of refuge among the *Mardaites*, a people who inhabited the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and who about the conclusion of this century received the name of *Maronites*, from *Jo. Maro*, their first bishop, a name which they still retain. No one of the ancients, indeed, has mentioned this man, as the person who brought the Libaniots to embrace Monothelitism; but there are strong reasons for believing that it was this *John*, whose surname of *Maro* passed over to the people of whom he was bishop.⁴ This, however, is demonstrable, from the testimony of *William* of Tyre, and of other unexceptionable witnesses⁵,

der Ketzererey, vol. ix. p. 594. &c. the subordination of the *human* will to the *divine* in Christ, was explained by some to be altogether *voluntary*, or a consequence of the pious resignation and the faith of the man Christ Jesus; but others supposed, that it resulted from the *nature of the union* by which the *human nature* became the *instrument* by which the *divine nature* worked; and they illustrated the subject by the subjection of man's bodily members to the empire of his mind or soul. *Tr.*]

⁴ The surname of Maro was given to this monk, because he had lived in the celebrated monastery of St. Maro, on the river Orontes, before he took residence among the Mardaites on mount Lebanon. A particular account is given of him by Jo. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496.

[Gabriel Sionita, *de Urbibus et Moribus Oriental.* cap. 8. derives the name of Maronites, from an abbot Maron, whom he extols for his holiness and his virtues; but he will acknowledge no heretical Maro. *Schl.*]

⁵ [The passage of William of Tyre is in his *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestar.* lib. xxxii. c. 8, and is this: "A Syrian nation, in the province of Phenicia, inhabiting the cliffs of Lebanon near the city Bibles, while enjoying temporal peace, experienced a great change in its state: for, having followed the errors of one Maro, a *heresiarch*, for nearly 500 years, and so as to be called after him Maronites, and to be separated from the church of the faithful, and maintain a separate worship, through divine influence, returning now to a sound mind, they put on resolution and

that the *Maronites* were, for a long time *Monothelites* in sentiment; and that it was not till the twelfth century, when they became reconciled with the Romish church, in the year 1182, that they abandoned the error of *one will* in Christ. The most learned of the modern *Maronites* have very studiously endeavoured to wipe off this reproach from their nation, and have advanced many arguments to prove that their ancestors were always obedient to the see of Rome, and never embraced the sentiments either of the *Monophysites*, or of the *Monothelites*. But they cannot persuade the learned to believe so; for these maintain, that their testimonies are fictitious and of no validity.⁶

§ 12. Neither the sixth [general] council, which condemned the *Monothelites*, nor the fifth which had been held in the preceding century, enacted any canons concerning discipline and rites. Therefore, a new assembly of bishops was held by order of *Justinian II.* in the year 692, at Constantinople, in a tower of the palace, which was called *Trullus*. This council, from the place of meeting, was called *Concilium Trullanum*; and from another circumstance, *Quinisextum*, because the Greeks considered its decrees as necessary to the perfection of the Acts of the fifth and sixth councils. We have one hundred and two canons sanctioned by this assembly, on various subjects pertaining to the external part of worship, the government of the church, and the conduct of Christians. But six of these

joined themselves to Aimericus, the patriarch of Antioch."—The Alexandrian patriarch Eutychius, whose annals Pocock has translated from the Arabic, likewise mentions a monk Marun, "who asserted that Christ our Lord had *two natures*, and *one will*, one operation and person, and corrupted the faith of men; and whose followers, holding the same sentiments with him, were called Maronites, deriving their name from his name Maro." *Schl.*]

⁶ The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by Abrah. Echelenis, Gabriel Sionita, and others of the Maronite nation; but by none of them more fully, than by Faustus Nairon, both in his *Dissert. de Origine, Nomine et Religione Maronitarum*, Rome, 1679, 8vo; and in his *Euophia fidei Catholica ex Syrorum et Chaldeorum Monumentis*, Rome, 1694, 8vo. Yet Nairon induced none to believe his positions, except Ant. Pagi, (in his *Critica Baroniana*, ad ann. 694,) and

P. de la Roque; in whose *Voyage de Syrie et de Montiban*, tom. ii. p. 28—128, there is a long Dissertation concerning the origin of the Maronites. Even Asseman, who, being a Maronite, spared no pains to vindicate the character of his nation, (*Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 496.) yet does not deny, that much of what has been written by Nairon and others, in behalf of the Maronites, is without weight or authority. See Jo. Morin, *de Ordin. Sacris*, p. 380, &c. Rich. Simon, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, cap. xiii. p. 146. Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 149; and *Præfat. ad Liturgias Orientales*. Peter le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, tom. ii. p. 626, &c. Paris, 1726, 8vo. The arguments on both sides are stated, and the reader is left to form his own judgment, by Mich. le Quien, *Christianus Oriens*, tom. iii. p. 10, &c. [See also Walch, *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. ix. p. 474—488. *Tr.*]

canons are opposed to the Romish opinions and customs. Wherefore the Roman pontiffs have not chosen to approve the council as a whole, or to rank it among the *general* councils, although they have deemed the greatest part of its decrees to be praiseworthy.⁷

⁷ See Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Pontiff. Roman.* tom. i. p. 486. Chr. Lupus, *Diss. de Concilio Trullano*; in his Notes and Dissertations on Councils, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 168, &c. The Romans reject the *fifth canon*, which approves of the eighty-five Apostolic Canons, commonly attributed to Clement:—the *thirteenth canon*, which allows priests to live in wedlock: the *fifty-fifth canon*, which condemns fasting on Saturdays, a custom allowed of in the Latin church:—the *sixty-seventh canon*, which earnestly enjoins abstinence from blood and from things strangled:—the *eighty-second canon*, which prohibits the painting of Christ in the image of a lamb:—and the *eighty-sixth canon*, concerning the equality of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. [The eastern patriarchs, of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Justiniana, with more than 200 bishops, attended this council. The Roman pontiff had no proper legate there. Yet his ordinary representatives at the imperial court sat in the council, and subscribed

its decisions; and Basil, the archbishop of Crete, says in his subscription, that he represented the patriarch of Rome, and all the bishops under him. The emperor attended the council in person, and subscribed its decrees. In the original, a space was left for the subscription of the Roman pontiff: but when it was sent to Rome by the emperor, and pope Sergius was called on to subscribe, he showed such a refractory spirit, as nearly cost him his liberty. The reason was, he found the above-mentioned canons to be contrary to the principles and usages of his church. For the same reason, the admirers of the Romish bishop, to this day, are not agreed, whether the whole council, or only the canons which have the misfortune to displease them, should be rejected; notwithstanding, at an early period, pope Adrian approved of it. On the other hand, this council was recognized by the Greeks as a valid one, and classed among the general councils. See Dr. Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversammlungen*, p. 441. *Schl.*]

INSTITUTES
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
UNDER THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOK III.
EMBRACING
EVENTS FROM THE TIMES OF CHARLEMAGNE,
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

CENTURY EIGHTH.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE OUTWARD STATE OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THIS CENTURY.

§ 1. Propagation of Christianity in Hyrcania and Tartary. — § 2. Conversion of the Germans by Boniface. — § 3. Other expeditions and successes of Boniface. — § 4. Estimate of his apostleship. — § 5. Other apostles of Germany. — § 6. Expedition of Charlemagne against the Saxons. — § 7. Estimate of his conversions. — § 8. The reputed miracles of this century.

§ 1. WHILE the Mahumedans were harassing and subjugating the fairest provinces of Asia, and diminishing every where the lustre and reputation of Christianity, the Nestorians of Chaldea were blessing with the knowledge of heavenly truth those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients, and by the moderns, Tartars, living on this side mount Imaus, and not subject to the Saracens. It is now ascertained that *Timotheus* the Nestorian pontiff, who attained that dignity A.D. 778, imbued with a knowledge of Christianity, by the ministry of *Subchal Jesu*, whom he created a bishop, first the Gela and Dailamites, nations of Hyrcania; and afterwards, by other missionaries, the rest of the nations of Hyrcania, Bactria, Margiana, and Sogdiana.¹ It is also certain, that Christianity was

¹ Thomas Margensis, *Historia Monastica*, lib. iii. in Jos. Sim. Asseman's *Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 491. See also the *Bibliotheca*, tom. iii. pt. ii. cap. ix. § v. p. cccclxxviii. [Dr. Mesheim, in his *Historia Tartarica*, p. 100.

firmly and permanently established in those countries for several centuries, although it was sometimes disturbed by the Mahomedans; and that the bishops of these countries were always subject to the authority of the Nestorian pontiff.

§ 2. In Europe, most of the German nations were still involved in the darkness of superstition; the only exception being the tribes on the Rhine, the Bavarians, who are known to have received a knowledge of Christianity under *Theodoric*, the son of Clovis the Great, and the Eastern Franks², with a few others. Attempts had been often made to enlighten the Germans, both by kings and princes, for whose interest it was, that those warlike tribes should become civilized, and also by some pious and holy men; but the attempts had met with little or no success. But in this century, *Winifred*, an English Benedictine monk, of noble birth, who afterwards bore the name of *Boniface*, attempted this object with better success. In the year 715, he left his native country, with two companions, and first attempted in vain to disseminate Christian doctrines among the Frieslanders, who were subjects of king Radbod. Afterwards, in the year 719, having received a solemn commission from the Roman pontiff, *Gregory II.*, he more successfully performed the functions of a Christian teacher among the Thuringians, the Frieslanders, and the Hessians.³

torum Ecclesiastica, p. 13, &c. relying chiefly on the preceding authorities, states that Timotheus, who was Patriarch of the Nestorians from A.D. 777 to A.D. 820, planned the mission to these nations, inhabiting the shores of the Caspian sea; and selected for its execution one Subchal Jesu, a learned monk of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Aben in Assyria, well skilled in the Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages; ordained him bishop, and sent him forth. Subchal made numerous converts among the Gelæ and Dailamites, formed them into churches, and ordained elders over them. This active missionary also travelled farther East, and spread the Gospel extensively in Tartary, Chathai, and China; but on his return from his mission, to visit Timotheus and the monks of his convent, he was murdered by the barbarians. Timotheus now ordained Kardagus and Jabalaha, two other monks of Beth-Aben, and sent them with fifteen assistant monks into the same countries. These

also were successful missionaries; and with the consent of Timotheus, the two bishops ordained seven of their companions to be bishops of the East; namely, Thomas, who went into India; David, metropolitan of China; and Zacchæus, Semus, Ephraim, Simeon, and Ananias. Thomas Margensis relates, that Timotheus directed the two ordaining bishops, first to ordain a third; and to supply the place of a *third bishop* at his ordination, by placing a copy of the Gospels on the seat near the right hand. Afterwards they would have the canonical number of *three* bishops to ordain the others. These new bishops dispersed themselves widely over the countries of the East, and founded many churches in India, Chathai, and China. But after the death of Timotheus, A.D. 820, we learn nothing more respecting these churches till A.D. 1000, when the famous Christian prince, called Presbyter John, came upon the stage. *Tr.*

² [Or Franconians. *Tr.*]

³ All that could be said of this cele-

§ 3. In the year 723, being ordained a bishop at Rome, by Gregory II., and being supported by the authority and the aid

brated man, has been collected by Henr. Phil. Gudenius, in his *Diss. de S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo*, Helmst. 1722, 4to. Yet we may add Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Biblioth. Latina mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 709. *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 92. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, and others. [The church histories of Fleury, Schroeckh, and J. E. C. Schmidt, give ample accounts of Boniface. Milner (*Church Hist.* cent. viii. c. iv.) is an admirer of Boniface. The best among the original biographers of this famous man, are Willibald, one of his disciples; and a German monk named Othlon, who lived in the eleventh century, and collected various letters of Boniface, which he has inserted in his narrative. Both these biographies, with valuable notes, are contained in Mabilonii *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 1—84, ed. Venet. 1734. According to these writers, Boniface was born at Kirton (Crediton) in Devonshire, about A. D. 680. When but four or five years old, he showed a strong inclination for a monastic life, which his father first endeavoured to eradicate, but afterwards favoured. He first entered a monastery at Exeter. From that he removed, after seven years, to the monastery of Nuscelle in Hants, as a better place for study. Here he learned grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and biblical interpretation according to the threefold sense of Scripture. After a short time, he was a teacher of these things. At the age of 30, he was ordained a presbyter. About A. D. 715, he undertook a voluntary mission to Friesland, with two monks for companions. But Radbod, the pagan king of the country, being at war with the Franks, and hostile to the Christians, gave him no encouragement; and he returned again to his monastery. The abbacy of Nuscelle was now offered him, but he refused it, because he preferred a more active employment. Soon after, having projected a mission to the pagans in Germany, he set out for Rome, to obtain the papal sanction and support to his enterprise. Daniel, the bishop of Winchester, gave him a letter of introduction to the pontiff, who readily gave him a commission to preach the Gospel to the pagans, wherever he could find them. He now visited Germany, preached in Bavaria and Thu-

ringia; and learning that Radbod was dead, he went to Friesland, and for three years assisted Willibrord, the aged bishop of Utrecht, in spreading the Gospel, and erecting churches among the neighbouring pagans. Willibrord proposed to him to become his permanent assistant and successor; but Boniface declined, on the ground that the pope had intended he should labour in the more eastern parts of Germany. He now visited Rome a second time, in the year 723; was closely examined by the pope, as to his faith, and his adherence to the see of Rome; and upon his swearing perpetual allegiance to the pope, he was created a bishop, and had his name changed from Winifrid to Boniface. With numerous letters of recommendation to princes, bishops, and others, and a good stock of holy relics, Boniface returned through France, where Charles Martel received him cordially, and furnished him with a safe conduct throughout the empire. He first went among the Hessians; where he suppressed the remains of idolatry, and intrepidly cut down the consecrated *oak of Jupiter*, which broke into four equal parts as it fell. This prodigy silenced all objections; and out of the wood of this tree a chapel was built, dedicated to St. Peter. From Hesse he went to Thuringia, where he effected a similar reform, and had contention with some who were accounted heretical. On the accession of Gregory III. to the papal chair, A. D. 731, Boniface sent an embassy to Rome, giving account of his proceedings, and proposing several questions respecting ecclesiastical law, for solution. The pope answered his inquiries, sent him a fresh supply of relics, and also the archiepiscopal pallium, with instructions when and how to wear it. In the year 738, he visited Rome a third time, attended by a large retinue of priests and monks, and was graciously received by the pope. On his return through Bavaria, as papal legate, he divided that country into four bishoprics, and placed bishops over them; namely, John, bishop of Salzburg; Etlendert, bishop of Freisingen; Gosbald of Regensburg; and Vivilo of Passau. In the year 741, he erected four more bishoprics in Germany; namely, those of Würzburg, Eichstadt, Buraburg, and Erfurth, over

of *Charles Martel*, the mayor of the palace of the Franks, Boniface returned to his Hessians and Thuringians, and resumed his labours among them with much success. He was now assisted by several learned and pious persons of both sexes, who repaired to him out of England and France. In the year 738, having gathered more Christian churches than one man alone could govern, he was advanced to the rank of an archbishop, by Gregory III.; and by his authority, and with the aid of *Carloman* and *Pipin*, the sons of Charles Martel, he established various bishoprics in Germany; as those of *Würzburg*, *Buraburg*⁴, *Erfurt*, and *Eichstadt*; to which he added, in the year 744, the famous monastery of *Fulda*. The final reward of his labours, decreed to him in the year 746, by the Roman pontiff *Zacharias*, was, to be constituted archbishop of Mentz, and primate of Germany and Belgium. In his old age, he travelled once more among the Frieslanders, that his ministry might terminate with the people among whom it commenced: but, in the year 755, he was murdered, with fifty clergymen who attended him, by the people of that nation.

which he placed four of his friends, Burchard, Willebald, Albinus, and Adler. Hitherto Boniface had been archbishop of no particular place; but in the year 745, he procured the deposition of Gevilieb, archbishop of Mentz, charging him, in a provincial council, with having slain in single combat the man who had slain his own father in battle, and with having kept dogs and birds for sport. This council decreed the vacant see of Mentz to Boniface. As archbishop of Mentz, Boniface claimed jurisdiction over the bishop of Utrecht, which claim was contested by the archbishop of Cologne. Boniface, as archbishop, and as papal legate, presided in several councils in France and Germany, and was very active in enforcing uniformity of rites, and rigid adherence to the canons of the church of Rome. In the year 754, being far advanced in life, he left his bishopric at Mentz under the care of Lullus, whom he ordained his colleague and successor, and undertook a mission among the Frieslanders, who were but partially converted to Christianity. With the aid of several inferior clergymen and monks, he had brought many persons of both sexes to submit to baptism; and having appointed the 5th of June for a general meeting of the converts, to

receive the rite of confirmation, at Dockum on the Bordne, between East and West Friesland, on the morning of the day appointed, and while the converts were expected to arrive, a party of pagan Frieslanders assaulted his camp. His young men began to prepare for battle; but Boniface forbade it, and exhorted all to resign themselves up to die as martyrs. He and his fifty-two companions were all murdered, and their camp was plundered. But the banditti afterwards quarrelled among themselves respecting the plunder; and being intoxicated with the wine they had gotten, they fought till several of their number were slain. The Christian converts, enraged at the murderers of their teachers, collected forces, and attacking their villages, slew and dispersed the men, plundered their houses, and enslaved their wives and children. The murdered Christians were removed to Utrecht, and there interred. Afterwards, the remains of Boniface were carried to Mentz, and thence to Fulda. — Boniface left behind him forty-two epistles; a set of ecclesiastical rules, thirty-six in number; fifteen discourses; and a part of a work on penance. *Tr.*

⁴ [Near Fritzlar, in Hesse-Cassel. *Tr.*]

§ 4. On account of so many labours in propagating Christianity among the Germans, *Boniface* has gained the title of the *Apostle of Germany*; and a candid estimate of the magnitude of his achievements will show him to be not altogether unworthy of this title.⁵ Yet, as an apostle, he was widely different from that pattern which the first and genuine apostles have left us. For, not to mention that the honour and majesty of the Roman pontiff, whose minister and legate he was, were quite as much his care, nay, even more, as the glory of *Christ* and his religion⁶; he did not always oppose superstition with the weapons which the ancient apostles used, but often overawed the minds of the people by violence and fear, often entrapped them, as it were, by artifices and fraud.⁷ His epistles

⁵ [If the man deserves the title of an apostle, who goes among the heathen, preaches to them the Gospel, according to his best knowledge of it, encounters many hardships, makes some inroad upon idolatry, gathers churches, erects houses of worship, founds monasteries, and spends his life in this business;—then Boniface justly merits this title. But if that man only can be called an apostle who is in all respects like to Peter and Paul;—who, in all his efforts, looks only to the honour of Christ, and the dissemination of truth and virtue; and for attaining these ends employs no means but such as the first apostles of Christ used;—then, manifestly, Boniface was wholly unworthy of this name. He was rather an apostle of the pope, than of Jesus Christ; he had but one eye directed towards Christ, the other was fixed on the pope of Rome, and on his own fame, which depended on him. *Schl.*]

⁶ The French Benedictine monks ingenuously acknowledge, that Boniface was a sycophant of the Roman pontiff, and showed him more deference than was fit and proper. See *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 106. “Il exprime son dévouement pour le S. Siège, quelquefois en des termes qui ne sont pas assés proportionnés à la dignité du caractère Episcopal.” [We need only to read his epistles, to be satisfied on this point. He says, (*Ep.* xci. p. 126, ed. Serrar.) that all he had done, for six and thirty years, while legate of the holy see, was intended for the advantage of the church at Rome; to the judgment of which, so far as he had erred in word

or deed, he submitted himself with all humility.—Cringing enough for an archbishop of the German church!—In a letter to Pope Zacharias, (*Ep. Bonif.* cxxxii. p. 181,) he writes, that he wished to maintain the general faith, and union with the church of Rome, and would not cease to urge and persuade all his pupils that were about him, to be obedient to the see of Rome.—In another letter, addressed to Stephen III. (*Ep.* xcvi. p. 132,) upon occasion of his contest with the bishop of Cologne, respecting the bishopric of Utrecht, he represents the bishop of Cologne as wishing exclusively, to make the bishop who should preach to the Friesland, independent of the see of Rome; whereas *he* (Boniface) was exerting all his powers, to make the bishopric of Utrecht entirely dependent on the see of Rome. *Schl.*]

⁷ [It is unquestionable, that this apostle of the Germans marched into Thuringia, at the head of an army; and that, at the time he was murdered by the Friesland, he had soldiers with him as his body-guard: and so, in all his enterprises, he had the support of the civil arm, afforded to him by Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pipin.—His arguments also may have been not the best, if he followed the directions of Daniel, bishop of Winchester; for whom, as his epistles show, he had a high respect. (See *Ep. Bonif.* iii. p. 5, and the ep. of Daniel to him, *Ep.* lxxvii. p. 79, &c.) For here Daniel advises him, to ask the pagans, how they can believe, that the gods reward the righteous, and punish the wicked in this life; since they see the Christians, who have de-

also betray here and there an ambitious and arrogant spirit, a crafty and insidious disposition, an immoderate eagerness to augment sacerdotal honours and prerogatives⁸, joined with great ignorance, not only of many things which an *apostle* ought to know, but in particular of the true character of the Christian religion.⁹

§ 5. Besides Boniface, others also attempted to rescue the unevangelized nations of Germany from the thralldom of superstition. Such was *Corbinian*, a French Benedictine monk, who, after various labours for the instruction of the Bavarians and other nations, became bishop of Freysingen.¹ Such also was

stroyed their images and prostrated their worship all over the world, remain unpunished?—And, how comes it to pass that the Christians possess the fruitful countries, which produce wine and oil in abundance, while the pagans inhabit the cold and barren corners of the earth?—He must also represent to the pagans, that the Christians now ruled the whole world; whereas the pagans were few in number and powerless: and this great change in their condition, had taken place since the coming of Christ; for before that event, the pagans had vast dominion. It is likewise undeniable, that Boniface gloried in fictitious miracles and wonders. *Schl.*]

⁸ [Consider only his conduct towards those bishops and presbyters, who had before received ordination, and refused to receive it again from him according to the Romish rites, and would not, in general, subject themselves to Romish supremacy and Romish forms of worship. These must be regarded as *false brethren, heretics, blasphemers, servants of the devil, and fore-runners of Anti-christ*. They must be excommunicated, be cast into prisons, and receive corporeal punishments. See with what violence he breaks out against Adelbert, Clemens, Sampson, Gottschalk, Ehremwolf, Virgilius, and others, in his epistles;—how bitterly he accuses them, before the popes, and in presence of councils, &c. *Schl.*]

⁹ [A large part of the questions, which Boniface submitted to the consideration of the popes, betray his ignorance. But still more so, does his decision of the case of conscience, when a Bavarian priest, who did not understand Latin, had baptized with these words, *Baptizote in nomine patriæ et filia et spiritus sancta*; which baptism he pronounced

to be null and void: and likewise his persecution of the priest Virgilius in Bavaria, who maintained that the earth is globular, and consequently inhabitable on the other side of it, and there enlightened by the sun and moon. Boniface looked upon this as a gross heresy; and he accused the man before the pope, who actually excommunicated him for a heretic. See the tenth Ep. of Zacharias, in Harduin's *Collection of Councils*, tom. iii. p. 1912. *Schl.*—In this, and the preceding notes, Schlegel has laboured with the zeal of a prosecutor, to substantiate the heavy charges of Dr. Mosheim against Boniface. I have carefully read the original lives of this missionary, and also a considerable part of his correspondence; and I must say, I think Dr. Mosheim, and his annotator Schlegel, have not done impartial justice to this eminent man. He appears to me, to have been one of the most sincere and honest men of his age; though he partook largely in the common faults of his time, an excessive attachment to monkery, and a superstitious regard for the canons of the church and the externals of religion. With all his imperfections, he deserves to be classed with those who followed Christ, according to the best light they had, and who did much to advance true religion among men. *Tr.*]

¹ Caesar. Baronii *Annales Ecclesiast.* tom. viii. ad ann. 716, § 10, &c. C. Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frisingensis*, tom. i. [The life of saint Corbinian, in forty-six chapters, was written by one of his pupils and successors, Aribio; and may be seen in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 470—485, and in Meichelbeck, *Hist. Frising.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 3—21. Corbinian was born at Chartres, near

Pirmin, a French monk, nearly contemporary with Boniface, who taught Christianity amidst various sufferings in Helvetia, Alsace, and Bavaria, and presided over several monasteries.² Such, likewise, was *Lebwin*, an Englishman, who laboured with earnestness and zeal, though with little success, to persuade the warlike Saxon nation, the Frieslanders, the Belgians, and other nations, to embrace Christianity.³ Others of less notoriety are omitted.⁴ Neither shall I mention *Willibrord* and others, who

Paris, about A. D. 680. He early devoted himself to a monastic life, and acquired great fame by his miracles. To escape from society, and enjoy solitude, he travelled into Italy, about the year 717, and begged the pope to assign him some obscure retreat. But the pope ordained him a bishop, and sent him back to France. His miracles and his marvellous sanctity now drew such crowds around him, that after seven years, he determined to go to Rome, and beg the pope to divest him of the episcopal dignity. On his way through Bavaria and the Tyrol, he caught a huge bear, which had killed one of his pack-horses, whipped him soundly, and compelled him to serve in place of the pack-horse. At Trent, and at Pavia, he had horses stolen, for which the thieves paid the forfeiture of their lives by the hand of God. The pope would not release him from the episcopacy. He returned, by the way he came, as far as Freisingen, in Bavaria; where Grimoald, the reigning prince, detained him, for the benefit of himself and subjects. After six years' labours at Freisingen, he died, somewhat like Moses, or at least in a very extraordinary manner. He foresaw his death, and having made arrangements for it, he arose in the morning, in perfect health, bathed, dressed himself in his pontificals, performed public service, returned, and placed himself upon his bed, drank a cup of wine, and immediately expired. His biographer makes no mention of his efforts to enlighten his flock, or to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. He was a most bigoted monk, and exceedingly irascible. Prince Grimoald once invited him to dine. Corbinian said grace before dinner, and made the sign of the cross over the food. While they were eating, Grimoald threw some of the food to his dog. Corbinian, in a rage, kicked over the table, and left the room, declaring to the prince, that

he deserved no blessings, who had given food that was blessed to his dog. *Tr.*]

² Herm. Bruschii *Chronologia Monaster.* German. p. 30. Anton. Pagi, *Critica in Annales Baronii*, tom. ii. ad ann. 759, § 9, &c. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 124. [The life of St. Pirmin, written by Warmann, bishop of Constance at the beginning of the eleventh century, may be seen in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 124—139. According to this biography, Pirmin was first the bishop of either Meaux or Metz in France, where he was a devout and zealous pastor. Sintlax, a Suabian prince, procured his removal to the neighbourhood of Constance, where there was great need of an active and exemplary preacher. He established the monastery of Reichenau, in an island near Constance; and afterwards nine or ten other monasteries in Suabia, Alsace, and Switzerland; and was very active in promoting monastic piety in those countries. He is supposed to have died about A. D. 758. *Tr.*]

³ Huebaldi *Vita S. Lebwin;* in L. Surii *Vitis Sanctor.* die 12. Novem. p. 277. Jo. Mölleri *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 464. [Lebwin was an English Benedictine monk and presbyter, of Ripon, in Northumberland, (Yorkshire, formerly a portion of the Northumbrian kingdom,) about A. D. 690, with twelve companions, he went over to West Friesland, on the borders of the pagan Saxons; and for several years travelled and preached in that region, and in Heligoland. He once travelled to the borders of Denmark. At length, he settled down at Deventer, in Overysse, where he preached with considerable success till his death, about A. D. 740. See Mölleri *Cimb. Litt.* ubi supra. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Among these were the following. Othmar, a German monk, founder of the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland.

commenced their missionary labours in the preceding century, and continued them with great zeal in this.

§ 6. In the year 772, *Charlemagne*, king of the Franks, undertook to tame and to withdraw from idolatry the extensive nation of the Saxons, who occupied a large portion of Germany, and were almost perpetually at war with the Franks, respecting their boundaries and other things; for he hoped, if their minds should become imbued with the Christian doctrines, that they would gradually lay aside their ferocity, and learn to endure the empire of the Franks. The first attack upon their heathenism produced little effect; being made, not with force and arms, but by some bishops and monks, whom the victor had left for that purpose among the vanquished nation. But much better success attended the subsequent wars, which *Charlemagne* undertook in the years 775, 776, and 780, against a people, who were extremely brave, very fond of liberty, and particularly impatient of sacerdotal power.⁵ For now, men who were attached to the

At the close of a long and exemplary life, he was maliciously accused of unchastity, by some noblemen who had robbed his monastery, and was thrown into prison, where he languished four years, and then died. Numerous miracles were wrought at his tomb. His life, written by *Walafrid Strabo*, is in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* vol. iv. p. 139, &c.—*Willibald*, bishop of *Eichstadt*, was an Anglo-Saxon monk, of honourable birth, educated in a monastery near *Winchester*. When arrived at manhood, he and his younger brother *Wunobald* left England, travelled through France and Italy, sailed to Asia Minor, and the Holy Land, where they spent seven years. Returning to Italy, they took residence in the monastery of *Mons Cassinus*, during ten years, or till A.D. 739. The pope then sent them into Germany, to assist *St. Boniface*. *Willibald* was placed at *Eichstadt*, ordained priest A.D. 740, and bishop the year following. His death is placed A.D. 786. His life, written by a kinswoman, a contemporary nun of *Heidenheim*, is extant in *Mabillon's Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 330—354.—*Saint Alto*, a Scotch monk, who travelled into Bavaria, and there established the monastery, called from him, *Altomunster*. The monastery was endowed by king *Pipin*, and dedicated by *St. Boniface*. The life of *Alto* is in *Mabillon*, l. c. p. 196, &c.—*St. Sturmius*, a

native of *Noricum*, and follower of *St. Boniface*. Under the direction of that archbishop he erected, and presided over, the monastery of *Fulda*, from A.D. 744, till his death, A.D. 779, except one year, which he spent in Italy, to learn more perfectly the rules of *St. Benedict*; and two other years, in which *Pipin* king of the Franks held him prisoner, under false accusations of disloyalty. In the last years of his life, he aided *Charlemagne* in compelling the Saxons to embrace Christianity. His life, well written by *Eigil*, his pupil and successor, is extant in *Mabillon*, l. c. p. 242—259.—*St. Virgilius*, whom *Boniface* accused of heresy, for believing the world to be globular, was an Irishman, of good education and talents. He went to France in the reign of *Pipin*, who patronized him, and in the year 766 procured for him the bishopric of *Salzburg*, which he held till his death, A.D. 780. While at *Salzburg*, he did much to extend Christianity to the eastward of him, among the Slavonians and Huns. His life is in *Mabillon*, l. c. p. 279, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ I cannot dispense with quoting a passage from a very credible author, *Alcuin*, which shows, what it was especially that rendered the Saxons averse from Christianity, and how preposterously the missionaries sent among them conducted [themselves]. *Alcuin*, *Ep.* civ. in his *Opp.* p. 1647, says: *Si tanta in-*

superstitions of their ancestors, were so effectually assailed, as well with rewards, as with the sword and punishments, that they reluctantly ceased to resist, and suffered themselves to be baptized by the teachers whom Charles sent among them.⁶ *Wide-kind* and *Albion*, indeed, who were two of the most valiant Saxon chiefs, renewed their former insurrections, and attempted to drive away once more, by violence and war, that Christianity which had been set up by violence. But the martial courage and the liberality of Charles at length brought them, in the year 785, solemnly to declare that they *were* Christians, and would continue to be so.⁷ Lest the Saxons should apostatize from the religion which they had unwillingly professed, bishops were established, schools founded, and monasteries erected in every part of their country. The *Huns*, inhabiting Pannonia, were treated in the same way as the Saxons: for Charles so exhausted and humbled them, by successive wars, that he drove them into thinking of Christianity as better than slavery.⁸

stantia leve Christi jugum et onus ejus leve durissimo Saxonum populo predicaretur, quanta DECIMARUM redditio vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuslibet culpis edictis necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrerent. SINT TANDEM ALIQUANDO DOCTORES FIDEI APOSTOLICIS ERUDITI EXEMPLIS. SINT PRÆDICATORES, NON PRÆDATORES. [Had the easy yoke of Christ, with his light burthen, been preached to the stubborn Saxons, with much as earnestness as the payment of *tithes*, and legal satisfaction for the very smallest faults, were exacted, perhaps they would not have abominated the sacrament of Baptism. *Let the Christian teachers learn from the example of the Apostles. Let them be preachers, not plunderers.*] Look at this portrait of the Apostles, that lived in this century!—Yet they are said to have wrought great miracles.

⁶ Alcuin, as cited by William of Malmsbury, *de Gestis Rerum Anglorum*, lib. i. c. 4, published in the *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Francf. 1601, fol. uses this language, "The ancient Saxons and all the Frieslanders, being urged to it by king Charles, who plied some of them with *rewards*, and others with *threats*, (instanti rege Carolo, alios *præmiis*, et alios *minis* sollicitante,) were converted to the Christian faith." See also the *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p.

246, and p. 252. From the first of these passages, it appears, that the Saxons who would renounce idolatry, were *restored to their ancient freedom*, forfeited by conquest, and were *freed from all tribute to the king*. The last of these passages contains this law: *If any person, of the Saxon race, shall contemptuously refuse to come to baptism, and shall resolve to continue a pagan, let him be put to death.*—By such penalties and rewards, the whole world might be constrained to profess Christianity without miracles. But what sort of Christians the Saxons so converted must have been, we need not be told. See Jo. Launoy, *de Veteri More baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*, cap. v. vi. p. 703, &c. *Opp.* tom. ii. pt. ii. where he tells us, that the Roman pontiff, Adrian I., approved of this mode of converting the Saxons to Christianity.

⁷ Eginhard, *de Vita Caroli Magni; Adami Bremens.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 3, &c., and all the historians of the achievements of Charlemagne, who are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 959, &c.

⁸ *Life of St. Rudbert*; in Hen. Canisii *Lectionibus Antiquis*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 340, &c. Pauli Debreceni *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformat. in Hungar. et Transylvania; a Lampio edita*, pt. i. cap. ii. p. 10, &c.

§ 7. For serving thus the cause of Christ, a grateful posterity decreed to Charles the honours of a *saint*. In the twelfth century, accordingly, Frederic I., emperor of the Romans, desired *Paschal III.*, whom he had himself created sovereign pontiff, to enrol him among the church's tutelary deities.⁹ Nor undoubtedly was he undeserving of this glory, according to the views of the middle ages, as they are called, when *he* passed for a *saint* who enriched the priesthood with goods and possessions¹, and extended, by whatever means, the boundaries of the church. But to those who estimate sanctity, according to the views of *Christ*, Charlemagne must appear to be anything rather than a saint, and a devout man. For, not to mention his other vices, which were certainly not inferior to his virtues, it is evident, that in compelling the Huns, Saxons, and Frieslanders to profess Christianity, he did it more for the sake of gaining subjects to himself, than to Jesus Christ. And therefore he did not hesitate to cultivate friendship with the Saracens, those enemies of the Christian name, when he could hope to obtain from them some aid to weaken the empire of the Greeks, who were Christians.²

§ 8. The numerous miracles which the Christian missionaries to the pagans are reported to have wrought in this age, have now wholly lost the credit that they once had. The corrupt moral principles of the times allowed the use of what are improperly called *pious* frauds; hence heralds of Christianity thought it no sin to terrify or beguile, with fictitious miracles, those whom they were unable to convince by reasoning. Yet I do not suppose that *all* who acquired fame by these miracles, practised imposition. For not only were the nations so rude and ignorant as to mistake almost anything for a miracle, but their instructors also were so unlearned and so unacquainted with the laws of nature, as to look upon mere natural events, if they were rather unusual and came upon them by surprise, as special interpositions of divine power. This will be readily seen by any one free from superstition, who shall take a fancy to read the *Acts of Saints* in this and the subsequent centuries.³

⁹ Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 207. Dr. Walch, [of Gottingen,] *Tract. de Caroli Mag. canonizatione*.

¹ See the last Will of Charlemagne,

in Steph. Baluzii *Capitularibus Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 487.

² See Jac. Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. ix. cap. ii. p. 40, &c.

³ [The miracles of this age are, many

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 1. In the East, from the Saracens and Turks.—§ 2. In the West, from the Saracens.

§ 1. THE Byzantine empire experienced so many bloody revolutions, and so many intestine calamities, as necessarily produced a great diminution of its energies. No emperor could reign securely. Three were hurled from the throne, treated with various contumelies, and sent into exile. Under *Leo III.*, the Isaurian, and his son, *Constantine* Copronymus, the pernicious controversy respecting images and the worship of them brought immense evils upon the community, and weakened incalculably the resources of the empire. Hence the Saracens were able to roam freely through Asia and Africa, to subdue the fairest portions of the country, and every where to depress, and in various places wholly to exterminate, the Christian faith.

of them, altogether ridiculous. Take the following as specimens. In the life of St. Winnoek, (in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 195,) it is stated as a miracle, that his mill, when he let go of it to say his prayers, would turn itself. And when an inquisitive monk looked through a crevice, to see the wonder, he was struck blind for his presumption. The biographer of St. Pardulphus (*ibid.* p. 541, § 18.) makes a child's cradle to rock day after day, without hands; while if touched, it would stop, and remain immovable. In the life of St. Guthlack of Croyland, (*ibid.* p. 263, § 19,) while the saint was praying, at his vigils, a vast number of devils entered his cell, rising out of the ground, and issuing through crevices, "of direful aspect, terrible in form, with huge heads, long necks, pale faces, sickly

countenances, squalid beards, bristly ears, wrinkled foreheads, malicious eyes, filthy mouths, horses' teeth, fire-emitting throats, lantern jaws, broad lips, terrific voices, singed hair, high cheek-bones, prominent breasts, scaly thighs, knotty knees, crooked legs, swollen ancles, inverted feet, and opened mouths, hoarsely clamorous." These bound the saint fast, dragged him through hedges and briers, lifted him up from the earth, and carried him to the mouth of hell, where he saw all the torments of the damned. But while they were threatening to confine him there, St. Bartholomew appeared in glory to him; the devils were affrighted; and he was conducted back to his cell by his celestial deliverer.—These are only a few, among scores of others, which might be adduced. *Tr.*]

Moreover, about the middle of the century, a new enemy appeared, still more savage, namely, the Turks; a tribe and progeny of the Tartars, a rough and uncivilized race, which, issuing from the narrow passes of mount Caucasus and from inaccessible regions, burst upon Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, and then proceeding to Armenia, first subdued the Saracens, and eventually the Greeks.¹

§ 2. In the year 714, these Saracens crossed the sea which separates Spain from Africa; and count *Julian* acting the traitor, they routed the army of *Roderic*, the king of the Spanish Goths, and subdued the greater part of that country.² Thus was the kingdom of the West Goths in Spain, after it had stood more than three centuries, wholly obliterated, by this cruel and ferocious people. Moreover, all the sea-coast of Gaul, from the Pyrenean mountains to the Rhone, was seized by these Saracens; who afterwards frequently laid waste the neighbouring provinces, with fire and sword. *Charles Martel*, indeed, upon their invasion of Gaul in the year 732, gained a great victory over them at Poitiers³; but the vanquished soon after recovered their strength and courage. Therefore *Charlemagne*, in the year 778, marched a large army into Spain, with a design to rescue that country from them. But though he met with considerable success, he did not fully accomplish his wishes.⁴ From this warlike people, not even Italy was safe; for they reduced the island of Sardinia to subjection, and miserably laid waste Sicily. In Spain, therefore, and in Sardinia, under these masters, the Christian religion suffered a great defeat. In

¹ [See the historians of the Turkish empire; especially Deguigne, *History of the Huns and Turks*. Schl.]

² Jo. Mariana, *Rerum Hispanicar.* lib. vi. cap. 21, &c. Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 253. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 425, &c.—[J. S. Semler, in his *Historie Eccles. Selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 127, &c., conjectures that the popes contributed to the invasion of Spain, by the Saracens. And it appears from Baronius, (*Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 701, No. xi. &c.) that the Spanish king and clergy were in some collision with his holiness. Still, I can see no evidence that the popes had any concern with the Mahu-

medan invasion of Spain. Count Julian, a disaffected nobleman, was probably the sole cause of this calamity to his country. Tr.]

³ Paulus Diaconus, *de Gestis Longobard.* lib. vi. cap. 46 et 53. Jo. Mariana, *Rerum Hispanicar.* lib. vii. cap. 3. Pet. Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique*, article *Abderame*, tom. i. p. 11. Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 463, &c. [Gibbon, *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Emp.* ch. lii. Tr.]

⁴ Henr. de Bunau, *Hist. of the German Emperors and Empire*, [in German,] vol. ii. p. 392, &c. Ferreras, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 506, &c.

Germany, and the adjacent countries, the nations that retained their former superstitions, inflicted infinite evils and calamities upon the others who had embraced Christianity.⁵ Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected, to restrain the incursions of the barbarians.

⁵ Servati Lupi *Vita Wigberti*, p. 304, and others.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF ERUDITION AND LITERATURE.

§ 1. The state of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Progress of the Aristotelian philosophy.—§ 3. Learning among the Latins, restored by Charlemagne.—§ 4. Cathedral and monastic schools.—§ 5. They were not very successful.

§ 1. AMONG the Greeks there were here and there individuals both able and willing to retard the flight of learning, had they been supported; but in the perpetual commotions which threatened extinction to both church and state, they were unpatronized. Hence, scarcely any can be named among the Greeks who distinguished themselves, either by the graces of diction and genius, or by richness of thought and erudition, or by acuteness of investigation. Frigid discourses to the people, insipid narratives about men reputed saints, vain discussions upon things of nought, vehement declamations against the Latins, and the friends or the enemies of images, histories composed without judgment; such were the monuments which the learned among the Greeks erected for their fame.

§ 2. Aristotle's method of philosophizing made, however, great progress every where, and was taught in all the schools. For after the many public condemnations of the sentiments of *Origen*, and the rise of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, *Plato* was nearly banished from the schools to the retreats of the monks.¹ *John Damascenus* distinguished himself beyond others, in promoting Aristotelianism. He attempted to

¹ [See Brucker's *Historia Crit. Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 533. *Schl.*]

collect and to illustrate its principles in several tracts designed for the less informed; and these led many persons in Greece and Syria more readily to embrace them. The Nestorians and Jacobites were equally diligent in giving currency to the principles of Aristotle, which enabled them to dispute more confidently with the Greeks respecting the natures and the person of Christ.

§ 3. 'The history of the Latins abounds with so many examples of extreme ignorance, that one is hardly prepared for them.² Yet they will occasion no surprise to those who survey the state of Europe in this century. In Rome, and in certain cities of Italy, there remained some faint shadow of learning and science³; but with this exception, what literature survived had abandoned the continent, and retired beyond sea, among the Britons and Irish.⁴ Those, therefore, among the Latins who distinguished themselves at all by works of genius, with the exception of some few Franks and Italians, were nearly all Britons, or Scots, that is, Hibernians; as *Alcuin*, *Bede*, *Egbert*, *Clemens*, *Dungal*, *Acca*, and others. Prompted by *Alcuin*, *Charlemagne*, who was himself a man of letters, attempted to dispel this ignorance. For he invited to his court grammarians and other learned men, first out of Italy, and afterwards from Britain and Ireland; and he strove to rouse, first, the sacred order, bishops, priests, and monks, (whose patrimony, in this age, seemed to be learning,) then, by his own example, men in dignified and honourable posts, and their sons, to seek information upon all subjects, whether divine or human.

§ 4. By his authority and requisition, most of the bishops connected with their respective primary churches what were called *cathedral* schools; in which children and youth devoted to the church were imbued with literature. The more discerning *abbots*, or rulers of monasteries, likewise opened schools, in which some of the fraternity taught the Latin language, and

² See the annotations of Steph. Baluze on *Regino Prumiensis*, p. 540. [Learning, which appears to have been confined much to the clergy, began to be rare even among them. The clergy understood little or nothing of human science, or of languages; and the popes confirmed them in this state. For they required nothing more of them, at their ordination, than to be able to read, to sing, and to repeat the Lord's prayer,

the creed, and Psalter, and to ascertain the feast-days. The ignorance shown by Boniface, and even by pope Zacharias, in the controversy respecting antipodes, and the figure of the earth, has already been noticed. *Schl.*]

³ Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiquit. Italiae Medii Aevi*, tom. iii. p. 811.

⁴ Ja. Ussher, *Prefatio ad Syllogem Epistolarum Hibernicar.*

other things deemed useful and necessary for one who was to be a monk or teacher.⁵ Charlemagne was formerly considered as the parent and founder of the university of Paris; but all impartial inquirers into the history of those times deny him this honour: yet it is ascertained that he laid a foundation upon which this celebrated school was afterwards erected.⁶ To drive ignorance from his court, he established in it that famous school, called the *Palatine*; in which his own children, and those of his nobles, were instructed by masters of great reputation.⁷

§ 5. But the youth left these schools not much better or more learned than when they entered them. The ability of the teachers was small; and what they taught was so meagre and dry, that it could not be very ornamental or useful to any man. The whole circle of knowledge was included in what they called the seven liberal arts; namely, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy⁸; of which, the first three were called the *Trivium*, and the last four, the *Quadrivium*. How miserably these sciences were taught, may be learned from the little work of *Alcuin* upon them⁹, or from the tracts of *Augustine*, which were considered to be of the very first order. In

⁵ Steph. Baluzii *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 101, &c. Ja. Sirmund, *Concilia Gallie*, tom. ii. p. 121. Cæs. Égasse de Boulay, *Diss. de Scholis Claustralibus et Episcopalibus*; in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 79. Jo. Launoy, *de Scholis a Carolo M. per Occident. Institutis*. Herm. Conringii *Antiquitates Academicæ*, p. 81, 315. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 6, &c. and others. [In the year 787, Charlemagne addressed an injunction to the bishops and abbots, requiring them to set up schools; which were not intended for little children, but for monks, who were to be taught the interpretation of Scripture, and the learning requisite for this purpose. He likewise often permitted monks to come to his court school. His commands, and the example he exhibited in his court school, were very efficient; and soon after, the famous school of Fulda was founded, the reputation of which spread over civilized Europe, and allured numerous foreigners to it. Next to Fulda, Hirschau, Corvey, Prüm, Weissenburg, St. Gall, and Reichenau, became famous for their good schools, which might be called the

high schools of that age, and were the resort of monks, designed for teachers in the inferior and poorer monasteries. Charlemagne also exercised the wits of the bishops, by proposing to them all sorts of learned questions, for them to answer either in writing or orally. *Schl.*]

⁶ The arguments, to prove Charlemagne the founder of the university of Paris, are no where more fully stated, than in C. E. de Boulay's *Historia Acad. Par.* tom. i. p. 91, &c. But several learned Frenchmen, Mabillon, (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. § 181, 182,) Launoy, Claude Joly, (*de Scholis*.) and many others, have confuted those arguments.

⁷ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 281. Mabillon, l. c. § 179, and others.

⁸ Herm. Conringii *Antiquitates Academicæ*. Diss. iii. p. 80, &c. Ja. Thomasius, *Programmata*, p. 368. *Observationes Halenses*, tom. vi. Observ. xiv. p. 118, &c.

⁹ *Alcuini Opera*, pt. ii. p. 1245, ed. Quercetani. This little work is not only imperfect, but is almost entirely transcribed from Cassiodorus.

most of the schools, the teachers did not venture to go beyond the *Trivium*; and an individual who had mastered both the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, and wished to attempt something still higher, was directed to study *Cassiodorus* and *Boëthius*.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Vices of the religious teachers.—§ 2. Veneration for the clergy in the West.—§ 3. Increase of their wealth.—§ 4. They possessed royal domains.—§ 5. Causes of extravagant donations to the clergy.—§ 6. and especially to the pope.—§ 7. His good offices to *Pipin*.—§ 8. The rewards of his obsequiousness to the French kings. The donation of *Pipin*.—§ 9. Donation of *Charlemagne*.—§ 10. The grounds of it.—§ 11. Nature of the pope's jurisdiction.—§ 12. His prosperity checked by the Greeks; origin of the contests between the Greeks and Latins.—§ 13. The monastic discipline wholly corrupted.—§ 14. Origin of canons.—§ 15, 16. Power of the popes circumscribed by the emperors.—§ 17. Greek and oriental writers.—§ 18. Latin and occidental writers.

§ 1. THAT those who in this age had the care of sacred things, both in the East and in the West, were highly corrupt in morals, is abundantly testified. The oriental bishops and doctors wasted their lives in various controversies and quarrels; and, disregarding the cause of religion and piety, they disquieted the state with senseless clamours and seditions. Nor did they hesitate to imbrue their hands in the blood of their dissenting brethren. Those in the West, who pretended to be luminaries, gave themselves up wholly to various kinds of profligacy, to gluttony, the chase, lust, sensuality, and war.¹ Nor could they in any way be reclaimed, although *Carloman*, *Pipin*, and especially *Charlemagne*, enacted various laws against their vices.²

¹ Steph. Baluze, *ad Reginon. Præmisen-*
ensem, p. 563. Wilkins' *Concilia Magnæ*
Britanniæ, tom. i. p. 90, &c.

² Steph. Baluze, *Capitular. Regum*
Francor. tom. i. p. 189, 208, 275, 493,

&c. [Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iii. p.
1919, &c., where the clergy are forbid-
den to bear arms in war, and to practise
hunting; and severe laws are enacted
against the whoredom of the clergy,

§ 2. Although these vices in persons who ought to have been examples for others, were exceedingly offensive to all, and occasioned various complaints, yet they did not prevent the parties polluted by them from receiving every where the highest honour, and being revered by the vulgar as if they were divinities. The veneration and submission paid to bishops and all the sacred order was, however, far greater in the West than in the East. The cause of this will be obvious to every one who considers the state and the customs of the nations, at this time bearing sway in Europe, anterior to their reception of Christianity. For all these nations, before they became Christian, were under the power of their priests, and dared not attempt any thing important, either civil or military, without their concurrence.³ When they became Christian, they transferred these high prerogatives of their priests to the bishops of the new religion; who, on their parts, asserted and claimed those very rights as their own. Hence that incredible authority of the sacred order in Europe.

§ 3. To the honours and prerogatives enjoyed by the bishops

monks, and nuns. These laws were enacted under Carloman, A.D. 742. Among the Capitularia of Charlemagne, cited by Harduin, are laws against clergymen's loaning money for twelve per cent. interest, (Harduin, vol. v. p. 827, c. 5)—against their haunting taverns, (p. 830, c. 14)—against their practising magic, (p. 831, c. 18)—against their receiving bribes, to ordain improper persons, (p. 831, c. 31.)—bishops, abbots, and abbesses, are forbidden to keep packs of hounds, or hawks and falcons, (p. 846, c. 15.)—Laws were also enacted against clerical drunkenness, (p. 958, c. 14)—concubinage, (ibid. c. 15)—tavern-haunting, (p. 959, c. 19)—and profane swearing, (ibid. c. 20.) *Tr.*

³ Julius Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, lib. vi. c. 12, 13, says: "The Druids are in great honour among them; for they determine almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime is perpetrated, if a murder is committed, if there is a contest about an inheritance or territories, they decide and determine the rewards or punishments. If any one, whether a private or a public character, will not submit to their decision, they debar him from the sacrifices.—The Druids are not accustomed to be present in battle; nor do they pay tribute with

the other citizens; but are exempt from military service, and from all other burdens. Allured by such privileges, and from inclination, many embrace their discipline, and are sent to it by their parents and friends."—Tacitus (*de Moribus Germanor.* c. vii. p. 384, ed. Gro-nov.) says: "Moreover, to judge, to imprison, and to scourge, is allowable for none but the priests; and this, not under the idea of punishment, or by order of the prince, but as if God commanded it."—Chap. xi. p. 291. "Silence [in the public councils] is enjoined by the priests, who there have coercive power."—Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. i. c. 36, p. 90, says of the Rugians: "Greater is their respect for a priest, than for the king."—Idem, *de Slavis*, lib. ii. c. 12, p. 235: "With them, a king is in moderate estimation, compared with a priest. For the latter asks for responses.—The king and the people depend on his will."—These customs, the people of Germany, Gaul, and of all Europe, retained after their conversion to Christianity; and it is easy therefore to answer the question, Whence originated that vast power of the priesthood in Europe, of which the Christian religion has no knowledge?

and priests, with the concurrence of the people in the West, were added, during this period, immense wealth and riches. The churches, monasteries, and bishops, had before been well supplied with goods and revenues; but in this century there arose a new and most convenient method of acquiring for them greater riches, and of amplifying them for ever. Suddenly,—by whose instigation is not known, the idea became universally prevalent, that the punishments for sin, which God threatens to inflict, may be bought off by liberal gifts to God, to the saints, to the temples, and to the ministers of God and of glorified saints. This opinion being every where admitted, the rich and prosperous, whose lives were now most flagitious, conferred their wealth (which they had received by inheritance, or wrested from others by violence and war, according to the customs of the age,) upon the glorified saints, their ministers, and the guardians of their temples most bountifully, for religious uses, in order to avoid the very irksome penances which were enjoined upon them by the priests⁴, and render themselves secure from the endurance of evils after this life. This was the principal source of those immense treasures, which from this century onward, through all the subsequent ages, flowed in upon the clergy, the churches, and the monasteries.⁵

§ 4. The gifts, moreover, by which princes especially, and persons of great authority, endeavoured to appease God and the priests, and to expiate past sins, were not merely *private* possessions, which common citizens might own, and with which churches and monasteries had before been abundantly endowed; but they were also *public* property, or such as properly belongs only to princes and nations, and passes under the name of *royal domains*.⁶ For emperors, kings, and princes, presented

⁴ Such as long and severe fasts, tortures of the body, frequent and long-continued prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints, and the like. These were the penances, imposed by the priests, on persons who confessed to them their sins; and they would be the most irksome to such as had spent their lives, without restraint, amidst pleasures and indulgences, and who wished to continue to live in the same way. Hence the opulent most eagerly embraced this new method of shunning, by the sacrifice of a part of their estates, penalties so irksome.

⁵ Hence the well-known phraseology, used by those who made offerings to the churches and the priests, that they made the offering, *redemptionis animarum suarum causa, for the redemption of their souls*. The property given was likewise often called, *pretium peccatorum, the price of sin*. See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Diss. de Redemptione Peccator*, in his *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 712, &c.

⁶ *Regalia*. [Such grants among the Anglo-Saxons were not valid until confirmed by the *witena-gemot*, or legislative assembly of the national estates. *Ed.*]

to bishops, churches, and monasteries, provinces, cities, and castles, with all the rights of sovereignty over them. Thus persons whose business it was to teach contempt for the world, both by precept and example, strangely became *Dukes, Counts, Marquesses, Judges, Legislators, sovereign Lords*, and not only gave the law to bodies of people, but even marched out to war with soldiers of their own. Hence the origin of great calamities which eventually afflicted Europe, sad wars, for instance, about *investiture*, and contests about *crown-prerogatives*.

§ 5. Of this extraordinary liberality, which was never heard of out of Europe,—not the vestige of an example can be found, anterior to this century. There can, therefore, be no doubt that it grew out of the customs of the Europeans, and the form of government most common among these warlike nations. For the sovereigns of these nations used to bind their friends and clients to their interests, by presenting to them large tracts of country, towns, and castles, in full sovereignty, reserving to themselves only the rights of supremacy, and a claim to military service. In thus enriching priests and bishops, princes might moreover think themselves obeying a maxim of political discretion; it being improbable that nothing but superstition was ever the occasion of these extensive grants. It was natural to reckon upon more fidelity from such as were bound by religion, and consecrated to God, than from a civil aristocracy, composed of military men, accustomed to slaughter and rapine. They wished, besides, to keep within bounds of duty their subjects, generally turbulent, by means of bishops, whose sacred thunderbolts carried great alarm.⁷

⁷ I will here quote a noticeable passage from William of Malmesbury, in his fifth book *de Gestis Regum Angliæ*, p. 166, among the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicanarum post Bedam*, Francf. 1601, fol. He there gives the reason for those great donations to the bishops: "Charlemagne, in order to curb the ferocity of those nations, bestowed nearly all the lands on the churches, wisely considering, that men of the sacred order would not be so likely, as laymen, to renounce subjection to their sovereign; and moreover, if the laity should be rebellious, the clergy would be able to hold them in check, by the terrors of excommunication, and the severities of their discipline."—I doubt not, that here is stated the true reason, why Charlemagne, a

prince by no means superstitious, or a slave of priests, heaped upon the Roman pontiff, and upon the bishops of Germany, Italy, and other countries which he subdued, so many estates, territories, and riches. That is, he enlarged, immoderately, the power and resources of the clergy, that he might, by means of the bishops, restrain and keep in subjection his dukes, counts, and knights. For instance, from the dukes of Beneventum, Spoleto, Capua, and others in Italy, much was to be feared, after the extinction of the Lombard monarchy; and hence he conferred a large portion of Italy upon the Roman pontiff, so that by his authority, power, and menaces, he might deter those powerful and vindictive princes from sedition, or over-

§ 6. This great prosperity of the sacred order in the regions of the West took its rise in their head, the Roman pontiff; and from him went gradually downwards to inferior bishops, priests, and fraternities of monks. For the barbarous nations of Europe, on conversion to Christianity, looked upon the Romish bishop as occupying the place of the supreme head, or pontiff, of their *Druids*, or pagan priests; and as the latter had possessed immense influence in secular matters, and were exceedingly feared, they thought the same degree of reverence and honour due to the head of their bishops.⁸ What, however, those nations spontaneously gave, the bishop of Rome willingly received; and lest perchance, on a change of circumstances, it might subsequently be withdrawn, he provided a defence in arguments, drawn from ancient history, and the Christian religion. Hence that incredible dignity of the Roman pontiff, which sprang up in this century, and his power even in matters of civil government. Hence too the unhappy parent of so much war and carnage, which strengthened and augmented that power surprisingly; namely, the belief that whoever is excluded from communion by him and his bishops, loses every right, not only of a citizen, but of a man besides: a notion which flowed into the church, by Europe's evil fate, from the superstition that anciently prevailed.⁹

come them, if they dared rebel. That other kings and princes, in Europe, reasoned in the same manner as Charles did, will not be questioned, by one who considers well the political constitutions and forms of government of that age. That aggrandizement, therefore, of bishops and priests, which we should naturally ascribe wholly to superstition, was also the result of civil prudence, or state policy. On the subject of *excommunications*, mentioned by Malmesbury, above, we shall have something to say hereafter.

⁸ Julius Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. 13. "His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos (Celtas) habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur; nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt."

⁹ Though excommunication, from the time of Constantine the Great, had among Christians every where great influence, yet it had nowhere so great

influence, or was so terrific, and so distressing, as in Europe. And the difference between *European excommunication* and that of other Christians, from the eighth century onward, was immense. Those excluded from the sacred rites, or excommunicated, were indeed, every where, viewed as odious to God and to men; yet they did not forfeit their rights as men and as citizens; and much less, were kings and princes supposed to lose their authority to rule, by being pronounced, by bishops, to be unworthy of communion in sacred rites. But in Europe, from this century onward, a person excluded from the church by a bishop, and especially by the prince of bishops, was no longer regarded as a king, or a lord; nor as a citizen, a husband, a father, or even as a man, but was considered as a brute. What was the cause of this? Undoubtedly, the following is the true cause. Those new and ignorant proselytes confounded Christian *excommunication* with the old gentile excommunication, practised by

§ 7. A striking example of that immense authority which the pontiffs had acquired even in this age occurs in Frankish history. *Pipin*, the deputy, or *mayor of the palace of Childeric*, king of the Franks, who possessed already the whole royal power, wished to strip his master even of the kingly name and honour. The Frankish nobles, however, being assembled in council, A. D. 751, to deliberate on the subject, demanded, that first of all the pontiff should be consulted, whether it would be lawful to do what *Pipin* desired. *Pipin* therefore despatched envoys to *Zacharias*, who then presided over the Roman church, with this inquiry: *Whether a valiant and warlike nation might not, consistently with divine law, dethrone an indolent king, useless for every purpose of government, and put in his place a worthier person, who had already deserved extremely well of the state?* *Zacharias*, at that time, needed aid from *Pipin* and the Franks against the Greeks and the Lombards, who were very troublesome to him; and he answered as his questioner desired. When this oracle was known in Gaul, no one raised his hand to prevent the unhappy *Childeric* from being divested of his royal dignity, or *Pipin* from mounting the throne of his king and lord. Let friends of the pontiffs consider how they can excuse this decision of Jesus Christ's vicar; for it is most certainly at variance with our Saviour's commands.¹ It was, however, confirmed on a visit to Gaul, A. D. 754, by the successor to *Zacharias*, *Stephen II.*, who moreover, after freeing *Pipin*, now

the pagan priests, or they supposed the former to have the same nature and effects, with the latter; and the pontiffs and bishops did all they could to cherish and confirm this error, which was so useful to them. Read the following extract from Julius Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. c. 13, and then judge, whether I have mistaken the origin of European and papal excommunication: "Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum, sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis potentibus jus redditur, neque honus ullus communicatur."

¹ See, on this momentous transaction, Charles le Cointe, *Annales Ecclesie*

Franciae; and Mezeray, Daniel, and the other historians of France and Germany; but especially, Ja. Ben. Bossuet, *Defensio declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, pt. i. p. 225. Pet. Rival, *Dissertationes Historiques et Critiques sur divers sujets*, Diss. ii. p. 70; Diss. iii. p. 156; Lond. 1726, 8vo,—and the illustrious Henr. de Bünan, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 288. Yet the transaction is not stated in the same manner by all the writers; and by the sycophants of the Romish bishops it is generally misrepresented; for they make *Zacharias*, by his pontifical power, to have deposed *Childeric*, and to have raised *Pipin* to the throne: this the French deny, and on good grounds. Yet were it true, it would only make the pope's crime greater than it was. [See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 331, &c. ed. Lond. 1754. *Tr.*]

established in power by a reign of three years, from the obligation of an oath, which had bound him to his king, inaugurated or crowned him, with his wife, and two sons.²

§ 8. This obsequiousness of the Roman pontiffs to the Franks, was of great advantage to the church over which they presided. For vehement commotions and insurrections having arisen in that part of Italy which was still subject to the Greeks, in consequence of the decrees of *Leo* the Isaurian and *Constantine* Copronymus against images; the Lombard kings so managed those commotions by their counsel and arms, as gradually to get possession of the Grecian provinces in Italy, which were under the exarch stationed at Ravenna. *Aistulphus*, the king of the Lombards, elated by this success, also set his mind upon Rome, with its territory, and affected the empire of all Italy. The pressure of these circumstances induced the pontiff, *Stephen II.*, to implore aid from his great patron, *Pipin*, king of the Franks. That prince, accordingly, in the year 754, marched an army over the Alps, and induced *Aistulphus* to promise, by a solemn oath, to restore the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis³, and all that he had taken. In 755, however, the Lombard not only betrayed his plighted faith, but also laid siege to Rome. *Pipin*, on this, again passed with his forces into Italy, compelled him to observe his promise, and with unparalleled liberality bestowed on *St. Peter*, and his church, the Grecian provinces now wrested from him; namely, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis.⁴

² Among many writers see the illustrious Bünaui, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301. 366. [and Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 352. *Tr.*]

³ [This territory lay along the Gulf of Venice, from the Po, southward as far as Perno, and extended back to the Apennines. According to Sigonius, the Exarchate included the cities of Ravenna, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forimpopoli, Forlì, Cesena, Bobbio, Ferrara, Comacchio, Adria, Cervia, and Secchia. The Pentapolis, now the Marca d'Ancona, comprehended Rimini, Pesaro, Conca, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Osimo, Umana, Jesi, Fossombrone, Montefeltre, Urbino, Cagli, Luceoli, and Eugubio. The whole territory might be 150 miles long, and from 60 to 80 miles broad. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Car. Sigonius, *de Regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 202, &c. Opp. tom. ii. Henry

count de Bünaui, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 361. 306. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 310, &c. and many others. But what were the boundaries of this exarchate, thus disposed of by Pipin, has been much controverted, and has been investigated with much industry in the present age. The Roman pontiffs extend the exarchate, given to them, as far as possible; others contract it to the narrowest limits they can. See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclésiastique*, cap. i. ii. and *Antiq. Italica Medii Aevi*, tom. i. p. 64—68, 986, 987. But he is more cautious in tom. v. p. 790. This controversy cannot easily be settled, except by recurrence to the deed of gift. Just. Fontanini, *Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comacchio*, Diss. i. c. 100, p. 346, c. 67, p. 242, represents the deed of gift as still in existence, and he quotes some

§ 9. After *Pipin's* death, *Desiderius*, king of the Lombards, again boldly invaded the patrimony of St. Peter; that is, the territories given by the Franks to the Romish church. *Hadrian I.*, who was then pontiff, had recourse to *Charles*, afterwards called the Great⁵, the son of *Pipin*. Accordingly he crossed the Alps with a powerful army in the year 774, overturned the empire of the Lombards in Italy, which had stood more than two centuries, transported king *Desiderius* into Gaul, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. In this expedition, when *Charles* arrived at Rome, he not only confirmed the donations of his father to St. Peter, but went further; for he delivered over to the pontiffs, to be possessed and governed by them, some cities and provinces of Italy, which were not included in the grant of *Pipin*. But what portions of Italy *Charles* thus annexed to the donation of his father, it is very difficult, at this day, to ascertain.⁶

words from it. The fact is scarcely credible; yet if it be true, it is unquestionably not for the interest of the Romish church to have this important ancient document come to light. Nor could those who defended the interests of the pontiff against the emperor Joseph, in the controversy respecting the fortress of Comacchio, in our age, be persuaded to bring it forward, though challenged to do it, by the emperor's advocates. Francis Blanchinus, however, in his *Prolegomena ad Anastasium de Vitis Pontificum Rom.* p. 55, has given us a specimen of this grant, which bears the marks of antiquity. The motive which led Pipin to this great liberality, was, as appears from numerous testimonies, to make expiation for his sins, and especially the great sin he had committed against his master Childeric.

⁵ [*Charlemagne. Tr.*]

⁶ See Car. Sigonius, *de Regno Italia*, lib. iii. p. 223, &c. Opp. tom. ii. Henry count de Bünauf, *Historia Imperii German.* tom. ii. p. 368, &c. Peter de Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67, &c. Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclésiastique*, cap. ii. p. 147, &c. Herm. Conringius, *de Imperio Romano-German.* cap. vi. [*Bower's Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. Life of Hadrian I.] and numerous others. Concerning the extent of Charlemagne's new donation to the popes, there is the same warm contest between the patrons of the papacy

and those of the empire, as there is respecting Pipin's donation. The advocates for the pontiffs maintain, that Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the territory of Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, besides many other tracts of country, were presented by the very pious Charlemagne to St. Peter. But the advocates for the claims of the emperors diminish as far as they can the munificence of Charles, and confine this new grant within narrow limits. On this subject, the reader may consult the writers of the present age, who have published works on the claims of the emperors and the popes, to the cities of Comacchio and Florence, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia, but especially, the very learned treatise of Berret, entitled *Diss. Chorographica de Italia Medii Ævi*, p. 33, &c. The partialities of writers, if I mistake not, have prevented them from discerning in all cases the real facts; and it is easy to fall into mistakes, on subjects so long involved in obscurity. Adrian affirms that the object of Charles in this new donation, was, to atone for his sins. For he thus writes to Charlemagne, in the ninety-second Epistle of the *Caroline Codex*, in Muratori, *Scriptor. Rer. Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 265. "Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam Beato Petro, Apostolorum Principi, pro mercede animæ vestræ atque sempiterna memoria, cum cæteris civitatibus obtulistis." I have no doubt that Charles, who wished to be accounted pious according to the esti-

§ 10. By this munificence, whether politic or impolitic I leave others to determine, *Charles* opened his way to the empire of the West, or rather to the title of emperor of the West, and to supreme dominion over the city of Rome and its territory, on which the empire of the West was thought to depend.⁷ He had, doubtless, long had this object in view; and perhaps his father *Pipin* had also contemplated the same thing. But the circumstances of the times required procrastination in an affair of such moment. When, however, the power of the Greeks was broken, after the unhappy death of *Leo IV.* and his son *Constantine*, especially as the impious *Irene*, whom *Charles* extremely hated, held the rod of empire, in the year 800, he did not hesitate to execute his purpose. When, accordingly, he came to Rome, this year, the pontiff, *Leo III.*, knowing his wishes, persuaded the Roman people, who were then considered free, and entitled to the power of electing an emperor, to salute him publicly as emperor of the West, and make him so.⁸

§ 11. *Charles*, being made emperor, and sovereign of Rome with its territory, reserved indeed to himself the supreme power, and the prerogatives of sovereignty; but the *beneficial* dominion, as it is called, and subordinate authority over the city and adjacent country, he seems to have conferred on the Romish church.⁹ This plan was undoubtedly suggested to

mates of that age, expressed this design in his transfer, or deed of gift. But a person acquainted with *Charles* and with the history of those times, will not readily believe that this was his only motive. By that donation, *Charles* aimed to prepare the way for attaining the empire of the West, which he was endeavouring to secure (for he was most ambitious of glory and dominion); but he could not honourably obtain his object, in the existing state of things, without the concurrence and aid of the Roman pontiff. Besides this, he aimed to secure and establish his new empire in Italy, by increasing the possessions of the holy see. On this point I have already touched, in a preceding note; and I think whoever carefully considers all the circumstances of the case will coincide with me in judgment.

⁷ In reality *Charles* was already emperor of the West; that is, the most powerful of the kings in Europe. He therefore only lacked the title of emperor, and sovereign power over the city

of Rome and the adjacent country; both of which he easily obtained by the aid of *Leo III.*

⁸ See the historians of those times, and especially, the best of them all, Bünau, *Historia Imperii Romano-Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 537, &c. The advocates of the Roman pontiffs tell us that *Leo III.*, by virtue of the supreme power with which he was divinely clothed, conferred the empire of the West, after it was taken from the Greeks, upon the French nation, and upon *Charles* their king; and hence they infer, that the Roman pontiff, as the vicar of Christ, is the sovereign lord of the whole earth, as well as of the Roman empire; and that all emperors reign by his authority. The absurdity of this reasoning is learnedly exposed by Fred. Spanheim, *de Ficta Translatione Imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.* in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 557. [See also Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. Life of *Leo III.*] Other writers need not be named.

⁹ That *Charles* retained the supreme

him by the Roman pontiff; who persuaded the emperor, perhaps by showing him some ancient, though forged papers and documents, that *Constantine* the Great, (to whose place and authority he now succeeded,) on removing the seat of empire to Constantinople, committed Rome, his former capital, with its contiguous district, that is the Roman dukedom, to be possessed and governed by the church, but under a reservation of the imperial prerogatives: an arrangement and ordinance that could not be set aside without signal indignation from God and St. Peter.¹

power over the city of Rome and its territory, that he administered justice there by his judges, and inflicted punishments on malefactors, and that he exercised all the prerogatives of sovereignty, learned men have demonstrated by the most unexceptionable testimony. See only Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'État Ecclés.* cap. vi. p. 77, &c. Indeed, they only shroud the light in darkness, who maintain, with Justus Fontanini, (*Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comacchio*, Diss. i. c. 95, 96, &c.) and the other advocates of the Roman pontiffs, that Charles sustained at Rome, not the character of a sovereign, but that of patron of the Romish church, relinquishing the entire sovereignty to the pontiffs. And yet, to declare the whole truth, it is clear, that the power of the Roman pontiff, in the city and territory of Rome, was great; and that he decreed and performed many things according to his pleasure, and as a sovereign; but the limits of his power, and the foundations of it, are little known, and much controverted. Muratori (*Droits de l'Empire*, p. 102,) maintains that the pontiff performed the functions of an *exarch*, or *viceroi* of the emperor. But this opinion was very offensive to Clement XI.; nor do I regard it as correct. After considering all the circumstances, I suppose that the Roman pontiff held the Roman province and city by the same tenure as he did the exarchate and the other territories given him by Charles, that is, as a *fief*; yet with less circumscribed powers than ordinary feudal tenures, on account of the dignity of the city, which was once the capital, or the seat of empire. This opinion receives much confirmation from the statements which will be made in the following note; and it reconciles the jarring testimonies of

the ancient writers and other documents.

¹ Most writers are of opinion that Constantine's pretended grant was posterior to this period; and that it was forged, perhaps in the tenth century; but I believe that it existed in this century, and that Hadrian and his successor Leo III. made use of it to persuade Charles to convey feudal power over the city Rome, and its territory, to the Romish church. For this opinion we have the good authority of the Roman pontiff himself, Hadrian I. in his Epistle to Charlemagne; which is the forty-ninth in the *Caroline Codex*, published in Muratori's *Rerum Italicar. Scriptores*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 194; and which well deserves a perusal. Hadrian there exhorts Charles, who was not yet emperor, to order the restitution of all the grants which had formerly been made to St. Peter and the church of Rome. And he very clearly distinguishes the grant of Constantine from the donations of the other emperors and princes; and, what deserves particular notice, he distinguishes it from the donation of Pipin, which embraced the exarchate, and from the additions made to his father's grants by Charlemagne; whence it follows, legitimately, that Hadrian understood Constantine's grant to embrace the city of Rome, and the territory dependant on it. He first mentions the grant of Constantine the Great, thus: "*Deprecamur vestram excellentiam—pro Dei amore et ipsius clavigeri regni cœlorum—ut secundum promissionem, quam polliciti estis eidem Dei Apostolo, pro animæ vestræ mercede et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris temporibus adimplere jubeat. Et sicut temporibus Beati Silvestri Romani Pontificis, a sanctæ recordationis piissimo Constantino Magno,*

§ 12. Amidst so many accessions of power and influence, the Roman pontiffs, however, sustained from the Greek emperors no slight loss of revenue and dignity. For *Leo* the Isaurian, and his son *Constantine* Copronymus, being exceedingly offended with *Gregory II.* and *III.* on account of their zeal for sacred images, not only took from them the estates possessed by the Romish church in Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia; but also exempted the bishops of those territories, and likewise all the provinces of Illyricum, from the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, and placed them under the protection of the bishop of Constantinople. Nor could the pontiffs, afterwards, either by threats or supplications, induce the Greek emperors to restore these valuable portions of St. Peter's patrimony.² This was the first origin, and the principal cause, of that great contest between the bishops of Rome and of Constantinople; which, in the next century, severed the 'Greeks from the Latins, to the great detriment of Christianity. Yet there was an additional cause existing in this century; namely, the dispute concerning the *procession of the Holy Spirit*; of which we shall treat in its proper place. But this perhaps might have been easily adjusted, if the bishops of Rome and Constantinople had not become involved in a contest respecting the limits of their jurisdictions.

Imperatore, *per ejus largitatem* (see the grant of Constantine itself) sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et *potestatem* in his Hesperiae partibus *largiri* dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris, sancta Dei ecclesia germinet—et amplius, atque amplius exaltata permaneat—Quia ecce novus Christianissimus Dei Constantinus Imperator (N.B. Here the pontiff denominates Charles, who was then only a king, an *emperor*, and compares him with Constantine) his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ suæ ecclesiæ—*largiri* dignatus est. (Thus far he speaks of Constantine's donation. Next, the pontiff notices the other donations; which he clearly discriminates from this.) *Sed et cuncta alia*, quæ per diversos Imperatores, patricos, etiam et alios Deum timentes, pro eorum animæ mercede et *venia peccatorum*, in partibus Tusciæ, Spoleto seu Benevento, atque Corsica, simul et Paviensi patrimonio, Beato Petro Apostolo,—concessa sunt, et per

nefandam gentem Longobardorum per annorum spatia abstracta atque ablata sunt, vestris temporibus restituantur. (The pontiff adds, in the close, that all those grants were preserved in the archives of the Lateran; and that he had sent them, by his ambassadors, to Charlemagne.) Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus; tamen et pro satisfactione christianissimi regni vestri, per jam fatos viros, ad demonstrandum eas vobis, direximus; et pro hoc petimus eximiam Præcellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia Beato Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis."—By this it appears that Constantine's grant was then in the *Lateran archives* of the popes, and was sent with the others to Charlemagne.

² See Mich. le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96. &c. The Greek writers also, as Theophanes and others, acknowledge the fact, but differ a little in respect to the cause.

§ 13. Monastic discipline, as all the writers of that age testify, was entirely prostrate, both in the East and the West. The best of the oriental monks were those who lived an austere life, remote from all intercourse with men, in the deserts of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia: and yet among them, not only gross ignorance, but also fanatical stupidity, and shameful superstition, often reigned. The rest of their body, that lived nearer cities, not unfrequently gave trouble to the state; which obliged *Constantine Copronymus*, and other emperors, to restrain them repeatedly, by severe edicts. Most of the western monks now followed the rule of *St. Benedict*: yet there were monasteries, in various places, in which other rules were preferred.³ As however their wealth increased, they scarcely observed any rule, but gave themselves up to gluttony, voluptuousness, idleness, and other vices.⁴ *Charlemagne* would fain have cured these disorders by legislation; but he did little good.⁵

§ 14. This great corruption of the whole sacred order, produced in the West a new species of priests, who were an intermediate class between *monks*, or *regulars*, as they are commonly called, and *secular priests*. These adopted, in part, the discipline and mode of life of monks; that is they dwelt together, ate at a common table, and joined in united prayer at certain hours; yet they did not take any *vows* upon them, like the monks, and they performed ministerial functions in certain churches. They were at first called the *Lord's brethren*⁶; but afterwards took the name of *canons*.⁷ The common opinion attributes the institution of this order to *Chrodegang*, bishop of Metz: nor is this opinion wholly without foundation.⁸ For although there were,

³ See Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sancta Ord. Benedicti*, sæc. i. p. xxiv. and sæc. iv. pt. i. p. 26, &c.

⁴ Mabillon treats, ingenuously, of this corruption of the monks, and of its causes, in the above work, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. pt. i. p. 64, &c.

⁵ See the *Capitularia* of Charlemagne, published by Baluze, tom. i. p. 148. 157. 237. 255. 366, &c. 375. 503, and in various other places. These numerous laws, so often repeated, prove the extreme perverseness of the monks. [See also the 20, 21, and 22 canons of the council of Cloveshoo in England, A.D. 747. *Monasteria*—non sint ludicrarum artium receptacula, hoc est, poetarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrarum,—

Non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, comessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia.—*Monasteriales* sive ecclesiastici, ebrietatis malum non sectentur aut expetant—sed neque alios cogant intemperanter bibere; sed pura et sobria sint eorum convivia, non luxuriosa, neque deliciis vel scurrilitatibus mixta, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ *Fratres Domini*.

⁷ Canonici. See Le Beuf, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 174, Paris, 1743, 4to.

⁸ For an account of Chrodegang, see the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 128. Aug. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 513, &c. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 452. The rule

anterior to this century, in Italy, Africa, and other provinces, colleges of priests who lived in the manner of *canons*⁹; yet *Chrodegang*, about the middle of this century, subjected the priests of his church at Metz to this mode of living, requiring them to sing hymns to God at certain hours, and perhaps to observe other rites; and by his example, first the Franks, then the Italians, the English, and the Germans, were led to introduce this mode of living, in numerous places, and to found convents of *canons*.

§ 15. Supreme power over the whole sacred order, and over all the possessions of the churches, was, both in the East and in the West, vested in the emperors and kings. Upon the power of the Greek emperors over the church, with its goods and possessions, no one entertains a doubt.¹ The prerogatives of the Latin emperors and kings, though flatterers of the Roman pontiffs labour to involve them in obscurity, are so certain and clear that they cannot be obscured; as the wiser in the Roman community themselves confess. *Hadrian I.*, in a council at Rome, transferred to *Charlemagne*, and his successors, the right of appointing and creating the Roman pontiffs.² And, although neither *Charles*, nor his son *Lewis*, would use this power, they notwithstanding reserved to themselves the approbation and confirmation of the pontiff chosen by the Roman priests and people: nor could his consecration take place, unless

which he prescribed to his canons, may be seen in Le Cointe's *Annales Francor. Ecclesiastici*, tom. v. 8d ann. 757, § 35, &c. and in Labbe's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 1444, [in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1181, &c. *Tr.*] The rule, as published by Lucas Dachery, *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 565, &c. under the name of Chrodegang, was the work of another person. A neat summary of the rule is given by Jac. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. iv. p. 435.

⁹ See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae mediæ Aevi*, tom. v. p. 185, &c. also Lud. Thomassinus, *de Disciplina Ecclesiae vetere ac nova*, pt. i. lib. iii. c. iv. &c. The design of this institution was truly excellent. For its author, pained with the vices and defects of the clergy, hoped that this mode of living would abstract the consecrated men from worldly cares and business. But the event has shown how much the

hopes of these good men were disappointed.

¹ For the authority of the Greek emperors in religious matters, see Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 136.

² Anastasius makes mention of this decree; which is preserved both by Yvo and Gratian. The subject has been discussed by very many. [The existence of this council, and of such a grant to Charlemagne, is very uncertain. The earliest mention of the council is in Sigebert's *Chronicon*, (ad ann. 773,) written about A. D. 1111. But the passage is not in all the copies. From this questionable authority, Gratian transcribed his account of it (*Distinct.* lxiii. c. 22, 23), and also Ivo, and the others. See Pet. de Marca, *de Concordia*, &c. lib. viii. c. 13. Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 774. Mansi, *Concil. Supplem.* tom. i. p. 721; and Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 473. *Tr.*]

the emperor's ambassadors were present.³ The Roman pontiffs obeyed the laws of the emperors; and accounted all their decisions definitive.⁴ The emperors and kings of the Franks, by their extraordinary judges, whom they called *Missi*, that is *Legates*, inquired into the lives and conduct of all priests, both superior and inferior, took cognisance of their controversies and causes, enacted laws respecting the mode of worshipping God, punished priestly delinquencies of every kind just as those of other citizens.⁵ The goods of churches and monasteries, unless exempted from the common burthen by special favour of the ruling powers, were taxed like other property for public purposes.⁶

§ 16. That the preservation of religion, and the decision of controversies respecting doctrines, belonged to the Roman pontiff, and to ecclesiastical councils, was not denied by the Latin emperors and kings.⁷ But this power of the pontiff was confined within narrow limits. For he was not able to decide by his sole authority, but was obliged to assemble a council. Nor did the provinces wait for his decisions, but held conventions or councils at their pleasure, in which the bishops freely expressed their opinions, and gave decisions which did not accord with the views of the pontiffs; as is manifest from the French and German councils, in the controversy respecting images. Moreover the emperors and kings had the right of calling the councils, and of presiding in them: nor could the decrees of a council have the force of laws, unless they were confirmed and ratified by the reigning sovereign.⁸ The Roman pontiffs, however, left no means untried, to free themselves from these many restraints, and to obtain supreme authority, not only over the church, but also over kings and over the whole world: which

³ See Jo. Mabillon, *Commentar. in Ordinem Romanum. Musæi Italici* tom. ii. p. cxlii. &c. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesi.* p. 87. &c.

⁴ This has been amply demonstrated by Steph. Baluze, *Prof. ad Capitularia Regum Francor.* § xxi. &c.

⁵ See Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi.* tom. i. diss. ix. p. 470. Franc. de Roye, *de Missis Dominicis.* c. x. p. 44. c. viii. p. 118. 134. 168. 195. &c.

⁶ See, especially, Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi.* tom. i. diss. xvii. p. 926. Also, the Collection of various pieces, in the Contest of Lewis XV. king of France, respecting the exemption of the clergy

from taxation, published in Holland, in seven volumes, under the title of *Ecrits pour et contre les Immunités Prétendues par le Clergé de France.* à la Haye, 1751, 8vo, &c.

⁷ See Charlemagne, *de Imaginibus,* lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48, ed. Heumann.

⁸ All these points are well illustrated by Baluze, *Prof. ad Capitularia*: and by the *Capitularia* themselves; that is, by the laws of the French kings. And all those who have discussed the rights of kings and princes in matters of religion, take up and illustrate this subject. See also Jac. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise,* tom. i. p. 270, &c.

efforts of theirs were wonderfully favoured by the disturbances and wars of the following century.

§ 17. In the writers of this age there are very few who deserve much praise, either for learning or genius. Among the Greeks, *Germanus*, bishop of Constantinople, obtained some celebrity by his talents, but still more by his immoderate zeal in defence of images.⁹ *Cosmas*, of Jerusalem, got renown by his skill in composing Hymns.¹ The histories of *George Syncellus*² and *Theophanes*³ hold some rank among the writers of Byzantine his-

⁹ See Richard Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiast. de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 270. [Germanus was the son of Justinian, a patrician of Constantinople, and was deprived of his virility by Constantine Pogonatus. He was made bishop of Cyzicum, and then patriarch of Constantinople, from A. D. 715 to 730. During the four last years of his patriarchate he strenuously opposed the emperor Leo, and defended image worship until he was deposed. He now retired to a peaceful private life till his death, about A. D. 740, when he was more than ninety years old. His writings all relate to image worship, and the honour due to the virgin Mary; and consist of letters, orations, and polemic tracts; which may be seen in the *Acts of the second Nicene council*, the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and other collections. His orations in praise of the holy virgin are ascribed by some to another Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, in the thirteenth century. See Cave's *Historia Litterar.* vol. i. *Tr.*]

¹ [Cosmas was a native of Italy: captured by Saracen pirates, he was carried to Damascus, and there sold to the father of John Damascenus, who made him preceptor to his son. He was afterwards a monk in the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem; and at last bishop of Majuma. He flourished about A. D. 730, and has left us thirteen Hymns, on the principal festivals, and some other poems; which are extant only in Latin, and may be seen in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii. See Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, vol. i. *Tr.*]

² [George was a monk of Constantinople, and *syncellus* to Tarasius the patriarch. A *syncellus* was a high ecclesiastical personage, the constant companion and inspector of the bishop, and resident in the *same cell* with him; whence his name *σύγκελλος*. See Du Cange,

Glossar. Medie et Infim. Latinitatis, sub voce *Syncellus*. The *Chronicon* of George Syncellus extends from the creation to the times of Maximin; and is copied almost verbatim from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. Jos. Scaliger made much use of it, for recovering the lost Greek of Eusebius's work. It was published, Greek and Latin, with notes, by Jac. Goar, Paris, 1652, fol. See Cave's *Histor. Litter.* tom. i. *Tr.*]

³ [Theophanes, surnamed Isaaciuss, and Confessor, was a Constantinopolitan, of noble birth, born A. D. 758. Leo, the patrician, obliged him in his youth to marry his daughter; but his wife and he agreed to have no matrimonial intercourse; and, on the death of her father, they separated, and Theophanes became a monk. He had previously filled several important civil offices under the emperor Leo. He retired to the monastery of Polychronum, near Singriana, A. D. 780; and thence to the island Colonymus, where he converted his paternal estate into a monastery, and spent six years. Then returning to Singriana, he purchased the estate called *the Field*, converted it into a monastery, and presided over it as the abbot. In the year 787 he was called to the second Nicene council, where he strenuously defended image worship. After A. D. 813, Leo, the Armenian, required him to condemn image worship, which he resolutely refused to do. In 815, or a year later, he was imprisoned for his obstinacy, though now in declining health; and two years after, was banished to the island of Samothrace, where he died at the end of twenty-three days. The patrons of image worship accounted him a *confessor*, and honoured him as a *saint*. His *Chronicon*, which embraces both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Greek empire, continues that of George Syncellus, from A. D. 285, to A. D. 815. It is written in a

tory; but they must be placed far below the earlier Greek and Latin historians. The most distinguished of the Greek and Oriental writers, was *John Damascenus*, a man of respectable talents, and of some eloquence. He elucidated the Peripatetic philosophy, as well as the science of theology, by various writings; but his fine native endowments were vitiated by the faults of his times, superstition, and excessive veneration for the fathers; to say nothing of his censurable propensity, to explain the Christian doctrines conformably to the views of *Aristotle*.⁴

§ 18. At the head of the Latin writers stands *Charlemagne*, the emperor, who was a great lover of learning. To him are ascribed the laws called *Capitulars*, some *Epistles*, the *Books concerning images*, and other things; although there can be little doubt that he generally used another's pen and head.⁵

dry style, without method, and with numerous mistakes. The *Chronicon* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius is a mere Latin translation of this, so far as this extends. It was published, Greek and Latin, with the notes of Goar and Combeffis, Paris, 1655, fol. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique*, tom. ii. p. 950, and Leo Allatius's account of his writings; which Mich. le Quien has published, with the *Opera Damasceni*, [ed. Paris, 1712, and Venice, 1748, 2 vols. fol.—also Du Pin, *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 101. &c. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. viii. p. 772, &c.; and Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xx. p. 222, &c.—John Damascenus called also Chrysorrhœos by the Greeks, on account of his eloquence; and by the Arabs Mansur, was born at Damascus, near the end of the seventh, or beginning of the eighth century. His father, Sergius, a wealthy Christian, and privy-councillor to the kalif, redeemed many captives; and among them, a learned Italian monk, named Cosmas, whom he made preceptor to his only son John. On the decease of his father, John succeeded him in office at the Saracen court. About the year 728 he wrote numerous letters, in defence of image worship, which the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, was endeavouring to suppress. This, it is said, induced Leo to forge a treasonable letter from John to himself, which he sent to the kalif, in order to compass the destruction of John. The kalif ordered his right hand to be cut off. John replaced the severed hand; and, by the

intercession of the virgin Mary, had it perfectly restored, the same night. This miracle convinced the kalif of John's innocence; and he offered to restore him to his office and favour; but John chose to retire to private life. He sold and gave away all his property, and repaired to the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem; where he spent the remainder of his life in composing learned works on theology and science. His treatises are numerous, consisting of Orations, Letters, and Tracts, chiefly polemic, in defence of image worship, and against heresies; yet several are devotional and narrative. But few of his philosophical works have been published. His great work is, *de Fide Orthodoxa*, libri iv. (*Ἐκδόσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως*), which is a complete system of theology derived from the fathers, and arranged in the manner of the schoolmen. *Tr.*—Oudin says, that John Damascene seems to him the first of the Greek fathers who spoke of the Eucharist as *the true body and blood of Christ*, the universal usage of his predecessors being to speak of it as an *antitype*, or *symbol and figure of Christ's body and blood*. *De Scriptt. Eccl.* i. 1717. *Ed.*]

⁵ See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Medii Ævi Latina*, tom. i. p. 936. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 368. [Charlemagne was not only a great general and statesman, but likewise a great promoter of learning. He possessed talents of no ordinary character; and though his very active life left him little time for study, he was a considerable proficient in all the branches of know-

Next to him should be placed *Bede*, called the *Venerable*, on account of his virtues⁶; *Alcuin*, the preceptor of Charlemagne⁷;

ledge then generally pursued. He understood both Latin and Greek, was well read in civil history, and was no contemptible theologian. Eginhard indeed tells us he could never learn to write; having not undertaken it till too far advanced in life. But if he could not write a fair hand, he could dictate to his amanuenses; and by their aid, and that of the learned men whom he always had about him, he composed and compiled very much that does him great credit. Besides a great number of *Diplomas*, *Deeds*, and *Grants*, which are to be seen in various collections; as those of Canisius, Duchesne, D'Achery, Mabillon, &c.; and numerous *Letters*, interspersed in the later collections of councils; he wrote a *Preface* to the book of Homilies for all the festivals of the year, which Paul Diaconus compiled by his order; also a large part of the *Edicts*, chiefly in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, which are denominated his *Capitularia*. Of these, the first four books, entitled, *Capitularia, sive Edicta Caroli Magni et Ludovici Pii*, were collected by the abbot Ansegisus, A. D. 827. Afterwards, three books more were collected by Benedict Levita. The whole are best published by Baluze, Paris, 1677, 2 vols. fol. The *Codex Carolinus* is a collection of ninety-nine Epistles of successive popes to him and to his father and grandfather, with theirs to the popes; made by order of Charlemagne, A. D. 791. This was published by Gretser, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.—The four books against image worship, (*de Imaginibus*), called also the *Capitulare Prolixum*, if not dictated entirely by him, were at least drawn up in his name, by his order, and in accordance with his views. He caused it to be read in the council of Frankfort, A. D. 794, where it was approved; and he then sent a copy of it to pope Hadrian, who replied to it, as being the work of Charlemagne. It was first published by John Tillet (Tilius) afterwards bishop of Meaux, A. D. 1549; and last, by C. A. Heumann, Hanover, 1731, 8vo. For the genuineness of this work, see Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xx. p. 583, &c.; and Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. *Tr.*—The materials for the celebrated treatise upon images appear to have been really supplied by Alcuin, though the work was published under the name and by the authority of his

imperial master. The deuterio-Nicene decrees in favour of image-worship had been received with execration in England; but as the country was in deferential amity with Rome, the indignant repulse was treated as if bestowed upon a corruption merely oriental; and Alcuin was chosen by his countrymen for the delicate task of justifying their conduct at the papal court. He produced, accordingly, an *Epistle*, which gained unqualified applause. This was, probably, the base of that publication which Charlemagne adopted, if not the work itself. The emperor's own subjects had no more respect for image-worship than Alcuin's countrymen. For further information, see the *Life of Alcuin*, by Lorenz. Engl. transl. p. 119; and the Editor's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 172; and *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 120. *Ed.*]

⁶ Concerning Bede, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. April, p. 866. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique Crit.* tom. i. p. 178. A catalogue of his writings, drawn up by himself, is extant in Muratori's *Antiquitates Italic. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 825. &c. [Beda or Bedan, (as St. Boniface calls him,) was born at Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne, in Northumberland, and within the territories of the monastery of St. Peter, in that place. At the age of seven years, he was sent to that monastery for education; and afterwards removed to the neighbouring monastery of St. Paul. In these two monasteries he spent his whole life, except occasionally visiting other monasteries for literary purposes. At the age of nineteen, he was ordained a deacon, and, at the age of thirty, a presbyter. He was a most diligent student; yet punctual in observing the discipline of his monastery, and attending its devotional exercises. At the age of thirty, he commenced author, and became one of the most voluminous writers of that age. His works, published at Cologne, 1612, and again 1688, fill eight vols. fol. They consist of Commentaries on the greater part of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New; numerous Homilies and Letters; a large number of Tracts; and an ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar, to the year A. D. 731. Beda was a man of great learning for that age; of considerable genius; and an agreeable

and *Paulinus*, of Aquileia⁸; all of whom were distinguished for industry and zeal for learning. Nor can one doubt, from their

writer. Yet his Commentaries and theological Tracts are little more than compilations from the fathers. As an historian, he was honest, but credulous; as a divine, he was a mere copyist; following Augustine, Gregory the Great, and the more sound Greek fathers. His piety stands unquestioned. His only work, now of much value, is his church history, in five books, edited by Wheelock, Cambridge, 1644; and still better, by Smith, *ibid.* 1722, fol.—See Beda's account of his own life and writings; in his *Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 2; also Cave's *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. Mabillon *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 500—524, ed. Venice, 1734; and J. Milner's *Church History*, cent. viii. ch. i. *Tr.*—A new edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was published in 8vo, with useful English notes, by the *English Historical Society*, in 1838, under the judicious care of Mr. Jos. Stevenson. The historian should not be too hastily taxed with credulity. His work does, indeed, contain some such tales as bespeak the age, but he merely details what was currently believed, and seems himself to have been really rather behind the prevailing standard of credulity. A new edition of Bede's works is now published by Dr. Giles; who has made a discovery among the MS. treasures of the public library of Boulogne-sur-Mer, which can scarcely fail of presenting the *venerable* Anglo-Saxon's homilies in a far more trustworthy form than the press has hitherto produced them. *Ed.*]

⁷ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 295. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tom. i. p. 122. A new edition of the works of Alcuin is preparing in France by Catelinot, who has discovered his unpublished Tract, on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. See the *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. viii. *Préface*, p. x. [But this edition, it appears, was never published; and that of Du Chesne, Paris, 1617, fol. continued to be used. Flaccus Alcuin, Alchwin, or Albin, was a native of York, England, and educated in the episcopal school there. He was well acquainted with Latin and Greek, and some say, had a knowledge of Hebrew. He was a man of learning and genius, of sound judgment, and of good taste. As an orator, poet, philosopher, and theologian, he was, perhaps, the most

distinguished man of his age. His writings consist chiefly of expositions of the scriptures, letters, and treatises on theology and science. His expositions, like those of Beda, are little more than compilations from the fathers, particularly from Augustine. His letters are numerous, well written, and useful for elucidating the history of his times. His elaborate confutation of Elipandus is now little read. Being sent by his bishop to Rome, Charlemagne met with him, and became so pleased with him, that he allured him to his court, about A.D. 780, made him his preceptor, and his counsellor; employed him to confute the errorists Felix and Elipandus; and committed to his care, not only the palatine school, but several monasteries; and particularly that of St. Martin of Tours. To this monastery he retired, A.D. 790, then advanced in years; there he established a school, after the model of that at York, and spent the remainder of his days in high reputation as a scholar, and a devout Christian. He died A.D. 801.—See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 138—180; and Cave *Historia Litter.* tom. i. *Tr.*—Alcuin died at Tours, not in 801, but in 804, on Whitsunday, being then about 70. He was decidedly the first literary man of his age, and may be considered as the founder of an improved continental school of theology. Rather, perhaps, he transplanted from his own country a higher degree of knowledge than had been recently possessed by the neighbouring nations. From the foreign ornaments of this school have been supplied an invaluable chain of testimonies against transubstantiation. The best edition of Alcuin's works is that by Froben, prince abbot of St. Emeram's, at Ratisbon, published in 1777, in 2 vols. fol. But it is considered that English public libraries which contain many MS. pieces by Alcuin might furnish means for another edition still better. To Froben's edition is prefixed the most complete and learned account of Alcuin's life. *Ed.*]

⁸ See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 286. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januar. p. 713. [Paulinus is said to have been a native of Austria, and a celebrated grammarian. Charlemagne raised him to affluence, and then made him archbishop of Aquileia in the year

mode of treating almost every branch of learning then cultivated, that it was not the want of genius, but the state of the times, which prevented them from attaining greater eminence. If to these we add *Boniface*, who has been already mentioned⁹; *Eginhard*, the celebrated author of a biography of Charlemagne and of other works¹; *Paul*, the Deacon, known to after-ages by his *History of the Lombards*, *Historia Miscella*, *Homiliarium*, and some other works²; *Ambrose Authpert*, who expounded the Apocalypse of St. John³; and *Theodulphus* of Orleans⁴; we

776. From the year 793 to the year 799, in connexion with Alcuin, he was very active in opposing and confuting the errors of Felix and Elipandus, and made a considerable figure in the councils of Frankfort, and Foro-Julii. He enjoyed the confidence of Charlemagne, and the respect of his contemporaries, and died A. D. 804. His works are nearly all polemic, and opposed to the Adoptionists; namely, a Tract on the Trinity, against Elipandus; three books against Felix: with several epistles, and a few poems. They were published at Venice, 1737, fol. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. *Tr.*]

⁹ [See above, p. 110 of this volume, with the note³ there. *Tr.*]

¹ [Eginhard, or Einhard, was a German of Franconia, educated in the court of Charlemagne, made tutor to his sons, chaplain, privy-councillor, and private secretary to the emperor. He was also overseer of the royal buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle. Whether his wife Emma, or Imma, was the natural daughter of Charlemagne, has been questioned. After she had borne him one child, they mutually agreed to separate, and betake themselves to monasteries. Charlemagne made Eginhard his ambassador to Rome in 806. In 816, he became abbot of Fontanelle; and the next year Lewis the Pious committed his son Lothaire to his instruction. In 819, he became the abbot of Ghent; and in 826, abbot of Seeligenstadt, where he died about A. D. 840. He was a fine scholar; and as an historian, the first in his age. Besides sixty-two epistles, and several tracts, he wrote the Life of Charlemagne, which has been compared with Suetonius' *Cæsars* for elegance; also Annals of the reigns of Pipin, Charlemagne, and Lewis the Pious, from A. D. 741, to A. D. 829. The best edition of his works is that of J. H.

Schminke, Utrecht, 1711, 4to. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. ii. and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 150, &c. *Tr.*]

² [Paul Warnifrid, or Diaconus, a Lombard by birth, and deacon of the church of Aquileia, was private secretary to Desiderius, king of the Lombards.—When that nation was conquered by Charlemagne, A. D. 774, Paul was sent prisoner to France; afterwards, being suspected of favouring the disaffected Lombards, he retired to the south of Italy, and became a monk at mount Cassino, where he ended his days, some time in the following century. His history of the Lombards, in six books, is of considerable value. His *Historia Miscella*, in twenty-four books, is a meagre thing. The first ten books are those of Eutropius, with some interpolations. The next six were composed by Paul; and the remainder by some writer of even less value. His *Homiliarium*, or Collection of Homilies for all the Sundays and holy days of the year, in 2 vols. 4to, was compiled (not by Alcuin, as some suppose, but by Paul,) by direction of Charlemagne; and was intended to afford to preachers, who could not frame discourses, some that they might read to their congregations. The collection is made from Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Leo, Gregory, Maximus, Beda, &c. Some discourses were added to it after the death of Paul. He also wrote the life of St. Benedict, and biographies of several other saints. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. and Bellarmin, *Scriptores Ecclesiast.* ed. Venice, 1728, fol. p. 258, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [Ambrose Authpert, or Autpert, was a native of France, and became abbot of St. Vincent, in Abruzzo, Italy, about A. D. 760. He must not be confounded with an abbot of mount Cassino,

have nearly all the writers of any merit, who cultivated either sacred or profane learning.⁵

of the same name, who lived in the ninth century. To him has been attributed the work entitled, the *Conflicts of the Vices and Virtues*, published among the works of Augustine, and also of Ambrose of Milan, and likewise some other pieces. But his great work is his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, in ten books. See Cave, *Historia Litter.* tom. i. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 234, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Theodulphus, an Italian, whom Charlemagne patronized. He first made him abbot of St. Fleury, and then bishop of Orleans about A.D. 794. Lewis the Pious greatly esteemed him, employed him much at his court, and sent him as his envoy to the pope. But in the year 818, being suspected of treasonable acts, he was deposed, and confined to the monastery of Angers. He died about A.D. 821. He wrote tolerable poetry; namely, *Carminum ad diversos libri vi.*; besides *Poemata x.* His prose is inferior to his poetry: consisting of forty-six Canons for his diocese; a Tract on Baptism; and another on the Holy Spirit. Most of the preceding were published by Jac. Sirmond, Paris, 1646, 8vo. There is still extant an elegant MS. Bible, which he caused to be written, and to which he prefixed a preface, and some poems, in golden letters. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. and Belarmin, *Scriptores Ecclesiast.* p. 281, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Among the *Greek writers*, omitted by Dr. Mosheim, were the following:

John, patriarch of Constantinople, under Philip Bardanes, the Monothelite, A.D. 812—815. Being deposed after the death of Philip, he wrote an Epistle to the bishop of Rome, purging himself of the Monothelite heresy, which is printed in the Collections of Councils.

Anastasius, abbot of St. Euthymium, in Palestine; against whom John Damascenus wrote an epistle; flourished A.D. 741. He is the author of a Tract against the Jews; published in a translation by Canisius, *Lectt. Antiq.* tom. iii. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiii.

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople. He was of noble birth, and privy-councillor to the emperor, when the empress Irene, A.D. 785, raised him to the see of Constantinople, and employed him to restore image-worship in the East. He

presided in the second Nicene council, A.D. 787; and wrote several letters, extant in the Collections of Councils. He died A.D. 806.

Basil, bishop of Ancyra, a recanter in the second Nicene council, A.D. 787. His recantation, for having opposed image-worship, is published in the Collection of Councils.

Elias, metropolitan of Crete, flourished A.D. 787. He wrote Commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen's Orations, still extant in a Latin translation; Answers to questions on cases of conscience, by Dionysius; extant, Gr. and Lat. His exposition of the Scala of John Climax, is said still to exist in MS.

The *Latin writers*, omitted by Dr. Mosheim, are much more numerous. Acca, a celebrated English monk, of York, who flourished A.D. 705—740, and was an intimate of Beda. He accompanied St. Wilfrid to Rome, became bishop of Hexham (Hagulstad) in Northumberland; and wrote lives of the saints of his diocese, several letters, &c.

John VII. pope A.D. 705—707; has left us one Epistle, addressed to Ethelred, king of Mercia, and Alfrid, king of Deira, respecting Wilfrid, bishop of York; in the Collections of the Councils.

Constantine, pope A.D. 708—715; was called to Constantinople, A.D. 710, by the emperor, and treated with great respect. His Epistle to Brihtwald, archbishop of Canterbury, is extant in the Collections of the Councils.

Gregory II. pope A.D. 715—731; famous for his opposition to Leo III. the emperor, who endeavoured to suppress image-worship. He has left us fifteen Epistles, published in the Collections of Councils. In his pontificate, the *Liber Diurnus*, containing the ancient forms of proceeding in the church of Rome, is supposed to have been compiled. See Cave, *Historia Litterar.* tom. i. p. 620, &c.

Felix, an English monk, who flourished A.D. 715, was a writer of some distinction. His life of St. Guthlac, the anchorite of Croyland, is above the ordinary level of the legends of that age. It is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 256, &c.

Heddius, surnamed Stephen, an English presbyter and monk, well skilled in

church music. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, invited him from Canterbury, to instruct his clergy in singing, about A.D. 720. He composed an elaborate life of archbishop Wilfrid, which is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 631—709. [This author's name seems to be more properly written without the *H. Eddy* is, in fact, a name yet found in England. His valuable contemporary life of Wilfrid is also printed by Gale in the *XV. Scriptores*, Oxf. 1691. It occupies forty pages. *Ed.*]

Gregory III. pope, A.D. 731—741. He pursued the contest, begun by his predecessor, against the emperor Leo III.; and also invited Charles Martel to aid him against the king of the Lombards. He has left us seven Epistles, and a Collection from the ancient canons; which are extant in Harduin's *Concilia*.

Fredegarius, Scholasticus, a Frank, who flourished A.D. 740, wrote a History, or *Chronicon, de Gestis Francorum*, from A.D. 596 (where Gregory Turon. ends) to A.D. 739. It is commonly subjoined to the history of Gregory of Tours.

Cuthbert, an English monk of Durham, a disciple and intimate of Bede. He wrote the life of Bede; some letters, &c.

Zacharias, a Syrian monk, and pope, A.D. 741—752. He has left us eighteen Epistles; and a Greek translation of St. Gregory's Dialogues.

Chrodegand, Chrodegang, or Rodegang, a Frank, of noble birth, educated in the court of Charles Martel, and bishop of Metz from A.D. 742 to 766. He first composed rules for regular canons. See § 14, and note* of this chapter, p. 136.

Willibald, an English monk, traveller, and bishop of Eichstadt in Germany. He was an assistant of St. Boniface, and wrote his life. See note⁴, p. 116, above.

Stephen II. pope, A.D. 752—757, has left us six Epistles, extant in the Collection of Councils.

Isidorus, bishop of Badajoz (Pacensis), in Spain; flourished A.D. 754. He continued Idacius' supplement to Jerome's *Chronicon*, from A.D. 609 to A.D. 754.

Paul I. pope, A.D. 757—767. Twelve

Epistles, ascribed to him, are extant in the Collections of Councils.

Aribo, bishop of Frisingen, A.D. 760—783. He was a monk, educated by St. Corbinian; whose successor and biographer he was. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 470, and Meichelbeck's *Historia Frisingens.* tom. i. p. 61, &c.

Florus, a monk of St. Trond, in the diocese of Liege, who flourished about A.D. 760, and enlarged Bede's *Martyrologium*.

Godescalc, a deacon and canon of Liege, who flourished about A.D. 780, and wrote the life of St. Lambert, bishop of Liege in this century. It is extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. &c.* tom. iii. 59, &c.

Stephen III. pope, A.D. 768—772, has left us three Epistles, and some Decrees.

Hadrian, or Adrian I. pope, A.D. 772—795, has left us eighteen Epistles; an Epitome of Ecclesiastical canons, addressed to Charlemagne; a collection of canons for the use of Ingilram, a bishop; and a letter in confutation of Charlemagne's books against image-worship.

Donatus, a deacon of Metz, about A.D. 790, who wrote the life of St. Trudo, or Trond; extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 1022, &c.

Etherius, or Heterius, bishop of Osma in Spain, and Beatus, a Spanish presbyter in the Asturias, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the error of Elipandus, which they endeavoured to confute, in a work still extant, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiii.

Leo III. pope, A.D. 795—816; has left us thirteen Epistles.

Leidradus, or Lerdrachus, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 798—813; was twice sent into Spain, by Charlemagne, to reclaim Felix and Elipandus. He has left us three Epistles, and a Tract on Baptism.

Jesse, or Jessæus, or Tesse, bishop of Amiens, A.D. 799—834; was much employed in embassies, and in civil affairs, by Charlemagne and his successors. He wrote a long Epistle to his clergy, concerning sacred rites, particularly in relation to baptism; still extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum, Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND OF THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The Christian doctrine corrupted.—§ 2. The piety and morals of this age.—§ 3. Exegetical theology.—§ 4. *Charlemagne's* zeal for sacred learning.—§ 5. It led to neglect of the Bible.—§ 6. Manner of treating didactic theology.—§ 7. Practical theology.—§ 8. Polemic theology.—§ 9. Origin of the controversy about images.—§ 10. Progress of it under Leo the Isaurian.—§ 11. Conflicts of the image-worshippers with the Iconoclasts.—§ 12. Progress under Copronymus.—§ 13. Under Irene.—§ 14. Council of Frankfort.—§ 15. Controversy respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit.

§ 1. THE fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion were preserved both by the Greek and the Latin writers. This will appear unquestionable to one who shall inspect the work of *John Damascenus* among the Greeks, *on the orthodox faith*; and the *profession of faith* by *Charlemagne*, among the Latins.¹ But to this pure seed of the word, more tares were added than can be well imagined. The very nature of religion, and the true worship of God, were corrupted, by those who contended for image-worship, and for similar institutions, with such fierceness as excluded all charity. The efficacy of the merits of our Saviour, all acknowledged; and yet all tacitly depreciated them, by maintaining that men can appease God, either by undergoing voluntary punishments, or by offering him gifts and presents; and by directing those who were anxious about their salvation, to place confidence in the works of holy men.² To

¹ See *Charlemagne's Treatise de Imaginibus*, lib. iii. p. 259, ed. Heumann. Add, from among the Greeks, the *Profession of faith*, by Mich. Synellus, published by Bernh. de Montfaucon, in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 90, &c.—From among the Latins, an *Exposition of the principal doctrines of religion*, by Benedict of Aniane, in Stephen Baluze's *Miscellanies*, tom. v. p. 56, and the Creed

of Leo III. which he sent into the East; also in Baluze, tom. vii. p. 18.

² [We will quote a few passages as proof. Bede says, (lib. i. on Luc. c. i.) *Decebat, ut, sicut per superbiam primæ nostræ parentis mors in mundum intravit, ita denuo per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ introitus panderetur.*—And (lib. iii. in Job. c. i.) he says: *Cum confectus homo atque consumptus morti et inferna-*

explain the other defects and superstitions of the times, would carry us beyond the limits prescribed in this work.

§ 2. The whole religion or piety of this, and of some subsequent centuries, consisted in founding, enriching, embellishing, and enlarging churches and chapels; in hunting after and venerating the relics of holy men; in securing the patronage with God of individuals in heaven, by gifts and superstitious rites and ceremonies; in worshipping the images and statues of saints; in performing pilgrimages to holy places, especially to Palestine³; and in like practices. In these services, which were supposed to have the greatest efficacy in procuring salvation, the virtuous and good were equally zealous with the vicious and profligate; the latter, that they might cancel their crimes and wickedness; the former, that they might obtain earthly blessings from God, and secure a more ready admission to heavenly bliss. The true religion of Jesus Christ, if we except a few dogmas contained in their creeds, was wholly unknown in this age, even to the teachers of the highest rank: and all orders of society from the highest to the lowest, neglecting the duties of true piety, and the renovation of the heart, fearlessly gave themselves up to every vice and crime, supposing that God could easily be appeased and become reconciled to them by the intercessions and prayers of the saints, and by the friendly offices of the priests, the ministers of God. The whole history of these times avouches the truth of these remarks.

libus ministris appropinquaverit, si fuerit quispiam sanctorum, qui nomen sancti angeli habere mereatur; is pro hujusmodi, qui pro peccatis suis a Deo ita corripitur, poterit impetrare: si de multis operibus bonis, quæ operari debuerat, saltem *unum bonum opus ejus*, quod tanquam sacrificium pro eo placabile offerat, valuerit invenire.—Commenting on Psalm iv. he says of the words, *Offer the sacrifices of righteousness*, that they mean: Ita dico, ut irascamini præteritis peccatis, ut sacrificietis sacrificium, id est, *mortificetis propria vitia vestra*, faciendo fructus dignos pœnitentiæ: *tantum scilicet pro singulis vos affligentes*, quam tum digna expetit pœnitentia: *quod erit sacrificium justitiæ*, id est justum sacrificium. Nam nihil justius est, quam qui punit aliena peccata, ut *puniat propria*: et ut quisque tantum se affligat, quantum fedata ejus conscientia meruit, et

sic se ipsum Deo faciat suave sacrificium. *Schl.*]

³ [Such pilgrimages were likewise made to Rome; and they were called *pilgrimages for Christ*, and the performers of them, *Pilgrims of St. Peter*. Many disorders attended these pilgrimages. Hence Boniface, in a letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, (to be found among the Acts of the council of Cloveshoo, in England, A.D. 747.) desired, that women and nuns might be restrained from their frequent pilgrimages to Rome: alleging this reason: "Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in quibus non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum; quod scandalum est et turpitudine totius ecclesiæ vestræ." See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1950. *Schl.*]

§ 3. The Greeks thought the sacred volume to have been explained sufficiently well by their forefathers. Hence biblical students were considered as effectually served by extracts collected from ancient writers who had commented upon Scripture, whether well or ill. How judiciously this was done, will appear, among other works, from the Commentary of *John Damascenus* on St. Paul's epistles compiled from *Chrysostom*. The Latin interpreters are of two classes. Some, like the Greeks, collect in one body the interpretations of the ancients. One of these was *Bede*, who took this course in an exposition of St. Paul's epistles, which he drew from *Augustine* and others.⁴ The other class made trial of their own skill in expounding the sacred volume; and among these, *Alcuin*, *Bede*, *Ambrose Authpert* (the interpreter of the Apocalypse), and a few more, stand conspicuous. But these lack the ability requisite for this business; and neglecting altogether the true import of the words, hunt after recondite meanings which they distribute into the *allegorical*, the *anagogical*, and the *tropological*⁵; that is, they tell us, not what the inspired writers *say*, but what they vainly suspect those writers would *signify* to us. As examples, we may name *Alcuin's* Commentary on John, *Bede's* allegorical Explanations of the Books of Samuel, and *Charlemagne's* Books on Images, in which various passages of Scripture are expounded, according to the customs of the age.⁶

§ 4. *Charlemagne's* reverence for the sacred volume was so great⁷, that it went beyond due bounds; and led him to believe, the fundamental principles of all arts and sciences to be contained in the Bible; a sentiment which he imbibed, undoubtedly, from *Alcuin*, and the other divines whom he was accustomed to hear.⁸ Hence originated his various efforts to excite the clergy to a more diligent investigation and explanation of the sacred books. Laws, enacted by him for this purpose, are still extant; and there are other proofs that no subject was nearer to his heart.⁹ That errors in copies of the

⁴ On the Commentaries of Bede, see Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiast. de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 280, &c. See also his Exposition of Genesis, derived from the fathers; in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 111. 116. 140; and the Interpretation of Habakkuk; *ibid.* p. 295, &c.

⁵ See Charlemagne, *de Imaginibus*, lib.

i. p. 138.

⁶ See Charlemagne, *de Imag.* lib. i. p. 84. 91. 123. 127. 131. 133. 136. 138. 145. 160. 164, 165, &c. *passim*.

⁷ Idem, *de Imagin.* lib. i. p. 44.

⁸ Idem, *de Imagin.* lib. i. p. 231. 236.

⁹ See Jo. Frick, *de Canone Scriptur.* S. p. 184.

Latin translation might be no obstacle to his designs, he employed *Alcuin* to pick them out and correct them¹; nay, he himself spent some time, during the last years of his life, upon their correction.² There are those who tell us also, that he procured a translation of the sacred books into German: but others attribute this to his son, *Lewis* the Pious.³

§ 5. These efforts of the emperor, were effective to awaken exertion in some of the slothful and indolent. Yet it must be admitted that he inadvertently adopted regulations and plans which defeated, in part, his excellent purposes. In the first place, he sanctioned the practice which had prevailed before his day, of reading and expounding only certain portions of the sacred volume in the assemblies of worship; and the diverse customs of the different churches he endeavoured to reduce to one uniform standard.⁴ In the next place, knowing that few of the clergy were competent to explain the *Gospels* and *Epistles*, as the lessons were called; he directed *Paul the Deacon*, and *Alcuin*, to collect *Homilies*, or discourses on them, out of the

¹ Cæsar Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 778, § 27, &c. Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. p. 137. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 300.

² Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. p. 950, &c. Jac. Ussher, *de Sacris et Scripturis Vernaculis*, p. 110, &c. [See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 196, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [See Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* tom. ii. p. 326. *Tr.*]

⁴ It must be acknowledged, that it is a mistake to suppose the emperor Charlemagne to have first selected those portions of the sacred volume, which are still read and expounded, every year, in the assemblies of Christians. For it appears, that in preceding centuries, in most of the Latin churches, certain portions of the inspired books were assigned to the several days for public worship. See Jo. Hen. Thamer, *Schediasma de Origine et Dignitate Pericoparum, quæ Evangelia et Epistolæ vulgo vocantur*; which has been several times printed. Also, Jo. Fr. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1640, &c. [1426, &c.] Yet Charlemagne had something to do in this matter. For whereas before his time the Latin churches differed, or did not all read and expound the same portions of the Bible; he first ordained,

that all the churches, throughout his dominions, should conform to the custom of the Romish church. For those *Gospels* and *Epistles*, as they are called, which have been expounded in public worship, from his times to the present, were used at Rome, as early as the sixth century: and it is well known, that Charlemagne took pains to render the Romish form of worship the common form of all the Latins. And hence, down to this day, those churches which have not adopted the Romish rites, use for lessons other *Gospels* and *Epistles* than those of ours, and the other Western churches, which Charles commanded to conform. The church of Milan is an example, which retains the Ambrosian ritual; likewise the church of Chur (Curia), according to Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital.* tom. iv. p. 836, and, undoubtedly, some others. What *Gospels* and *Epistles* were used by the French and other Western churches, before the times of Charlemagne, may be learned from the ancient *Kalendar*, published by Martene (among others), *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 66.—and from Bede's discourses, *ibid.* tom. v. p. 339, &c., from Mabillon, *de Antiqua Liturgia Gallicana*; and from others. See also Wm. Peyrat, *Antiquitez de la Chapelle du Roi de France*, p. 566.

fathers ; so that the ignorant and slothful teachers might recite them to the people. This was the origin of what is called his *Homiliarium*, or Book of Homilies.⁵ And his example led others, in this and the next age, to compile at their own pleasure similar works, for the encouragement of laziness among the teachers.⁶ Lastly, he caused the lives of the most eminent saints to be collected into a volume ; so that the people might have, in the dead, examples worthy of imitation, while they had none among the living. That all these regulations proceeded from honest and good intentions, and, indeed, that they were useful in that age, no one can doubt. But still, contrary to the intentions of the emperor, they contributed not a little to confirm the indolence of the public teachers, and to increase neglect of the sacred volume. For from this time onward, most of the clergy directed their attention exclusively to those portions of the Bible, which were to be expounded to the people ; and did not exercise themselves in reading and examining the whole volume of Scripture ; and not many were to be found who were inclined to compose their own public discourses, rather than resort to their *Homiliarium*.

§ 6. The business of discussing formally and systematically the doctrines of Christianity, was scarcely attempted by any one of the Latins. For the essays of some few, respecting the person and natures of Christ, against *Felix* and *Elipandus*, and concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and other things, exhibit no specimens of thorough investigation. The whole theology of the Latins, in this century, consisted in collecting opinions and testimonies out of the *Fathers*, that is, the theologians of the first six centuries ; nor did any one venture to go beyond such things as had their authority, or rely upon his own understanding. Among the *Irish* only, who were denominated *Scots* in this age, some discerning ones employed philosophy in

⁵ See, concerning this, the very laborious and learned Jo. Henr. a Seelen, *Selecta Litteraria*, p. 252.

⁶ Italianus, or Alanus, for example, an Italian abbot of Farfa, compiled, in this same century, a huge *Homiliarium*; the preface to which was published by Bernh. Pez. *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. vi. pt. i. p. 83. In the next century, Haymo of Halberstadt made up a *Homiliarium*; which has been printed. In

the same century, Rabanus Maurus, at the request of the emperor Lothaire, formed a *Homiliarium*; and likewise, Hericus; mentioned by Pez, *ubi supra*, p. 93. All these made use of the Latin language. The first that composed a German *Homiliarium*, I suppose, was the celebrated, Otfrid, of Weissenburg. See Lambecius, *de Bibliotheca Vindobon. Augusta*, tom. ii. c. v. p. 419.

the explanation of religious doctrines⁷, a practice abhorred by others. But among the Greeks, *John Damascenus*, in his *four Books on the orthodox faith*, embraced the entire theology of Christians in a systematic form. In this work the two kinds of theology, which the Latins call *scholastic* and *dogmatic*, were united. For the author uses subtle ratiocination in explaining doctrines, and confirms them by the authority of the fathers. This work was received by the Greeks, with great applause; and gradually acquired such influence, that it was regarded among them as the only guide to true theology. Yet many have complained, that the author relies more upon human reason and upon the fidelity of earlier writers than upon the Holy Scriptures, and that he thus subverts the true grounds of theology.⁸ To this work must be added his *Sacred Parallels*, in which he carefully collects the opinions of the ancient doctors respecting the articles of faith. We may therefore look upon this writer as the *Thomas* and the *Lombard* of the Greeks.⁹

§ 7. Instructions for a Christian life and its duties, no

⁷ I was aware, that Irishmen, who in that age were called *Scotchmen*, cultivated and amassed learning, beyond the other nations of Europe, in those dark times; that they travelled over various countries of Europe, for the purpose of learning, but still more for that of teaching; and that, in this century and the following, Irishmen or Scots, were to be met with, every where, in France, Germany, and Italy, discharging the functions of teachers, with applause. But I was long ignorant, that Irishmen were also the first who taught *scholastic theology* in Europe; and that so early as this century, they applied philosophy to the explanation of the Christian religion. The fact I learned first from Benedict of Aniane; some of whose short pieces are published by Stephen Baluze, *Miscellaneor.* tom. v. He says, in his *Epist. to Guararius*, p. 54, *Apud modernos scholasticos*, (i.e. teachers of schools,) *maxime apud Scotos*, (who held the first rank, among school teachers,) *est syllogismus delusionis ut dicant, Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum*; (by a syllogism, which Benedict here calls *delusive*, i.e. sophistical and fallacious, these Irishmen proved the Persons in the Godhead to be *substances*; but the syllogism was a very captious one, as appears from what follows, and brought the inex-

perienced into difficulties,) *quatenus si adenserit illectus auditor, trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegatur culpatur*. That is, these philosophic theologians perplexed and troubled their hearers, with this syllogism. If any one assented to their reasoning, they accused him of *tritheism*; if he rejected it, they taxed him with *Sabellianism*. Either grant, that the three Persons in God are three substances or deny it. If you grant it, you doubtless are a *tritheist*, and worship three Gods; if you deny it, you destroy the Persons, and fall into *Sabellianism*. Benedict strongly reprehends this subtlety, in theological discussions; and recommends the love of simplicity. *Sed hæc de fide et omnis calliditatis versutia simplicitate fidei catholice est puritate vitanda, non captiosa interjectione linguarum, scava impactione interpolanda*. The philosophic, or *Scholastic*, theology, is therefore much more ancient, among the Latins, than is commonly supposed.

⁸ Jo. Henr. Hottinger, *Bibliothecar. Quadripart.* lib. iii. cap. ii. § iii. p. 372. Martin Chemnitz, *de Usu et Utilitate Locor. Commun.* p. 26.

⁹ [Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard. *Ed.*]

author systematically framed. *John Carpathius*, among the Greeks, left some *hortatory discourses*¹, containing little that deserves much commendation. In monasteries nothing was approved but opinions of the mystics, and of their father, *Dionysius the Areopagite*, whose work, accordingly, was translated by *John Darensis*, a Syriac writer, in order to gratify the monks.² The Latins proceeded no further, than to advance some precepts concerning vices and virtues, and external actions: and in explaining these, they kept near to the principles of the *Peripatetics*, as may be seen in some tracts of *Bede*, and in *Alcuin's* little work *on the virtues and vices*.³ To exhibit examples of piety before the public, several considerable men, as *Bede*, *Florus*, *Alcuin*, *Marcellinus*, and *Ambrose Authpert*, composed biographies of persons who had left high reputations for piety.

§ 8. Only a moderate number, in this age, entered into controversies on important religious subjects; and, among these, there is hardly an individual who merits commendation. Most of the Greek polemics engaged in the contest about images; which they managed unskilfully, and without precision. The Latins entered less into this controversy; and expended more effort in confuting the opinion of *Elipandus*, concerning the person of *Christ*. *John Damascenus* assailed all the heretics, in a tract, small, indeed, but still not useless. He also contended, resolutely, against the Manichæans and Nestorians in particular; nor did he decline to attack the Saracens. In these writings of his, there is some ingenuity and subtilty, but a want of clearness and simplicity. *Anastasius*, an abbot of Palestine, attempted a confutation of the Jews.

§ 9. Of the controversies that disquieted this age, the greatest and most pernicious related to the worship of sacred images. Originating in Greece, it thence spread over the East and the West, producing great harm both to the state and to the church. The first sparks of it appeared under *Philippicus Bardanes*, who was emperor of the Greeks near the beginning of this century. With the consent of the patriarch *John*, in the year 712, he removed from the portico of the church of St. Sophia a picture representing the sixth general council, which condemned the Monothelites, whom the emperor was disposed

¹ Hortatoria capita.

² Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 120.

³ It is extant in his Works, ed. of Du Chesne, tom. ii. p. 1218

to favour; and he sent his mandate to Rome, requiring all such pictures to be removed out of the churches. But *Constantine*, the Roman pontiff, not only protested against the emperor's edict, but likewise caused pictures of all the six general councils to be placed in the portico of St. Peter's church; and moreover, having assembled a council at Rome, he caused the emperor himself to be condemned, as an apostate from the true religion. These first commotions, however, terminated the next year, when the emperor was hurled from the throne.⁴

§ 10. Under *Leo* the Isaurian, a very resolute emperor, another conflict ensued, which was far more formidable, grave, and lasting. Unable to bear the incredible superstition of the Greeks, in ho-

⁴ See Fred. Spanheim, *Historia Imaginum restituta*; which was published, both separately, and in his Works, vol. ii. Maimbourg's history of this controversy, in French, is full of fables. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. [For the history of this controversy, see Walch's *Historie der Ketzereyen*, vol. x. p. 66—828, and vol. xi. p. 3—400; also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 513—602, and vol. xxiii. p. 345—432. The origin of this controversy is not generally carried back to the collision of Philippicus with the Roman pontiff, which related, perhaps, wholly to the doctrines of the Monothelites; nor is there good proof, that the pontiff ventured to excommunicate the emperor. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 180, 181. The following remarks of Schlegel are worth inserting in this place.—In order to understand the history of this controversy, in its whole extent, it is necessary to go back to the earlier history of the church, and to investigate the origin of image-worship among Christians. It is certain, and even the impartial Catholics themselves admit it, that in the first three centuries, and also in the beginning of the fourth, pictures were very rarely to be found among Christians. See Du Pin, *Bibliothèque*, tom. vi. p. 152, and Anton, Pagi, *Crit. ad Annal. Baronii*, ad ann. 55, p. 43. Indeed there were Christian writers on morals, who disapproved of a Christian's pursuing the trade of a painter or statuary. See Tertullian, *Contra Hermog.* c. i. and *de Idololatria*, c. 3. Even in the time of the seventh general council, A.D. 787, the use of *statues* was not yet introduced into churches; as appears from the seventh Article of that

council. Still less did the ancient Christians think of giving *worship* to images. The occasion of introducing images into churches, was in great measure the ignorance of the people, which rendered pictures a help to them; whence they have been called the *people's Bible*. On this ground it was, that Gregory the Great censured Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; who had removed the pictures out of the churches, on account of the misuse the people made of them. Gregory's *Epistles* lib. ix. ep. 91. *Quia eas (imagines) adorare vetuisses, omnino laudavimus; fecisse vero reprehendimus.* To this cause, may be added, the superstition of the people and the monks; who were influenced very much by sensible objects, and who began, as early as the close of the sixth century, to ascribe to the images miracles of various kinds. They now began to kiss the images, to burn incense to them, to kneel before them, to light up wax candles for them, to expect wonders to be wrought by them, to place infants in their arms, at baptisms, as if they were godfathers and godmothers; to carry them with them in their military expeditions, to secure a victory, and give confidence to the soldiers; and in taking an oath, to lay their hand on them, just as upon the cross, and upon the Gospels. Indeed, nearly the whole of religion, in this century, consisted in the worship of images. In particular, the superstitious worship of images proceeded so far among the Greeks, that the rich, at Constantinople, used to send their bread to the churches, and have it held up before an image previously to eating it. Schlegel's note. *Tr.*]

nouring sacred images, which Saracens and Jews laughed at, Leo issued an edict in the year 726, for the complete extirpation of so great an evil. By this he ordered all images of saints, excepting that of Christ on the cross, to be removed out of churches; and the worship of them to be wholly discontinued and abrogated. In this proceeding, the emperor obeyed the dictates of his own feelings, which were naturally strong and precipitate, rather than the suggestions of prudence, which recommends the extirpation of inveterate superstitions gradually and insensibly. Hence a civil war broke out; first in the islands of the Archipelago, and a part of Asia; and afterwards in Italy. For the people, either spontaneously, or under instigation of the priests and monks, who found images a source of gain, considered the emperor as an apostate from true religion; and therefore thought themselves freed from their oath of allegiance, and from the duty of obeying him.

§ 11. In Italy, the Roman pontiffs, *Gregory II.* and *Gregory III.*, were the principle authors of a revolt. The former of these pontiffs, when *Leo* would not at his bidding revoke the edicts against images, did not hesitate to say, that the emperor, in his view, had rendered himself unworthy of the name and the privileges of a true Christian. This opinion being known, the Romans and other people of Italy who were under the Greeks, violated their allegiance, and either massacred or expelled *Leo's* governors. Exasperated by these things, the emperor began to think of making war upon Italy, and especially upon the pontiff: but circumstances prevented him. Hence, in the year 730, fired with resentment and indignation, he vented his fury against images, and their worshippers, much more violently than before. For having assembled a council of bishops, he deposed *Germanus*, bishop of Constantinople, who favoured images, and substituted *Anastasius* in his place; commanded that images should be committed to the flames; and inflicted various punishments upon the advocates of them.⁵ The con-

⁵ [Leo was led on to one degree of innovation after another, by the opposition made to his measures, by the friends of images. At first, he proceeded in the ordinary and legal way. He wished to have the subject discussed and determined, in a general Council. But the pope would not agree to it; and

urged, that the emperor should remain quiet, and not bring the subject under agitation. Leo's first requisition was, that the images should be *hung higher*, in the churches. But, in this, the patriarch *Germanus* opposed him. And as the opposition of this man was confined to no limits, he was deposed; yet the em-

sequence of this severity was, that the Christian church became deplorably rent into two parties; that of *Image-slaves*, or *Image-worshippers*, and that of *Image-foes*, or *Image-breakers*⁶, which furiously contended, with mutual invectives, enormities, and assassinations. The course commenced by *Gregory II.* was warmly prosecuted by *Gregory III.*; and although we cannot determine, at this distance of time, the precise degree of fault in either of these prelates, thus much is unquestionable, that the loss of their Italian possessions which the Greeks underwent in this contest, is to be attributed chiefly to the zeal of these pontiffs in behalf of images.⁷

§ 12. The son of *Leo, Constantine*, who was surnamed *Copronymus*⁸, by the furious crowd of *Image-worshippers*, after he came to the throne A. D. 741, trod in his father's steps: for he

peror allowed him, as we are informed by Theophanes, to spend his life quietly, in his father's house. Next followed the edict of the emperor, by which he forbade the *worshipping* of images; and required their removal, if the worship of them could not be prevented by the mere prohibition. And it was not, till after the horrible tumult at Constantinople, and the insurrections of the Italian provinces, that he ordered all images upon the church walls to be *effaced*, and the walls to be whitewashed; and the moveable images to be carried away, and *burned*; and laid heavy punishments upon the riotous monks and blind zealots, who insulted him to his face, with the title of Antichrist, a second Judas, &c. See Spanheim, *loc. cit.* p. 115, &c. and Basnage, *loc. cit.* tom. ii. p. 1278. *Schl.*]

⁶ *Iconodulorum* seu *Iconolatrarum*, et *Iconomachorum* seu *Iconoclastarum*.

⁷ The Greek writers tell us, that both Gregories debarred Leo, and his son Constantine, from the sacred communion; absolved the people of Italy from their oath of allegiance, and forbade their paying their taxes, or performing any act of obedience. And the advocates of the Roman pontiffs, Baronius, Sigonius, (*de Regno Italiae*), and numerous others, who follow after these writers, admit, that all these things were facts. Yet some very learned men, particularly among the French, maintain, that the Gregories did not commit so gross offences; they deny that the pontiffs either excommunicated the emperors, or absolved the people from

their allegiance and their duties to them. See Jo. Launoï, *Epistolæ*, lib. vii. ep. vii. p. 456, in his *Opp.* tom. v. pt. ii. Natal. Alexander, *Histor. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, sæcul. viii. diss. i. p. 456. Peter De Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. c. xi. Jac. Ben. Bossuet, *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallic. de Potest. Ecclesiastica*, pt. i. lib. vi. c. xii. p. 197. Giannone, *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. i. p. 400. These rest chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, Anastasius, Paulus Diaconus, and others; who not only are silent as to this audacity of the pontiffs in assailing and combating the emperors, but also tell us, that they gave some proofs of their loyalty to the emperors. The facts cannot be fully ascertained, on account of the obscurity in the history of those times; and the question must be left undecided. Yet this is certain, that those pontiffs, by their zeal for image-worship, occasioned the revolt of their Italian subjects from the Greek emperors. [The arguments adduced by the apologists for the popes, above named, seem to be conclusive as to *this* point, that the popes did not then feel themselves to have *jurisdiction* over kings and emperors, or to have authority to dethrone them, and to transfer their dominions to other sovereigns. In particular, Gregory II. stated very well the boundary between civil and ecclesiastical power, and reproached Leo with over-leaping that boundary. *Tr.*]

⁸ [“ This nick-name was given to Constantine, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.” *Macl.*]

laboured with equal vigour to extirpate the worship of images, whatever might be the machinations of the Roman pontiff, and the monks. But he acted with more moderation than his father: for being aware that the Greeks were governed entirely by the authority of councils, in religious matters, he collected a council of eastern bishops, at Constantinople, in the year 754, to examine and decide this controversy. By the Greeks this is called the *seventh general council*. The bishops pronounced sentence, as was customary, according to the views of the emperor, and therefore condemned images.⁹ The pertinacity, however, of the superstitious, who were carried away by their zeal for images, was not to be overcome by these decisions. None made greater resistance than the monks; who did not cease to embarrass the government, and work upon the people. *Constantine*, therefore, moved with just indignation, punished many of them in various ways; and even made new laws for setting bounds to the fury of this turbulent class. *Leo IV.*, who succeeded to the throne, A.D. 775, on the death of *Constantine*, was of the same mind with his father and grandfather. When, accordingly, he saw it quite impossible to move the abettors of

⁹ [This council was composed of 338 bishops; a greater number than had ever before been assembled in any council. In his circular letter for calling the council, the emperor directed the bishops to hold provincial councils, throughout the empire, for discussion of the subject; so that, when met in the general council, they might be prepared to declare the sense of the whole church. The council held its sessions in the imperial palace of Hiera, over against the city on the Asiatic shore; and deliberated, from the tenth of February till the seventh of August; when they adjourned to the church of St. Mary ad Blachernas, in Constantinople, and there published their decrees. The patriarch of Constantinople, Anastasius, died a few days before the council met; and the emperor would not appoint a successor to that see, till the deliberations of the council were closed; lest it should be thought, he placed a creature of his own at the head of it. Of course, two other bishops, namely, Theodosius, exarch of Asia, and Pastillus, metropolitan of Pamphylia, presided in the council. Its Acts and deliberations have all perished, or rather,

been destroyed by the patrons of image worship; except so much of them, as the second Nicene council saw fit to quote, for the purpose of confuting them, in their sixth Act. (Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 325—444.) From these quotations it appears, that the council deliberated soberly, and reasoned discreetly, from scripture and the fathers; that they maintained, that all *worship* of images was contrary to scripture, and to the sense of the church in the purer ages; that it was idolatry, and forbidden by the second commandment. They also maintained that the *use* of images in churches and places of worship, was a custom borrowed from the pagans; that it was of dangerous tendency, and ought to be abolished. They accordingly enacted canons, expressive of these views, and requiring a corresponding practice. See Walch's *Hist. der Kirchenversamml.* p. 463, &c. Cave, *Hist. Litteraria*, vol. i. p. 646, &c. Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iii. p. 357—368, ed. 1754. On the side of the Romanists, may be consulted Baronius, *Annales*; and Pagi, *Critica*, ad ann. 754. *Tr.*]

images by mild and gentle measures, he coerced them with penal statutes.

§ 13. *Leo IV.* however, being removed by poison, through the wickedness of his perfidious wife *Irene*, in the year 780, images became triumphant. For that guilty woman, who governed the empire during the minority of her son *Constantine*, with a view to establish her authority, after entering into a league with *Hadrian*, the Roman pontiff, assembled a council at Nice in Bithynia, in the year 786, which is known by the title of the *second* Nicene council. Here, the laws of the emperors, together with the decrees of the council of Constantinople, were abrogated; the worship of images, and of the cross, was established; and penalties were denounced against those who should maintain that nothing but God was to be worshipped and adored. It is impossible to conceive any thing more puerile and weak, than the arguments and proofs by which these bishops support their decrees.¹ Nevertheless, the Romans

¹ Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Trident.* pt. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52, ed. Francf. 1707. Jac. Lenfant, *Préservatif contre la Réunion avec le Siège de Rome*, pt. iii. litt. xvii. p. 446.— [*Irene* was, undoubtedly, an ungodly, hypocritical, ambitious woman; eager after power, and from this passion prone to all, even the most unnatural cruelties; and she was, at the same time, much devoted to image-worship. Her first step was, to grant liberty to every one, to make use of images in his private worship. She next removed Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, because he was an Iconoclast; and made Tarasius her secretary, who was devoted to images and to her, to be patriarch. And as the imperial guards were inclined to iconoclasm, and might give her trouble, she caused them to be marched out of the city, under pretence of a foreign invasion, and then disbanded them. At last, she called, in the name of her son *Constantine*, who was a minor, the council of Nice. Tarasius directed the whole proceedings. Yet there were two papal envoys present. In the Acts, which we still have entire, (in Harduin's *Collection*, tom. iv. p. 1—820,) there is mention of the representatives (τοποτηρητῶν) of the two eastern patriarchs, those of Alexandria and Antioch. But according to credible accounts, under this high title, two mis-

erable and illiterate monks were designated; whom their fellow monks had arbitrarily appointed, and whom forged letters legitimated. The bishops assembled, were at least 350. Besides these two officers of the court were present, as commissioners; and a whole army of monks. At first, Constantinople was appointed for the place of meeting. But the Iconoclasts, who had the greater part of the army on their side, raised such a tumult, that the empress postponed the meeting and changed the place to Nice. In the seventh Act of this council, the decree was made, that the cross, and the images of Christ, Mary, the angels, and the saints, were entitled to religious worship (τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις); that it was proper to kiss them, to burn incense to them, and to light up candles and lamps before them: yet they were not entitled to *divine worship* (λατρεία). The proofs adduced by these fathers, in support of their decree, and their confutations of the contrary doctrine, betray the grossest ignorance, and a total want of critical sagacity, if not also intentional dishonesty. Their Acts are full of fabulous tales of the wonders wrought by images, of appeals to the apocryphal books, of perversions of the declarations of the fathers, and of other faults and puerile arguments. Even Du Pin and Pagi cannot

would have the authority of these decrees to be sacred and inviolable; and the Greeks were as furious against those who refused to obey them, as if they had been parricides and traitors. The other enormities of the flagitious *Irene*, and her end, which befitted her crimes², it belongs not to this history to narrate.

§ 14. In these contests, most of the Latins,—as the Britons, the Germans, and the French, took the middle ground between the contending parties; for they decided that images were to be retained, indeed, and to be placed in the churches; but that no religious worship could be offered to them, without dishonouring the Supreme Being.³ In particular, *Charlemagne*, at the suggestion of the French bishops, who were displeased with the Nicene decrees, first caused *four books concerning images* to be drawn up by some learned man, which he sent, in the year 790, to the Roman pontiff, *Hadrian*, in order to draw him off from approving the Nicene decrees. In this work, the arguments of the Nicene bishops in defence of image-worship, are acutely and vigorously combated.⁴ But *Hadrian*, unable to

deny the fact. And it is strange, how it was possible, for doctrines supported by such false reasonings, to become the prevailing doctrines of the whole church. See Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 477, &c. *Schl.*—Du Pin really exposes the ignorance, or dishonesty, certainly the misrepresentations and absurdities, advanced by this council, at great length. (*New Eccles. Hist.* Engl. Transl. vi. 139.) Undoubtedly, whatever may be thought of the decision to which this assembly committed itself, no well-informed person can deny that more contemptible pleadings have rarely been heard with applause by any body of educated men. We cannot wonder that Mahumedans threw and scoffed, when they were surrounded by Christians wearing very much the appearance of Pagans, and able to justify a spectacle, so inconsistent with the letter of Scripture, by no better reasons than those which gave satisfaction at Nice. *Ed.*]

² This most atrocious woman procured the death of her own son Constantine in order that she might reign alone. But in the year 802, she was banished, by the emperor Nicephorus, to the island of Lesbos; where she died the year following.

³ For the abhorrence of the Britons

of image-worship, see Henr. Spelman, *ad Concilia Magnæ Britannia*, tom. i. p. 73, &c.

⁴ These books of Charlemagne, *de Imaginibus*, are still extant; republished, when become very scarce, with a very learned preface, by Christoph. Aug. Heumann, Hanover, 1731, 8vo. The venerated name of the emperor Charlemagne is attached to the work; but it is easy to discover that it was the production of a learned man, bred in the schools; or of a theologian, and not of the emperor. Some very learned men have conjectured, that Charlemagne employed Alcuin, his preceptor, to draw up the book. See Heumann's Preface, p. 51, and the illustrious Bünau, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. i. p. 490. Nor would I condemn the conjecture. And yet it appears to me somewhat doubtful; for when these books were written, Alcuin was resident in England; as is manifest from his history, he having gone to England in 789, whence he did not return till the year 792. [Alcuin seems to have returned at the close of that, or at the beginning of the following year. In 792, Hoveden says, Charlemagne sent to Britain that synodal book, directed to him from Constantinople, in which were found many things incon-

bear such a master, illustrious as he was, controverted his positions in a formal treatise. Wherefore *Charlemagne* assembled, in the year 794, a council of 300 bishops at Frankfort-on-the-Maine; in order to re-examine this controversy. The council approved the sentiments contained in the books of *Charlemagne*; and forbade the *worship* of images.⁵ Thus it did not seem yet to the Latins of that age an impiety to charge error upon the Roman pontiff, and to treat his decision with neglect.

§ 15. While these contests about images were raging, another controversy sprang up, between the Greeks and the Latins, respecting the *procession of the Holy Spirit*; which the Latins contended, was from both the Father and the Son; but the Greeks, that it was only from the Father. The origin of this controversy is involved in much obscurity: but as it is certain that the subject came up in the council of Gentilly near Paris, A. D. 767, and was there agitated with the ambassadors of the Greek emperor⁶, it is most probable that the controversy originated in Greece, amidst the collisions respecting images. As the Latins defended their opinion on this subject, by appealing to the Constantinopolitan creed, which the Spaniards first, and afterwards the French, had enlarged (though at what time, or on what occasion, is not known), by adding the words (*filioque*) and *from the Son*, to the article concerning the Holy Spirit; the Greeks charged upon the Latins the audacity of corrupting the creed of the church universal, by this interpolation, which they denominated sacrilege. From a contest about a doctrine, therefore, it became a controversy about the inser-

venient and contrary to the true faith, and against which Aleuin wrote his *admirable epistle*. There was ample time, therefore, to prepare an enlarged and improved form of this *epistle* for the council of Frankfort in 794, and dates, instead of invalidating Aleuin's claim to the authorship of the *Caroline books*, really confirm it. *Ed.*]

⁵ See, especially, Jo. Mabillon, who is likewise ingenuous on this subject, in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. v. &c. also Geo. Dorscheus, *Collatio ad Concilium Francfordiense*, Argentor, 1649, 4to. [The council of Frankfort was properly a *general* council; for it was assembled from all the countries subject to *Charlemagne*; Germany, France, Aquitain, Gaul, Spain, and

Italy. Delegates from the pope were present. *Charlemagne* presided. Two subjects were discussed: the heresy of Felix of Urgel; and the subject of Image-worship. *Charlemagne* laid his books, *de Imaginibus*, before the council. The council approved of them; and passed resolves in conformity with them; that is, disapproving of the decisions of the Nicene council; and deciding, that while images were to be retained in churches as ornamental and instructive, yet no kind of worship whatever was to be given to them. See Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversammlungen*, p. 483, and Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 904, can. 2. *Tr.*]

⁶ See Car. le Comte, *Annales Ecclesiast. Francor.* tom. v. p. 698.

tion of a word.⁷ In the following century this dispute became more violent, and accelerated the separation of the eastern church from the western.⁸

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Ceremonies multiplied.—§ 2. Zeal of Charlemagne for the Romish rites.

§ 1. THE religion of this century consisted almost wholly in ceremonies and external marks of piety. It is, therefore, not strange, that every where more solicitude was manifested for multiplying and regulating these, than for correcting the vices of men, and removing their ignorance and impiety. The mode of celebrating the Lord's supper, which passed for the most important part of God's worship, was every where lengthened and deformed, rather than embellished, by various formalities.¹

⁷ Men of eminence for learning have generally supposed, that this controversy commenced respecting the word *filioue*, which some of the Latins had added to the Constantinopolitan creed, and that, from disputing about the *word*, they proceeded to dispute about the *thing*. See, above all others, Jo. Mabillon, (whom very many follow,) *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. p. iv. But with due deference to those great men, I would say, the fact appears to have been otherwise. The contest commenced respecting the *doctrine*, and afterwards extended to the word *filioue*, or to the interpolation of the creed. From the council of Gentilly it is manifest, that the dispute about the *doctrine* had existed a long time when the dispute about the *word* commenced. Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. p. 323, thinks, that the controversy grew out of the contest respecting images; that, because the Latins pronounced the Greeks to be heretics for opposing images, the Greeks retaliated the charge of heresy upon the Latins for holding, that the Holy Spirit

proceeded from the Son as well as the Father. But this is said without authority and without proof; and is therefore only a probable conjecture.

⁸ See Pet. Pithæus, *Historia Controversiæ de Processione Spiritus Sancti*; subjoined to his *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 355, &c. Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 354. Gerh. Jo. Vossius, *de Tribus Symbolis*, diss. iii. p. 65, but especially Jo. Geo. Walch, *Historia Controversiæ de Processione Spiritus Sancti*. Jenæ, 1751, 8vo.

¹ [We here subjoin a few facts, from which it will appear, how much superstition then dishonoured this holy ordinance of Christ. Pope Gregory III. among his decisions (in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1826, no. 28.) gives the following: "If any one, through negligence, shall destroy the eucharist, *i. e.* the sacrifice, let him do penance one year, or three Quadregesimas. If he lets it fall on the ground carelessly, he must sing fifty psalms. Whoever neglects to take care of the sacrifice, so that worms get into it, or it lose its colour,

Manifest traces of private and solitary masses, as they are called, are now distinctly visible; although it is uncertain, whether they were sanctioned by some law, or introduced by the authority of individuals.² As this one practice may suffice to show the ignorance and degeneracy of the times, it is not necessary to mention others.

§ 2. *Charlemagne*, it must be acknowledged, was disposed to impede the progress of superstition to some extent. For, besides forbidding the worship of images as we have already seen, he limited the number of the holydays³, would not allow bells to be consecrated with water⁴, and made other commendable regulations. Yet he did not effect much, and chiefly from this cause, among others, that he favoured excessively the Roman pontiffs, whose patronage was enjoyed by the lovers of ceremonies. His father, *Pipin*, had before required the mode of singing practised at Rome to be every where introduced.⁵ Treading in his steps, and obeying repeated exhortations from the pontiff *Hadrian*, *Charlemagne* used every exertion to make all churches of the Latins not only copy the Romans in this matter.

or taste, must do penance thirty or twenty days; and the sacrifice must be burned in the fire. Whoever turns up the cup at the close of the solemnity of the mass, must do penance forty days. If a drop from the cup should fall on the altar, the minister must suck up the drop, and do penance three days; and the linen cloth, which the drop touched, must be washed three times, over the cup, and the water in which it is washed be cast into the fire." This same passage occurs in the *Capitula* of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, cap. 51. *Schl.*]

² See *Charlemagne, de Imaginibus*, lib. ii. p. 245. Geo. Calixtus, *de Missis Solitariis*, § 12, and others. [The *private*, or *solitary masses*, were so called, to distinguish them from the *public*, or those in which the eucharist was imparted to the congregation; and they were masses in which the priest alone partook of the eucharist. The introduction of these private masses led to a more rare distribution of the eucharist to the assembly; at first, only on the three principal festivals; and at length but once a year. *Schl.*]

³ [At the Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, (Harduin, *Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1015, Can. 24—28,) the number of fast and

feast days was defined, according to the pleasure of Constantine, as follows. *Four great fasts*; namely, the first week in March, the second week in June, the third week in September, and the last full week in December, previous to Christmas day. In all these weeks there were to be public litanies and masses, at nine o'clock on the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The *festivals*, in addition to all the Sundays of the year, were to be Easter day, with the whole week; Ascension day; Whitsunday; the nativity (martyrdom) of St. Peter and St. Paul; of St. John Baptist; the Assumption of St. Mary; the dedication of St. Michael; nativities of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew; Christmas, four days; the first day of January; the Epiphany; and the purification of St. Mary; together with the festivals of the martyrs and confessors interred in each parish; and the dedication of a church. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Among the *Capitula* of *Charlemagne*, as given by Harduin (*Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 846.) there is one, No. 18, "*Ut cloaca non baptizetur.*" *Tr.*]

⁵ [See the *Capitulare Aquisgranense*, No. 80, in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 843. *Tr.*]

but also seek the whole form of divine worship from Rome.⁶ There were, however, a few churches, as those of Milan, Chur, and others, which could not be induced in any way to change their old mode of worshipping God.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects recover strength.—§ 2. Clement and Adalbert.—§ 3. Felix and Elipandus.

§ 1. THE ancient sects, the *Arians*, *Manichæans*, and *Marcionites*, though so often repressed by penal laws, acquired new strength in the East; and allured many to join them, amidst those calamities with which the Greek empire was perpetually struggling.¹ The *Monothelites*, to whose cause the emperor *Philippicus* and other persons of distinction were well-wishers, began to revive in many places. The condition also of the Nestorians² and Monophysites³ was easy and agreeable, under the dominion of the Arabians; nor were they without ability to annoy the Greeks, their foes, and to find new openings for propagating their faith.

⁶ See Charlemagne, *de Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 52. Eginhard, *de Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 26, p. 94, ed. Bessel. and others.

¹ Among the barbarous nations of Europe also, there were some Arians remaining.

² [From Asseman we obtain some knowledge of the Nestorian patriarchs; the most distinguished of whom were the following. Ananjesu, under whom the Sigan monument was erected A.D. 781. Timotheus, who succeeded Ananjesu, and greatly extended the sect by the conversion of pagan nations near the Caspian sea, and in Tartary. He left many sermons, an exposition of John's Gospel, ecclesiastical canons, polemic writings, a treatise on astronomy, and two hundred letters. From him we get knowledge of several other writers, and

of the divisions caused by them. But as these had no influence on the churches of Europe, we may pass them by. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 1315, &c. *Schl.*]

³ [Of the Monophysite patriarchs and writers, we also obtain some knowledge from Asseman. Conspicuous as writers among them were, Elias of Sigara, who commented on the books of Gregory Nazianzen; and Theodosius of Edessa, who wrote poems. Among the Maronites, the patriarch Theophilus obtained renown. He appears to have been the same person with that Maronite author of the same name, who lived about A.D. 785, and who not only translated Homer into Syriac, but also composed large historical works. See Baumgarten, as above, p. 1318. *Schl.*]

§ 2. In the new Germanic church, which *Boniface* built up, there were many people, perverse and void of true religion, if we may believe him and his friends. But it can scarcely be so, because it appears, from many circumstances, that the persons whom he calls patrons of error were Irishmen, Franks, and others, that would not subject themselves to the control of the Roman pontiff, which *Boniface* was labouring to extend. Among others, the most troublesome to him were *Adalbert*, a Frenchman who obtained consecration as a bishop, against the will of Boniface; and also *Clement*, a Scot, or Irishman. The former, who made a disturbance in Franconia, appears to have been not altogether free from error and crime⁴; for, not to mention other instances of his disregard to truth, there is still extant an Epistle, which he falsely asserted was written by *Jesus Christ*, and brought down from heaven by *Michael* the archangel.⁵ The latter ex-

⁴ See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 82, &c.

⁵ The Epistle is published by Steph. Baluze, in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, tom. ii. p. 1396. [Semler, in his *Hist. Eccles. selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 185, &c. conjectures, that this Epistle was fabricated by the enemies of *Adalbert*, and palmed upon him for the sake of injuring him. This, however, is doubtful. The caption of the Epistle purports, that it is an Epistle of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, which fell down at Jerusalem, and was found by the archangel *Michael* near the gate of Ephraim; that a priest read it, transcribed it, and sent it to another priest, who sent it into Arabia. After passing through many hands, it came at length to Rome, &c. Accompanying this letter, as transmitted by Boniface to the pope, was a biography of *Adalbert*; which stated, that his mother had a marvellous dream, before his birth, which was interpreted to signify, that her child would be a distinguished man; also a prayer, said to have been composed by him, in which he invoked four or five angels by name, that are not mentioned in the Bible. The letter of Boniface, containing the accusation against both *Adalbert* and *Clement*, states, that Boniface had now laboured thirty years among the Franks, in the midst of great trials and opposition from wicked men; that his chief reliance had been on the protection of the Roman

pontiffs, whose pleasure he had always followed; that his greatest trouble had been with "two most base public heretics and blasphemers of God and the catholic faith," *Adalbert* a Frenchman, and *Clement* a Scotchman, who held different errors, but were equal in amount of criminality. And he prays the pontiff to defend him against these men; and to restrain them by imprisonment and excommunication from annoying the churches. For, said he, "On account of these men, I incur persecution, and the enmity and curses of many people; and the church of Christ suffers obstructions to the progress of the faith and holy doctrine." Of *Adalbert* he says: "The people say, respecting him, that I have deprived them of a most holy apostle, patron and intercessor, a worker of miracles, and a shower of signs. But your piety will judge from his works, after hearing his life, whether he is not one clad in sheep's clothing, but within a ravening wolf. For he was a hypocrite in early life, asserting that an angel, in human form, brought to him from distant countries relics, of marvellous sanctity, but of whom it was uncertain; and that, by means of these relics, he could obtain from God whatever he asked. And then, with this pretence, as Paul predicted, he entered into many houses, and led captive silly women, laden with sins and carried away by divers lusts; and he seduced a multitude of the rustics, who said that he was a man of apostolic

celled, perhaps, Boniface himself, in his knowledge of the true religion of Christ; and he is, therefore, not improperly placed by many among the witnesses for the truth in this barbarous age.⁶ Both were condemned by the Roman pontiff *Zacharias*, at the instigation of *Boniface*, in a council at Rome, A.D. 748. And both, it appears, died in prison.

§ 3. Much greater commotions were produced in Spain, France, and Germany, towards the close of the century, by *Felix* bishop of Urgel, in Spain, a man distinguished for his piety. Being consulted by *Elipandus*, archbishop of *Toledo*, respecting his opinion upon the *sonship* of Christ, the Son of God, he answered, in the year 783, that *Christ*, as God, was by nature, and truly, the Son of God; but that as a man, he was the Son of God only *in name*, and *by adoption*. This doctrine,

sanctity, and wrought signs and wonders. He next hired some ignorant bishops to ordain him, contrary to the canons, without assigning him a specific charge. He now became so insolent, as to assume equality with the apostles of Christ; and disdained to dedicate a church to any apostle or martyr; and reproached the people for being so eager to visit the thresholds of the holy apostles. Afterwards he ridiculously consecrated oratories to his own name; or rather defiled them. He also erected small crosses, and houses for prayer, in the fields, and at fountains, and wherever he saw fit; and directed public prayers to be there offered; so that great multitudes, despising the bishops, and forsaking the ancient churches, held their religious meetings in such places, and would say, The merits of St. Adalbert will aid us. He also gave his nails and locks of his hair to be kept in remembrance of him, and to be placed with the relics of St. Peter, the prince of apostles. And finally, what appears the summit of his wickedness and blasphemy against God, when people came and prostrated themselves before him, to confess their sins, he said: I know all your sins, for all secrets are known to me; return securely, and in peace, to your habitations. And all that the holy Gospel testifies as done by hypocrites he has imitated, in his dress, his walk, and his deportment.”—The Epistle then describes the wickedness of Clement, thus: “The other heretic, whose

name is Clement, opposes the catholic church, and renounces and confutes the canons of the church of Christ. He refuses to abide by the treatises and discourses of the holy fathers, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Despising the decrees of councils, he affirms, that, in his opinion, a man can be a Christian bishop, and bear the title, after being the father of two sons, begotten in adultery [*i.e.* in *clerical wedlock*]. Introducing Judaism again, he deems it right for a Christian, if he pleases, to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Also, contrary to the faith of the holy fathers, he maintains, that Christ, the Son of God, descended into hell, and liberated all that were there detained in prison, believers and unbelievers, worshippers of God and worshippers of idols. And many other horrible things he affirms respecting divine predestination, and contravening the catholic faith.” See Harduin’s *Concilia*, tom. iii. p. 1936—1940. *Tr.*]

⁶ The errors of Clement are enumerated by Boniface, *Epist.* cxxxv. p. 189. [See them stated in the concluding part of the preceding note. *Tr.*] Among these errors, there is certainly no one that is capital. See Jac. Ussher, *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 12, and *Nouveaux Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tom. i. p. 133, &c. [For the history of the controversy with both Adalbert and Clement, see Walch’s *Historie der Ketzeren*, tom. x. p. 3—66. *Tr.*]

which he had imbibed from his preceptor, Elipandus disseminated in the provinces of Spain, while Felix himself, its author, spread it in Septimania.⁷ But in the view of the pontiff *Hadrian*, and of most of the Latin bishops, this opinion seemed to revive the error attributed to *Nestorius*, and to divide Christ into *two persons*. Hence *Felix* was judged guilty of heresy, and required to change his opinion; first, in the council of Narbonne, A. D. 788, then at Ratisbon, in Germany, A. D. 792; also at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, A. D. 794; and afterwards at Rome, A. D. 799; and lastly in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle. He did change his opinion ostensibly, but not in reality; for he died in it, at Lyons, whither he was banished by *Charlemagne*.⁸ No rule of faith could be imposed upon *Elipandus*, by the Christians, because he lived under the Saracens in Spain. Many believe, and not without reason, that the disciples of *Felix*, who were called *Adoptionists*, differed from other Christians, not in reality, but only in words, or in the mode of stating their views.⁹ But as *Felix* was not uniform in his language, those who accuse him of the Nestorian error, have some grounds to go upon.

⁷ [Or Languedoc. *Tr.*]

⁸ The authors who have treated of the sect of Felix, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. Mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 582. To these add Peter de Marca, in the *Marca Hispanica*, lib. iii. c. 12, p. 368, &c. Jo. de Ferraras, *Histoire générale d'Espagne* tom. ii. p. 518. 523. 535, 536. 560. Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. Præf. p. ii. &c. Of Felix in particular, account is given by Domin. Colonia, *Histoire Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 79, and by the Benedictine monks, in *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 434, &c. [This sect is fully treated of in C. W. F. Walch's *Historie der Ketzerzeu*, vol. ix. p. 667—940, and in his *Historia Adoptianorum*, Gotting. 1755, 8vo. See also Schroeckh, *Kirchen-gesch.* vol. xx. p. 459—498. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Jo. Geo. Dorscheus, *Collat. ad Concilium Francof.* p. 101. Sam. Werenfels, *de Logomachis Eruditor.* in his *Opp.* p. 459. Jac. Basnage, *Præf. ad Etherium*,

in Henr. Canisii *Lectionibus Antiquis*, tom. ii. pt. i. p. 284. Geo. Calixtus, in his Tract on this subject, and others.—Dr. Walch, in his *Historia Adoptianorum*, considers Felix as not a Nestorian; and yet he regards the controversy as not merely about words. The substance of Felix's views he thus states: Christ as a man, and without regard to the personal union of the two natures, was born *a servant of God*, though without sin. From the condition of a *servant*, he passed into that of a *free person*, when God, at his baptism, pronounced him his *dear Son*. This transaction was his *adoption*, and likewise his *regeneration*. The title of *God* belongs to him, indeed, as a man; but not properly, for he is God only *nuncupatively*. Thus did Felix utter something unsuitable and new; but his innovation was not a ground for so great an alarm throughout the whole church, as if he had assailed the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. *Tr.*]

Human nature without the im-
bued force of God, is the most
deplorable thing in creation. How is
possibly to bestir some must it be
lilies, who can not leave a
man, with the least degree of alter-
ation, before whom the very heart
is made an & who changes, in the
strong metaphor of Scripture, by
angels with the bully!

The heart of man is desolate
above all things and desperately
sick, who can cure it? -
And yet - this poor weak, sin-
ning, helpless such tricks before
such Heaven as make the an-
gels weep" -

CENTURY NINTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1, 2. The Swedes, Danes, and Cimbrians converted. — § 3. The Bulgarians, Bohemians, and Moravians. — § 4. The Slavonian tribes, the Russians. — § 5. Estimate of these conversions.

§ 1. So long as *Charlemagne* lived, which was till the year 814, he omitted no means which seemed requisite, to propagate and establish Christianity among the Huns, the Saxons, the Frislanders, and others.¹ But it is to be regretted, that he did not

¹ [Among these must be included the Carinthians. They had indeed partially received Christianity, in the preceding century, from Virgilius, bishop of Saltzburg. For Boruth, the duke of Carinthia, when he committed his son Corastus to the Bavarians, as a hostage, requested, that he might be baptized and educated as a Christian; and he also requested the same, in regard to his nephew Chetimar. Now, as both these afterwards became dukes of Carinthia, it may be readily conceived, that the Christian religion had made considerable progress there, before this century. In

the present century, A. D. 803, Charlemagne came to Saltzburg, and confirmed to Arno his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Slavonia, or Carinthia in lower Pannonia. The presbyters, whom bishop Arno sent into Carinthia, to build up the churches there, adopted a singular artifice, to render Christianity respectable, and paganism contemptible, in the eyes of the people. They allowed Christian slaves to sit at table with them, while their pagan masters had to eat their bread and meat without the doors; and had to drink out of black cups, whereas the servants drank from gilded cups.

omit to employ violence and war. His son *Lewis* the Meek, though greatly below him in other respects, had the same zeal for propagating Christianity. Under this prince, a convenient opportunity was presented for planting Christianity among the northern nations, especially the Danes and Swedes.² *Harald Klack*, a petty sovereign of Jutland, being expelled his kingdom, by *Regner Lodbrock*, in the year 826, applied to the emperor for assistance. *Lewis* promised it, on condition that he would embrace Christianity himself, and admit teachers of that religion into his country. *Harald* acceding to the terms, not only was baptized at Mentz, A. D. 826, together with his brother, but also took home with him two preachers of Christianity, *Ansgarius*, a monk and schoolmaster of Corbey in Saxony, and *Autbert*, a monk of old Corbie³; which monks preached among the inhabitants of Jutland and Cimbria, for two years, with great success.

§ 2. On the death of his fellow-labourer *Autbert*, in the year 828, the indefatigable *Ansgarius* went over to Sweden; and there was equally happy in pleading the cause of Christ.⁴ Returning into Germany, *Lewis* the Meek constituted him, in the year 831, archbishop of the new church of Hamburg⁵, and of all

For the presbyters told the masters, "You unbaptized persons are not worthy to eat with those that are baptized." This enkindled such a desire to become Christians, that great numbers of them were baptized. The story does as little credit to these missionaries, as to their converts. See the Life of St. Ruprecht, in *Canisii Lectionibus Antiq.* tom. vi. of the old ed. 4to. *Schl.*

² [Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had travelled as an imperial envoy in the northern countries, made an attempt, as early as A. D. 822, to spread Christianity there; and, together with Halitgarius of Cambray, he obtained from pope Paschal a full power for this purpose. See *Acta Sanctor.* Antw. ad 3. Februar. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor.* Ord. Bened. secul. iv. pt. ii. p. 79. 90. *Schl.*]

³ [In Picardy. *Ed.*]

⁴ [The Christians who were carried into captivity by the Normans, in their frequent plundering expeditions, undoubtedly contributed much to give this people a favourable disposition towards Christianity; and especially by recounting to them the wealth and the power

of the Christian countries, which were ascribed to their religion. This will account for what historians affirm, that Swedish ambassadors came to king *Lewis*, and stated among other things, that many of their people had an inclination towards Christianity, and that their king would cheerfully permit Christian priests to reside among them. *Anscharius* and *Vitmar* were sent thither, with rich presents. Their voyage was unfortunate; for they fell into the hands of pirates, who plundered them. Yet they finally reached the port of Biork, which belonged to the king, *Bern* or *Biorn*. There they collected a congregation and built a church, in the course of six months; the king having given liberty to his subjects to embrace the new religion. On the return of these missionaries, the congregation in Sweden was without a teacher, till *Ebbo* sent them his nephew *Gausbert*, who, at his ordination to the episcopacy of that see, took the name of *Simon*; but he was, soon after, driven out of Sweden. *Schl.*]

⁵ [The see of Hamburg was then very small, embracing but four parish churches.

the North; and in the year 844, the episcopal see of Bremen was annexed to that of Hamburg. The profits of this high station were small⁶, while its perils were very great, and its labours immense. For *Ansgarius*, while he lived, took frequent journeys among the Danes⁷, the Cimbrians, the Swedes⁸, and other nations; and laboured, though at the peril of his life, to collect new Christian congregations, and to strengthen those previously formed, till death overtook him, A. D. 865.⁹

§ 3. About the middle of this century, two Greek monks, *Methodius* and *Cyril*, being sent as missionaries from Constantinople, by the empress *Theodora*, taught first the Mœsians, Bulgarians, and Gazari, and afterwards the Bohemians and Moravians, to renounce their false gods, and receive Christ.¹

Lewis sent Ansharius to the pope; who conferred on him the archiepiscopal pall, and constituted him his legate for Sweden, Denmark, the Faro islands, Iceland, &c. as also among the Slavonians, and the northern and eastern tribes. See the *Acta Sanctor.* Feb. tom. i. and Mabillon, l. c. *Schl.*

⁶ [Lewis the Meek assigned him the revenues of a monastery in Brabant, in order to meet the expenses of his missionary efforts. But the income of the monastery was very small; and soon after ceased altogether, when the kingdom fell into disorder. Ansharius must therefore have been in want of resources. He at last received a small estate, from a pious widow, in Ramelslob near Bremen; which however yielded him but a small income. *Schl.*]

⁷ [The violent persecutions, to which the Danish Christians were exposed, was one occasion for his repeatedly visiting that country. He was himself driven from Hamburg, (by an invasion of the Normans,) and the city being wholly laid waste, he had to reside some time at Bremen. He was at length permitted to enter Denmark, by king Erich; and being allowed to preach there, he erected a church at Hadebye or Schleswick, in the year 850. But this king being slain in 856, during the minority of his son Erich Baern, there was fresh persecution, and the church of Schleswick was shut up. When this king began to reign in person, he was more favourable to the Christians, and permitted Ansharius to return, and to erect a new church at Ripen, A. D. 860. *Tr.*]

⁸ [To Sweden he sent the priest Ard-

garius; and likewise went there himself, a second time, in the character of envoy from king Lewis to king Olaus; who was induced by presents, to support Ansharius in two imperial Swedish diets, at which the establishment of Christianity was decided by casting lots. He now re-established Christian worship at Biork, and left Herimbert there as a Christian teacher. *Schl.*]

⁹ The writers who treat of the life and labours of this holy and illustrious parent of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. Mediævi*, tom. i. p. 292, &c. and *Lux Evangelii tota Orbi Terrar. christianis*, p. 425, &c. To these, add the Benedictine monks' *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 277. *Acta Sanctor.* mens. Februar. tom. i. p. 391, &c. Eric Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomæticæ*, tom. i. p. 18, &c. Möllerus, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 8, &c. From these writers, a knowledge may be gained of the others also; namely, Ebbo, Witthmar, Rembert, &c. who were either the companions and assistants of Ansharius, or his successors in the field of labour. [The life of Ansharius, well written by Rembert, his disciple and successor in the see of Hamburg, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 78, &c. Among the recent writers, see Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 108—119. Schrockh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 314, &c. and archbishop Münster's *Kirchengesch. von Dänem. und Norweg.* vol. i. Lips. 1823. *Tr.*]

¹ Jo. Geo. Stredowsky, *Sacra Moravia Historia*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94, &c. Com-

Some knowledge of Christianity had indeed been previously imparted to these nations, through the influence of *Charlemagne*

pare Jo. Peter Kohl, *Introduct. in Historiam et Rem Litterar. Slavorum*, p. 124, &c. and others. [A much ampler account of the missions and conversions mentioned in this and following sections, is given by Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 396. &c. and by J. E. C. Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 120, &c. also by Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Kalendaria Ecclesie Universæ*, tom. iii. p. 3, &c. Romæ, 1755, 4to. — The following summary, by Schlegel, derived from Semler and Baumgarten, contains the most material results of modern investigation. *Tr.*] The seeds of Christianity had been previously scattered among the Bulgarians, by some Christian captives. In the year 814, Crummus, the Bulgarian king, captured Adrianople, and carried the bishop, Manuel, with other of the citizens, into captivity; and his successor afterwards put this bishop with other Christian captives to death; because they made proselytes among the Bulgarians. After this, it appears, that both the monk Theodorus Eupharas, who was a captive in that country, and a sister of the Bulgarian king Bogoris, who had been taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where she was educated and taught the Christian religion, and then exchanged for the monk Theodorus, contributed much to recommend Christianity to that people. The way being thus prepared, Bogoris admitted several artists from Constantinople, among whom was the famous painter Methodius, who, instead of drawing worldly scenes for the king, formed religious pictures, and among them, one of the judgment day; and instructed him in the principles of Christianity. Not long after, the king, in a time of famine, openly professed Christianity, and invited teachers from abroad. But his subjects made insurrection against him for it; and he caused fifty-two of the ringleaders to be put to death, and at length brought the rest to embrace the new religion. In the year 848, (for thus Asseman has ascertained the true year, in his *Kalendar. Eccles. Universæ*, tom. iii. p. 13, &c. whereas Kohl and Stredowsky state the year 843,) Constantine, the brother of this Methodius, had been sent among the Chazari, [or Gazari,] whose king had likewise desired to have Christian teachers. Constantine laid the foundation of the Christian

church among this people, translated the Scriptures into the Slavonic language, and taught that barbarous nation the use of letters. After this, he came to the aid of his brother, among the Bulgarians; and in the year 861, baptized king Bogoris, who assumed at the font the name of the Greek emperor, Michael. — The two brothers, Constantine and Methodius, were natives of Thessalonica. The former, who was the oldest, afterwards took the name of Cyril; and on account of his learning, was surnamed the Philosopher. The younger brother was distinguished as a painter. It is probable, that both of them, in early life, fled from Constantinople, to avoid the persecution which befel the worshippers of images, and especially the painters of them; and that they took refuge among the Slavonic tribes, and there learned their language, which was afterwards of use to them in the propagation of Christianity. — From the Bulgarians, Constantine, it is stated, travelled among the adjacent Dalmatians and Croatians, and baptized their king Budimir. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iii. p. 1379, and S. Semler's *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. ii. p. 263. 269. — As to the Bohemians, the *Chronicles of Fulda*, ad ann. 845, state that under Lewis, king of the Germans, fourteen Bohemian lords, with their subjects, embraced the Christian religion. And it is well known, that towards the close of the century, the Bohemian prince Borivoi or Borsivoi was baptized. Suatopluc or Zwentibold, king of the Moravians, appears to have greatly aided this conversion. For having been baptized himself, he treated this pagan prince roughly, while residing at his court, and would not allow him to sit at his table; because, as he told him, it was not suitable for a pagan to eat with Christians. Perhaps also the assurance given him by Methodius, may have contributed to his conversion; for he told him, that if he embraced Christianity, he would become a greater man than any of his ancestors. In short, he consented to be baptized; and returning home, he persuaded his wife Ludomilla, with many others, to receive baptism also; and afterwards, with the aid of his wife, greatly promoted the spread of Christianity; and, among other means, by

and of certain bishops²; but that knowledge produced little effect, and gradually became extinct. As the missionaries above named were Greeks, they inculcated on those new disciples the opinions of the Greeks, their forms of worship and their rites³; from which the Roman pontiffs, afterwards, by their legates, were able but partially to reclaim them. And from this source great commotions occasionally arose.

§ 4. Under the Greek emperor, *Basil* the Macedonian, who ascended the throne A. D. 867, the Slavonic nations, the Arentani, and others, who inhabited Dalmatia, sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and voluntarily placed themselves in subjection to the Greek empire; and, at the same time, they professed a readiness to receive Christianity. Greek priests were therefore sent among them, who instructed and baptized them.⁴ The same emperor, after concluding a peace with the warlike nation of the Russians, persuaded them by presents and other means, to promise him, by their ambassadors, that they would embrace Christianity. The nation stood to their promise, and admitted not only Christian teachers among them, but also an archbishop, commissioned by *Ignatius*, the Greek patriarch.⁵

erecting a famous school at Budec. See S. Semler, l. c. p. 261. 265.—The Moravians were converted, under their king Radislav. He sent for the two monks, Constantine and Methodius; and they erected a school at Vetvar, baptized the king, and his most distinguished subjects, translated many books into the Slavonic language, and set up public worship in this tongue. They erected churches in several places, particularly at Olmutz and Brünn; but they introduced also image-worship, to which they were addicted. See Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* tom. iii. p. 1429, &c. *Schl.*]

² Stredowsky, loc. cit. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55, &c. [When Charlemagne, in his wars with the Huns and Avars, was victorious, he compelled the Moravian king Samoslay, to embrace Christianity; and Arno of Saltzburg, in particular, undertook to convert these tribes; and in this business, the monk Godwin was employed; and under Lewis the Pious, Orolph the archbishop of Lorch also. See Pagi, *Critic.* ad ann. 824. In the year 822, Mogemir, the successor of Samoslay, became a confederate of the emperor Lewis, and gave free toleration to the Christian worship, on which he

himself attended. This good beginning in the conversion of the Slavonic nations, in Moravia, was however much interrupted, by the contests that arose between the bishops of Saltzburg and those of Passau; and besides, the ignorance of the Christian missionaries of the Slavonic language, and their introducing the Latin formulas of worship, were serious obstacles to success. And at last, the wars between the Germans and the Moravians, the latter having wholly renounced the dominion of the former, put a full stop to the progress of the gospel among that people. See Baumgarten's *Auszug*, vol. iii. p. 1430, &c. *Schl.*]

³ Jac. Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, liv. i. cap. i. p. 2, &c. and compare the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xxi. p. 2—4.

⁴ This we learn from Constantine Porphyrogenitus de *Administrando Imperio*, cap. xxix.; in Anselmi Bandurii *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. Constantine also relates the same, in his life of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, § liv. *Corpus Hist. Byzantin.* tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, de *Vita Basilii Macedonis*, § xcvi., in the

This was the commencement of Christianity among the Russian people. They were inhabitants of the *Ukraine*; and a little before had fitted out a fleet at Kiow, in which they appeared before Constantinople, to the great terror of the Greeks.⁶

§ 5. The Christian missionaries to barbarous nations, in this age, were men of more piety and virtue than most of those who took that office upon themselves in the preceding century. Nothing now was done by punishments and fear; the Roman pontiff's interest was either disregarded altogether, or but moderately promoted; the preachers themselves were free from arrogance, insolence, and the suspicion of licentiousness. Yet the religion taught by them was very wide of that simple rule of truth and holiness which the apostles of Christ preached, and was debased by many human inventions and superstitions. Among the nations which they converted, also, the preachers allowed too many relics of the old superstitions to remain; and in truth, they rather inculcated an external form of piety, than piety itself. The good and pious men, it must, however, be admitted, really could not help giving up many things to the rudeness of barbarian populations.

Corpus Hist. Byzant. tom. xvi. p. 157; and *Narratio de Ruthenorum Conversione*; published Gr. and Lat. by Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, in his notes to Porphyrogenitus, *de Administrando Imperio*, tom. ii. p. 62.

⁶ Mich. le Quien, in his *Christianus Oriens*, tom. i. p. 1257, gives account of this conversion of the Russians to Christianity, in the reign of Basil the Macedonian; but he has made a number of mistakes, as others had done before him. He first tells us, that the Russians here intended, were those that bordered on the Bulgarians; but, a little after, he tells us, they were the Gazari. For this

opinion, he has but one reason, namely, that among the teachers sent to instruct the Russians, was that Cyril, who was active in the conversion of the Gazari. The learned author was ignorant of both the Russians and the Gazari. He has made also other mistakes. The subject is developed much better, and more accurately, by Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer, *Diss. de Russorum Prima Expeditione Constantinopolitana*; published in the sixth volume of the *Commentar. Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitane*, A. D. 1738, 4to. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 507, &c. and J. E. C. Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 166, &c. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Success of the Saracens.—§ 2, 3. The Norman Pirates.

§ 1. THE Saracens were in possession of all Asia, to the borders of India, a few regions only excepted. They also held the best parts of Africa; and in the West, Spain, and Sardinia. In the year 827, relying on the treason of certain individuals, they subjugated the very fertile island of Sicily.¹ When the century was near its close, the Asiatic Saracens, now masters of many cities in Calabria, spread terror even to the walls of the city of Rome. They also partly ravaged, partly occupied Crete, Corsica, and other islands. How great was the injury to the Christian cause, every where, from these successes of a nation accustomed to wars and rapine, and hostile to the Christians, every one can easily comprehend. In the East especially, numberless families of Christians embraced the religion of their conquerors, to render their lives more comfortable. Those possessed of more resolution and piety, gradually sank into a wretched state, being not only stripped of the chief of their property, but, what was still more lamentable, they fell by degrees into a kind of religious stupor, and an amazing ignorance; so that they retained almost nothing Christian, except the name, and a few religious rites. The Saracens in Europe, and particularly those of Spain, became divested in a great

¹ [Euphemius, a general in Sicily, became enamoured with a nun, and forcibly took her to his bed. Her brothers complained to the viceroy, who laid the case before the emperor; and he ordered the nose of Euphemius to be cut off. Euphemius repelled the force sent to arrest him, and fled to Africa. There he offered the Saracen governor to put him in possession of all Sicily, if he would

entrust him with an army, and allow him to assume the title of a Roman *Imperator*. The governor consented; and Euphemius fulfilled his promise. But he had scarcely accomplished his design when he lost his life at Syracuse by assassination. See the account given by John Cuiropalata, as cited by Baronius, *Annal.* tom. ix. ad ann. 827, § xxiv. &c. *Tr.*]

measure of their ferocity ; and suffered their Christian subjects to live quietly, according to their own laws and institutions. Yet instances of cruelty were not wanting among them.²

§ 2. Another and even a more dreadful plague, came upon the European Christians from the regions of the North. The Normans, that is the people inhabiting the shores of the Baltic in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who were accustomed to rapine and slaughter, and whose petty kings and chieftains practised piracy, had infested the coasts along the German and Gallic oceans ; while *Charlemagne* yet reigned : that emperor, accordingly, had already stationed camps and officers to oppose them. But in this century, having grown much more bold, they made frequent incursions upon Germany, Britain, Friesland, but especially France, plundering and devastating, with fire and sword, wherever they went. The terrific inroads of these savage hordes extended not only to Spain³, but even to the centre of Italy : for it appears from the writers of those times, that they destroyed the city of Luna, in the year 857, and Pisa and other cities of Italy, in the year 860.⁴ The early histories of

² See, for example, the martyrdom of Eulogius of Corduba, in the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. xi. Martii, tom. ii. p. 88, and those of Roderic and Salomon, Spanish martyrs of this century, in the same vol. ad d. xiii. Martii, p. 328. [The Saracens of Spain were tolerant to the Christians so long as they demeaned themselves as quiet and peaceable citizens ; and they allowed them the free exercise of their religion. But they would not allow them to revile Mahumed and his religion. And this was the source of all the difficulties. Abdalrahman consulted Reccafrid, a Christian bishop, on the subject. The bishop stated, that when Christians traduced the Mahumedan religion, without urgent cause, and laboured to introduce their own in place of it, if they thereby lost their lives, they could not be accounted martyrs. A number of Christians agreed with Reccafrid ; but the majority dissented. And Eulogius wrote against Reccafrid, and compiled histories of the Spanish martyrs. He, and those in his sentiments, exerted all their efforts to run down Mahumedism, and to make converts to Christianity. They also courted martyrdom ; and, in several instances, invited the judges to put them to death. The particular of

fence of Eulogius, for which he was put to death, was detaining and secreting a Spanish girl, whom he had converted from the Mussulman to the Christian faith, and not giving her up to her parents and friends. See his three books, *de Martyribus Cordubensibus* ; his *Apologeticus pro Martyribus adv. Calumniatores* ; and his *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* ; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xv. p. 666, &c. and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 294, &c. *Tr.*]

³ Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire générale d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among these northern nations a very honourable and laudable profession ; and to it the nobility and the sons and the kindred of kings were trained. Nor will this surprise us if we consider the religion of those nations, and the barbarism of the times. See Jo. Lud. Holberg, *Historia Danorum et Norvegorum navalis* ; in the *Scripta Societatis Scientiarum Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349, where he relates many interesting accounts respecting these maritime robberies from the annals of the Danes and Norwegians.

⁴ See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* by Muratori, in various passages.

the Franks detail and deplore, at great length, their horrid enormities.

§ 3. At first these ferocious people sought only plunder and slaves in the countries which they invaded⁵; but by degrees becoming captivated with the beauty and fertility of their conquests, they made a home in them; nor could the European kings and princes prevent it. In this very century, *Charles the Bald* was obliged, A. D. 850, to cede a considerable part of his kingdom to these bold invaders.⁶ And a few years after, in the reign of *Charles the Fat*, king of the Franks, *Godfred*, one of their most valiant chieftains, went on fighting until he had subdued all Friesland.⁷ When, however, permanently settled among Christians, they gradually became civilized; and, marrying women who professed Christianity, they themselves exchanged it for the superstitions of their ancestors. This was done by that *Godfred*, who conquered Friesland, in this century, after he had received for his wife, from *Charles the Fat*, *Gisela*, daughter of the younger king *Lothaire*.

⁵ [This object of the Normans (making plunder) occasioned the destruction of a vast number of churches and monasteries in England, France, Germany, and Italy. For in these places were deposited large treasures, partly belonging to the establishments, and partly placed there for safe keeping. These places were, therefore, generally fortified; and

the bishops and abbots, who were also bound to do military service for their lands, were obliged to defend them against the incursions of foreign enemies. *Schl.*]

⁶ *Annales*, by an unknown author, in *Pithœi Scriptores Francici*, p. 46.

⁷ *Reginonis Prumiensis Annales*, lib. ii. p. 60, in *Pistorii Scriptor. German.*

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. State of philosophy.—§ 3. Learning among the Arabians.—§ 4. State of learning under Charlemagne and his sons.—§ 5. Impediments to its progress.—§ 6. List of learned men.—§ 7. John Scotus.

§ 1. THE Greeks experienced many things in this age, which could not but damp their ardour for learning and philosophy. Still, however, the munificence of the emperors, some of whom themselves were devoted to study, and the precautions of the patriarchs, among whom *Photius* shone conspicuous for erudition, prevented an absolute dearth of learned men, particularly at Constantinople. Hence there were among the Greeks, some who excelled both in prose and in poetic composition; who showed their skill in argumentation, by their writings against the Latins and others; and who composed histories of their own times not altogether destitute of merit. In particular, when their disputes with the Latins became warm, many who would otherwise have suffered their talents to be eaten up of rust, were roused to set about cultivating elegance and copiousness of diction.

§ 2. That the study of philosophy, among the Greeks of this century, continued for a long time neglected, is testified expressly by *John Zonaras*. But under the emperor *Theophilus* and his son *Michael III.*, the study of it revived, through the

influence especially of *Bardas*, the Cæsar¹, who, though himself not learned, was the friend of *Photius*, who was a very learned man and a Great Mæcenas, and by whose counsels, no doubt, *Bardas* was guided in this matter. At the head of all the learned men, to whose protection he intrusted the interests of learning, *Bardas* placed *Leo* the Wise, a man of great learning, and afterwards bishop of Thessalonica.² *Photius* himself expounded what are called the *Categories* of Aristotle: and *Michael Psellus* wrote brief explanations of the principal books of that philosopher. Others I pass over.

§ 3. The Arabians, who hitherto had strained every nerve, not to cultivate the sciences, but to enlarge their borders, being now excited by the fondness for literary pursuits of *Al Mamun*, or *Abu Gaafar Abdallah*, and by his patronage of learned men, made much greater progress. For this excellent kaliph of Babylon and Egypt, who began to reign about the time that *Charlemagne* died and ended his days A. D. 833, founded celebrated schools at Bagdad, Cufa, Basora, and other places; drew learned men around him, by conferring on them great rewards; established ample libraries; procured, at great expense, the translation of the best works of the Greeks into Arabic; and neglected no means which could do honour to a prince greatly attached to literature and science, and himself a distinguished proficient.³ Through his influence, the Arabians began to find pleasure in Grecian learning; and to propagate it by degrees, not only in Syria and Africa, but also in Spain, and even in Italy. Hence they celebrate a long list of renowned philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians of their nation, extending through several centuries.⁴ Yet we must not take all that the modern Saracenic historians tell us, of the merits and endowments of these men, in the most literal sense.⁵ From the

¹ *Annales*, tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126, in the *Corpus Byzant.* tom. x.

² [Among the Greek emperors who advanced science, Basil the Macedonian should not be forgotten. He was himself not without learning; as is evident from his speeches, letters, and counsels to his son Leo, that are still extant. This son of his, who was surnamed the Wise, and the Philosopher, on account of his learning, composed largely; the most important of his works are the sixty books of his *Basilicon*, or Imperial

Laws, his *Tactica*, and his speeches. *Schl.*]

³ Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiæ*, p. 246. Geo. Elnacîn, *Historia Saracên.* lib. ii. p. 139. Barthol. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, article *Mamun*, p. 545.

⁴ See Leo Africanus, *Tract. de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus*; republished by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xii. p. 259, &c.

⁵ [In the abstruse sciences they are said to have been mere copyists, or rather plagiarists, from the Greeks and

Arabians, the Christians afterwards profited in the sciences, For all the knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and philosophy, propagated in Europe from the tenth century onward, was derived principally from the schools and the books of the Arabians in Italy and Spain. And hence the Saracens may in some measure, be considered as the restorers of learning in Europe.

§ 4. In the part of Europe subject to the Franks, *Charlemagne*, while he lived, cherished and honoured learning of all kinds with great earnestness. If his successors had followed him with equal strides, or been capable of doing so, ignorance and barbarism would soon have been expelled. He was not, indeed, altogether without imitators. *Lewis the Meek*, copying after his father, devised and executed several projects, suited to promote and advance the useful arts and sciences.⁶ His son, *Charles the Bald*, went beyond his father in this matter: for this emperor was a great patron of learning and learned men; he invited men of erudition to his court from all quarters; took delight in their conversation; enlarged the schools and made them respectable, and cherished in particular the Palatine or court school.⁷ In Italy, his brother *Lothaire*, emperor from A. D. 823, strove to make learning, now entirely sunk and prostrate, raise its head again by founding schools in eight of the principal cities.⁸ But his efforts appear to have had little effect; for

Latins; particularly from Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, &c. Even Avicenna, whose Canon, or system of physic, was classic in the European medical schools so late as the sixteenth century, we are told, advanced nothing very important but what is to be found in Galen and others. Their astronomy was more properly *astrology*, or divination from the starry heavens. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 279—292. *Tr.*]

⁶ See the *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 583, &c. [The Palatine school continued to flourish under Lewis the Meek. Also many monasteries were re-established, or instituted anew, in which the sciences were studied. From his *Capitulaire* ii. (in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1251, No. 5.) may be seen how desirous this emperor was of promoting learning and the establishment of schools. He there says to the bishops, "The institution of schools in suitable places for the education of children and

the ministers of the church, which you formerly promised us, and which we enjoined upon you, wherever it has not been done, must not be neglected by you." *Schl.*]

⁷ Herm. Conringius, *Antiquitates Academicæ*, p. 320. Cæs. Egass. de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178. Jo. Launoy, *de Scholis Caroli M.* cap. xi. xii. p. 47, &c. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 483.

⁸ See his ordinance, or *Capitulaire*; which is published by Muratori, *Rerum Italicar. Scriptor.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 151. [In this ordinance, the emperor represents the cultivation of literature as wholly prostrate in the Italian states, in consequence of the negligence of the clergy and the civil officers; that he had therefore appointed teachers who should give instruction in the liberal arts; and whom he had directed to use all possible diligence to educate the rising generation. He also mentions the cities

during this whole century, Italy scarcely produced a man of genius.⁹ In England king *Alfred* obtained great renown, by promoting and honouring literary enterprise.¹

§ 5. But the infelicity of the times prevented these plans and efforts from imparting that prosperity to erudition, which the rank and power of its patrons might lead us to expect. In the first place, the wars that the sons of *Lewis* the Meek waged with their father, and afterwards between themselves, were great impediments to intellectual improvement in the countries subject to the Franks. In the next place, the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted a large portion of Europe during the whole century, were such an obstruction to the progress of learning, that at the close of the century, in most of these countries, and even in France itself, few remained who deserved to be called learned men.² What little incoherent knowledge remained among the clergy was chiefly confined to the episcopal and monastic schools. But the more the priests and monks increased in wealth and riches, the less they attended to the cultivation of their minds.

§ 6. And yet a large part of this century was adorned with the examples and the labours of men, who derived a literary spirit from *Charlemagne* and his institutions and laws. Among these, in Germany and France, *Rabanus Maurus* held perhaps the first rank; and to his lectures, the studious youth resorted in great numbers. As historians, and not wholly without merit, appeared *Eginhard*, *Freculphus*, *Theganus*, *Haymo*, *Anastasius*, *Ado*, and others. In poetry, *Florus*, *Walafrid Strabo*, *Bertharius*, *Rabanus*, and others, distinguished themselves. In lan-

in which he had stationed these teachers; namely, Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Forum Julii, or the modern Ciudad del Friuli. *Schl.*]

⁹ See Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 829, &c.

¹ See Ant. Wood, *Historia et Antiqq. Acad. Oxoniensis*, lib. i. p. 13, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 211, and *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Crit.* tom. i. article *Elfred*, p. 234. ["This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and of consequence

may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who had been in the service of Charles the Bald, and Grimbold, a monk of St. Bertin in France, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad. Asserius, Wenefrid, Plegmund, Dunwulf, Wulfsig, and the abbot of St. Neot's, deserve the first rank among the English literati, who adorned the age of Alfred. See Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. book iii. p. 155, 166, &c. Rapin Thoyras, in the reign of this illustrious monarch." *Macl.*]

² Servatus Lupus, *Epistola*, p. 69, ep. xxxiv. Conringius, *Antiqq. Acad.* p. 332. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251, &c.

guages and philology, *Rabanus*, (who wrote acutely concerning the causes and origin of languages,) *Smaragdus*, *Bertharius*, and others, possessed skill. Of Greek and Hebrew literature, *William*, *Servatus Lupus*, *John Scotus*, and others, were not ignorant. In eloquence, or the art of speaking and writing with elegance, *Servatus Lupus*, *Eginhard*, *Agobard*, *Hincmar*, and others, were proficient.³

§ 7. The philosophy and logic taught in the European schools, in this century, scarcely deserved the name. Yet there were, in various places, and especially among the Irish, subtle and acute men, who might not improperly be called philosophers. At the head of these was *John Erigena*⁴ *Scotus*, that is, the Irishman, a companion and friend of *Charles* the Bald, a man of great and excelling genius, and not a stranger to Grecian and Roman learning. Being acquainted with Greek, he expounded *Aristotle* to his pupils; and also philosophized, with great acuteness, without a guide. His five books *on the Division of Nature*⁵, are still extant; an abstruse work, in which he traces the causes and origination of all things, in a style not disagreeable, and with no ordinary acumen; and in which he so explains the philosophy of Christianity as to make it the great aim of the whole system, to bring the minds of men into intimate union with the Supreme Being. To express the thing in words better understood,—he was the first of those who united *Scholastic theology* with that which is called *Mystic*. Some have viewed him as not very far from the opinion which supposes God to be connected with nature, as the soul is with the body. But perhaps he advanced nothing but what the *Realists*, as they were called, afterwards taught: though he expressed his views with less clearness.⁶ He did not, so far as I know, found a new sect. About the same time, one *Macarius*, also an Irishman, or Scot, disseminated in France that error concerning the soul, which *Averroes* afterwards professed; namely, that all men

³ Fine illustrations of these remarks may be derived from the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, by the Benedictine monks, tom. iv. p. 251. 271, &c. and especially from Le Beuf, *Etat des Sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Roi Robert*; in his *Recueil de divers Écris pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 1, &c. Paris, 1738, 8vo.

[*Erigena* signifies properly a na-

tive of Ireland, as *Erin*, or *Irin*, was the ancient name of that kingdom. *Macl.*]

⁵ *De Divisione Naturæ.*

⁶ This book was published by Thomas Gale, Oxon. 1681, fol. Chr. Aug. Heumann made some extracts from it, and treated learnedly of *Scotus* himself, in the German *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 858, &c.

have one common soul; an error which *Ratramn* confuted.⁷ Before these men, and in the times of *Charlemagne* and *Lewis* the Meek, *Dungal*, a Scot and a monk, taught philosophy and astronomy in France, with great reputation.⁸ Nearly contemporary with him, was *Heiric*, or *Heric*, a monk of Auxerre, a very acute man, who is said to have pursued his investigations in the manner of *Des Cartes*.⁹

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

§ 1. The lives of the clergy very corrupt.—§ 2. Causes of this.—§ 3. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 4. The frauds for establishing their power: popess Joanna.—§ 5, 6. Friendship of the popes for the kings of France.—§ 7. The emperors suffered their rights in matters of religion to be wrested from them. The power of bishops curtailed.—§ 8. Documents forged by the Roman pontiffs. Decretal Epistles.—§ 9. Success of these frauds.—§ 10. Monks gain access to courts, and to civil offices.—§ 11. Attempts to reform their profligate lives.—§ 12. Canons and canonesses.—§ 13. The principal Greek writers.—§ 14. The more distinguished Latins.

§ 1. THE ungodly lives of most of those entrusted with the care and government of the church, are a subject of complaint with all the ingenuous and honest writers of this age.¹ In the East, sinister designs, rancour, contentions, and strife were every where predominant. At Constantinople, or New Rome, those were elevated to the patriarchal chair who were in favour at court; and upon losing that favour, a decree of the emperor hurled them from their elevated station. In the West, the bishops hung around the courts of princes, and indulged them-

⁷ See Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* iv. pt. ii. *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti*, § 156, &c. p. liii. &c.

⁸ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 493. [But Muratori, *History of Italy*, vol. iv. p. 611. German ed. and elsewhere, thinks this Dungal taught in Pavia, Italy, and not in the monastery of St. Denys, France. *Tr.*]

⁹ Le Beuf, *Mémoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 481. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iv. m. Junii, ad diem 24, p. 829, et ad diem 31 Julii, p. 249. For this philosopher obtained a place among the saints.

¹ See Agobard, *de Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotii*, § 13, p. 137, tom. i. of his Opp. ed. Baluze.

selves in every species of voluptuousness²: while the inferior clergy and the monks were sensual; and by the grossest vices corrupted the people whom they were set to reform. The ignorance of the clergy in many places was so great, that few of them could read and write, and very few could express their thoughts with precision and clearness. Hence, whenever a letter was to be penned, or any thing of importance was to be committed to writing, recourse was generally had to some one individual, whom common fame invested with a certain dexterity in such matters. The example of *Servatus Lupus* is evidence of the fact.³

§ 2. Various causes operated in Europe to produce and to foster this corruption of the persons who ought to have been examples to others. Among the principal ones, must be reckoned the calamities of the times, such as the perpetual wars between *Lewis* the Meek, and his sons and posterity, the

² See Agobard, *passim*; and laws (or canons) enacted in the councils of the Latins; also *Servatus Lupus*, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73. 281, and the annotations of Steph. Baluze, p. 371. [The council of Pavia, A.D. 850, canon third, says, "It is our opinion, that bishops should be contented with *temperate meals*; and should not urge their guests to eat and to drink, but rather set examples of sobriety. Let all provocations to debauchery be removed from their conviviality; let no ludicrous shows, no vain garrulity, no buffoonery of wits, no scurrilous tricks, there find a place." Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 25. In a subsequent canon, they forbid bishops keeping hounds and hawks for hunting; and their having superfluous trains of horses and mules, and gaudy dresses, for vain display. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 836, forbade bishops getting drunk. Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1392, No. 6. And they state, with reprobation, the fact, that some of their order neglected their charges, and travelled here and there, not from necessity, but to gratify their avarice, or their love of pleasure. Ibid. p. 1393, No. 12. Of presbyters and the inferior clergy they complain, that they kept women in their houses to the great scandal of the ministry; and this, notwithstanding the attempts of former councils and princes to remove the evil. Also, that presbyters turn bailiffs, frequent taverns, pursue filthy lucre, practise usury, behave shamefully and lewdly in

the houses they visit, and do not blush to indulge in revelry and drunkenness. Ibid. p. 1397. No. 7, 8. They say of the nunneries, that "in some places they seemed to be rather brothels than monasteries,"—*quæ in quibusdam locis lupanaria potius videntur esse, quam monasteria*. Ibid. p. 1398, No. 12. The council of Mayence, A.D. 888, decreed, "That the clergy be wholly forbidden to have females resident in their houses. For, although there were canons allowing *certain* females [mothers and sisters] to reside in clergymen's houses, yet, what is greatly to be lamented, we have often heard, that by such permission numerous acts of wickedness have been committed; so that some priests, cohabiting with their own sisters, have had children by them. (*Sæpe audivimus, per illam concessionem plurima scelera esse commissâ, ita ut quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent.*) And therefore this holy synod decrees, that no presbyter shall permit *any* female to live with him in his house; so that the occasion of evil reports, or of iniquitous deeds, may be wholly removed." Ibid. vol. vi. p. 406, No. 10. *Tr.*]

³ See his Works, Ep. xcvi. xcix. p. 126. 148. 142; also his *Life*. To these add, Rodolphi Bituricensis *Capitula ad Clerum suum*; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 139, and p. 148.

incursions and ravages of the barbarous nations, the gross ignorance of the nobility, and the vast wealth that was possessed by the churches and monasteries. To these leading causes, others of less magnitude may be added. If any one among people of illustrious birth, was either indolent or dull, he became a candidate for some high preferment in the church.⁴ Patrons and protectors of religious benefices, because they would not have their vices reprehended, purposely sought out dunces and block-heads for the care of churches, and with it for that of men's salvation.⁵ The bishops and the heads of monasteries held much real estate or landed property by feudal tenure; wherefore, when a war broke out, they were summoned personally to the camp, attended by the quota of soldiers which they were bound to furnish to their sovereigns.⁶ Kings and princes, moreover, that they might be able to reward their servants and soldiers for their services, often seized upon consecrated property, and gave it to their dependents; in consequence, the priests and monks before supported by it, sought relief for their necessities in committing any sort of crimes, and in contriving impositions.⁷

§ 3. The Roman pontiffs were elected by the suffrages of the whole body of the clergy and people⁸, but the emperors must approve of their appointment before they were consecrated.⁹ There is, indeed, extant an edict of *Lewis the Meek*, dated A. D. 817, in which this right of the emperors is relinquished, and power given to the Romans, not only of electing a pontiff, but also of installing and consecrating him, without waiting for the consent of the emperor¹: but eminent men have shown, by arguments entirely satisfactory, that this document is a forgery.² Yet I

⁴ Hincmar, *Opus Posterius contra Godeschalum*, cap. xxxvi. in his Opp. tom. i. p. 318. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxxix. p. 120.

⁵ Agobard, *de Privilegiis et Jure Sacerdotum*, cap. xi. in his Opp. tom. i. p. 341.

⁶ Stephen Baluze, *Appendix Actorum ad Servatum*, p. 508. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446, &c. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 587. Du Fresne, ad Joinvillii *Historiam Ludovici S.* p. 75, 76. [Yet military service was not always required for church lands, some donations expressly granting exemption from it. See Mabillon, l. c. *Tr.*]

⁷ Agobard, *de Dispens. Rerum Ecclesiast.* § 14, Opp. tom. x. p. 270. Floard, *Hist. Eccles. Rhemensis*, lib. iii.

cap. ix. Servatus Lupus, *Epist.* lxxv. p. 87. 437, &c. but especially, Lud. Aut. Muratori, *Antiqq. Italica*, tom. vi. p. 302, &c. and Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesie vet. et nova circa Beneficia*, p. ii. lib. iii. c. xi. The custom prevailed also among the Greeks and the Lombards. See Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 142.

⁸ [At Rome. *Tr.*]

⁹ See the illustrations de Bünau, *Historia Imperii German.* tom. iii. p. 28, &c. 32, &c.

¹ Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236. Car. le Comte, *Annales Ecclesie Francor.* tom. vii. ad ann. 817, § 6. Baluze, *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

² Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccles.* p. 54, &c. and *Antiquitates*

readily admit that after the times of *Charles the Bald*, who obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Roman pontiff, the state of things was materially changed, and the consent of the emperors was not asked by the Romans. It is at the same time true beyond a question, that from the time of *Eugene III.*³, who was placed in St. Peter's chair, A.D. 884, the election of a pontiff was nearly destitute of any rule or order, and for the most part tumultuous; nor did this irregularity cease until the times of *Otto the Great*.

§ 4. Few of those who were raised, in this century, to the highest station in the church, can be commended for their wisdom, learning, virtue, and other endowments proper for a bishop. The greater part of them, by their numerous vices, and all of them, by their arrogance and lust of power, entailed disgrace upon their memories. Between *Leo IV.*, who died A.D. 855, and *Benedict III.*, a woman, who concealed her sex, and assumed the name of *John*, it is said, opened her way to the pontifical throne by her learning and genius, and governed the church for a time. She is commonly called the *papess Joanna*. During the five subsequent centuries, the witnesses to this extraordinary event are without number; nor did any one, prior to the reformation by *Luther*, regard the thing as either incredible, or disgraceful to the church.⁴ But in the seventeenth century, learned men, not only among the Roman catholics, but others also, exerted all the powers of their ingenuity both to invalidate the testimony on which the truth of the story rests, and to confute it by an accurate computation of dates.⁵ There are still,

Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 29, 30; where he conjectures, that this document was forged in the eleventh century. Bünan, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. And yet some popish writers, *e.g.* Fontanini, and others, most earnestly defend this edict of Lewis; though ineffectually. [The evidence of the spuriousness of this edict is well summed up by Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 817, No. 7, vol. iii. p. 492. *Tr.*]

³ [Here is a mistake. It was Hadrian III. who became pope in the year 884; and not Eugene III. who was not raised to that dignity till A.D. 1145. *Von Einem.*]

⁴ The arguments of those who hold the story to be true, are carefully and learnedly collected and stated by Fred. Spanheim, in his *Exercit. de Papa Fa-*

mina; Opp. tom. ii. p. 577, and Jac. Leufant has exhibited them in a French translation, better arranged, and with various additions, in a third ed. at the Hague, 1736, 12mo.

⁵ The arguments of those who deny the existence of a *papess*, after David Blondel's appropriate treatise, and some others, are ingeniously stated by Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. iii. art. *Papesse*, p. 2162. See also Geo. Eccard, *Historia Franciæ Oriental.* tom. ii. lib. xxx. § 119, &c. p. 436, &c. who, however, so far as we know, has followed the reasoning of Leibnitz on the subject. Michael le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 777, and in the Lutheran church, Chr. Aug. Henmann, in his *Sylloge Diss. Sacrar.* tom. i. pt. ii. p. 352, &c. The arguments on both sides of the question are

however, very learned men who, while they concede that much falsehood is mixed with the truth, maintain that the controversy is not wholly settled. Something must necessarily have taken place at Rome, to give rise to this most uniform report of so many ages; but even yet it is not clear what that something was.⁶

neatly stated by Christopher Wagensiel; in Jo. Geo. Schelhorn's *Amanitates Litterar.* pt. i. p. 146, &c. and by Jac. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 408. The names of the other writers, who are very numerous, may be seen in Casp. Sagittarius, *Introductio in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. c. xxv. p. 676, &c. and in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, tom. viii. pt. v. p. 935. [See also Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 75—110. J. E. C. Schmidt, *Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 274—279, and A. Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv. p. 246—260. *Tr.*]

⁶ So thought Paul Sarpi, *Lettere Italiane*, lett. lxxxii. p. 452. Jac. Lenfant, *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. x. p. 27. Theod. Hasæus, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. pt. v. p. 935. Christ. Matth. Pfaff, *Instit. Histor. Eccles.* p. 402, ed. 2. To whom might be added Wernsdorf, Boecler, Holberg, and many others. I will not undertake the office of judge in this controversy, yet I am of opinion there was something in this affair that deserves further investigation. [Few, if any, in modern times admit the reality of a *female pope*; and, among the English, Pope Joan has become a proverbial epithet, for a fictitious character, which is too ridiculous to be mentioned in serious earnest. None of the contemporary writers mention such a pope; for the passage in Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who then lived at Rome, and wrote the *Lives of the Popes*, is undoubtedly spurious, (An *eye-witness* could not have written, "It is said, that a female succeeded to Leo IV." if he had known it as a *fact*; nor would he have given currency to such a *falsehood*, had he known it to be such. Nor is this the only proof that the passage is an interpolation.) It was nearly two centuries before any writer affirmed the fact. But from that time to the reformation it was generally believed. Yet not *universally*, as Dr. Mosheim intimates. Platina, (*Lives of the Popes*, John VII.) after relating the story, says, "Hæc quæ dixi, vulgo feruntur, incertis tamen et obscuris auctoribus: quæ ideo ponere

breviter et nude institui, ne obstinate et pertinaciter omisisse videar, quod fere omnes affirmant." This surely is not the language of one who does not question the truth of the story. Yet Platina wrote before Luther was born. —The history of this *papess* is briefly this, as stated by writers of the twelfth and following centuries. She was the daughter of an English missionary, who left England to preach among the newly converted Saxons. She was born at Ingelheim; and, according to different authors, was named Joanna, Agnes, Gerbert, Isabel, Margaret, Dorothy, and Jutt. She early distinguished herself for genius and love of learning. A young monk of Fulda conceiving a passion for her, which was mutual, she eloped from her parents, disguised her sex, and entered the monastery of Fulda. Not satisfied with the restraints there, she and her lover eloped again, went to England, and then to France, Italy, and finally to Athens in Greece, where they devoted themselves to literary pursuits. On the death of the monk, Joanna was inconsolable. She left Athens, and repaired to Rome. There she opened a school, and acquired such reputation for learning and feigned sanctity, that on the death of Leo IV. A. D. 855, she was chosen pope. For something more than two years she filled the papal chair with reputation, no one suspecting her sex. But she had taken one of her household, whom she could trust, to her bed; and by him she became pregnant. At length, being nearer her time than she had supposed, she ventured, in Whitsun-week, to join in the annual procession with all her clergy. While passing the street between the church of St. Clement and the Amphitheatre, she was seized with violent pains, fell to the ground, amidst the crowd, and while her attendants were endeavouring to minister to her, was delivered of a son. The child died, and some say, the mother too, on the spot. Others say, she survived, but was sent immediately to prison, the object of uni-

§ 5. Great as the vices and enormities of many of the pontiffs were, they did not prevent the growth of the pontifical power and influence, both in church and state, during these unhappy times. It does not, indeed, appear, from any authentic documents, that they acquired any new *territories* in addition to those which they had received from the bounty of the French kings. For the things told us of the donations of *Lewis* the Meek, are destitute of probability⁷: nor is there more certainty in what many state, that *Charles* the Bald, in the year 875, when *John VIII.* had enabled him to gain the rank of emperor, relinquished all right and jurisdiction over, the city of Rome and its territory, and bestowed various other gifts, of immense value, upon the pontiffs. Yet it must be obvious, to all who read the history of those times, that the Roman pontiffs advanced in power, influence, wealth, and riches, from the age of *Lewis* the Meek; and especially after the commencement of the reign of *Charles* the Bald.⁸

§ 6. Upon the decease of *Lewis II.*⁹, a violent war broke out among the descendants of *Charlemagne*, each of them contending for the imperial dignity. The Roman pontiff, *John VIII.*, and with him the Italian princes, eagerly seized this opportunity to exclude the voice of all foreigners, and make the election of emperors depend wholly on them. Hence *Charles* the Bald, the king of the Franks, by a vast amount of money and other presents, and by still greater promises, obtained from the Roman pontiff and the other Italian princes, to be proclaimed king of Italy and emperor of the Romans, in a public assembly, A.D. 876. His successors in the kingdom of Italy and in the imperial dignity, *Carloman* and *Charles* the Fat, were likewise chosen by the Roman pontiff and the Italian princes. After them, turbulent times came on, in which those who promised most, or who gave most, generally ascended the royal and imperial throne, by the aid of the pontiffs.¹

§ 7. The power of the Roman pontiffs in matters of a religious nature, was augmented with equal rapidity and success; and nearly from the same causes. Even among Roman Catholic writers, the wisest and most impartial, acknowledge and prove,

versal execration. See Bower and Platina, *l. cit. Tr.*

⁷ See above, § 3.

⁸ Bünau, *Historia Imperii German.* tom. iii. p. 482, &c. Jo. Geo. Eccard,

Historia Franciæ Oriental. tom. ii. lib. xxxi. p. 606, &c.

⁹ [A. D. 875. *Tr.*]

¹ This is illustrated, by Carol. Sigonius, *de Regno Italia*, and by the

that from the time of *Lewis the Meek*, the ancient system of ecclesiastical law in Europe was gradually changed, and a new one substituted for it, by the policy of the court of Rome. The kings and emperors suffered their rights, in matters of religion, which had been handed down to them from *Charlemagne*, to be insensibly taken from them. The competence of bishops, to make regulations in matters of religion, declined; and the authority of ecclesiastical councils was diminished. For the Roman pontiffs, exulting in their prosperity and the daily accessions to their wealth, endeavoured to instil into the minds of all, and they did, notwithstanding the opposition of the reflecting, and of those acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitution, actually instil into many, the sentiment that the bishop of Rome was constituted, by *Jesus Christ*, a legislator and judge over the whole church; and, therefore, that other bishops derived all their authority solely from him; and that councils could decide nothing without his direction and approbation.²

§ 8. That men might lend more readily ears and acquiescence to this new system of ecclesiastical law, so very different from the old one, there was need of ancient documents and records with which it might be enforced and defended against the assaults of opponents. Hence the Roman pontiffs procured the forgery, by trusty friends, of conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and other documents; which made it seem that from the earliest ages of the church, their predecessors possessed all the majesty and power, now claimed by themselves.³ Among these fraudulent supports of the Romish power, the so called

other writers of German and Italian history.

² See the excellent work of an unknown writer, who signs himself D. B. entitled, *Histoire du Droit Ecclésiastique, Publique Française*, first published, London, 1737, 2 vols. 8vo, and lately republished splendidly in a larger form. The author neatly and acutely points out the steps, by which the Roman pontiffs advanced their power. Of the ninth century, he treats in vol. i. p. 160, &c. [Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. iv. and v.—G. J. Planck, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschafts-Verfassung*, vol. ii. and iii. *Tr.*]

³ It is no improbable supposition, that these and other documents, such as the

donations of Constantine and Lewis the Meek, were fabricated with the privacy and approbation of the Roman pontiffs. For, who can believe that the pontiffs, who made use of these writings during many ages to substantiate their authority and their prerogatives, would have ventured to confront kings, princes, ecclesiastical councils, and bishops, with the fictions and impositions of private individuals? In that age, frauds for the benefit of the church, and of God, were deemed lawful; so that it is not strange, that the Roman pontiffs should suppose, they did no moral wrong, by permitting and approving the fabrication of such papers as would be a rampart and bulwark to the see of St. Peter.

Decretal Epistles of the pontiffs of the first centuries, hold perhaps the first rank. They were produced by the ingenuity of an obscure man who falsely assumed the name of *Isidore*, a Spanish bishop.⁴ Some vestiges of these fabricated epistles appeared in the preceding century⁵; but they were first published, and appealed to in support of the claims of the Roman pontiffs in this century.⁶ Of similar origin and value are the decrees of a Roman council, said to have been held under *Sylvester*, (A. D. 324,) but which was never known of by any one till the ninth century; and, than which nothing could be better suited to enrich the Roman pontiff, and exalt him above all human authority.⁷

§ 9. There were, indeed, among the western bishops, some discerning men, who perceived that designs were formed against them and the church; in particular, the French bishops made a vehement resistance to the concession of any place for these epistles, and other spurious wares, among the rules of sacred

⁴ That the author of these *Epistles* wished to be regarded as *Isidore*, a distinguished Spanish bishop of the sixth century; or, to speak more definitely, that he wished to make the world believe, that these *Epistles* were collected by *Isidore*, is perfectly clear. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Evi*, tom. v. p. 561. The bishops were accustomed, in token of their humility, to subjoin to their names the word *peccator* (*sinner*); hence the author of this forgery annexed the surname *Peccator*, to the assumed name of *Isidore*. Some of the transcribers, ignorant of the ancient customs and literature, corrupted this signature, by exchanging *Peccator* for *Mercator*. And hence the fraudulent compiler of the *Decretal Epistles*, is called *Isidorus Mercator*.

⁵ See Aug. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 528. Just. Henn. Böhmer, *Præf. ad Novam Editionem Juris Canon.* tom. i. p. x. xix. Notes. [Fleury says of them, that “they crept to light near the close of the eighth century.” Fleury, in *Histor. Eccles.* diss. iv. § 1. *Tr.*]

⁶ The spuriousness of these *Epistles* has been demonstrated, not only by the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses* and some others, but most learnedly and in an appropriate treatise, by David Blondel, in his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turianus capulantes*, Genev. 1628, 4to. And, at the present

day, the friends of the Roman pontiffs, who follow reason and truth, confess the cheat. See Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762. Add, Peter Constant, *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. cxxx. &c. Fleury, *Diss.* prefixed to his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. xvi. [and still better, in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, itself, livre xlv. § xxii. These *Epistles*, bearing the names of various Romish bishops, from Clement I. to Damasus I. A. D. 384, are in the early collection of councils by Sever. Binnins; but are not inserted in the *Bullarium Magnum* of Cherubini, published by authority of the court of Rome, near the close of the seventeenth century. It is believed, they are now universally given up, even by the Catholics. The oldest papal epistles, now admitted by any to be genuine, are those collected by Dionysius Exiguus; who says he could find none by the pontiffs anterior to Syricius, who succeeded Damasus I. A. D. 385. The earliest in the *Bullarium Magnum*, are those of Leo I., A. D. 447. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Jo. Launoy, *de Cura Ecclesie erga Pauperes et Miseros*, cap. i. observ. i. p. 576, of his *Opp.* tom. ii. pt. ii. [Likewise Jo. Cabussut, *Notitia Ecclesiast.* p. 132, and Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 324, § xvii. xviii. who do not hesitate to pronounce this council a fiction. *Tr.*]

jurisprudence. But these men were overcome by the pertinacity of the Roman pontiffs, especially by that of *Nicolaus I.* And as all science and learning, in the following period, retired from the Latin world, there scarcely remained any one capable, or even willing, to move a controversy respecting these pious frauds. How great the evils were to which they gave rise, and how audaciously the Roman pontiffs abused them, to overthrow the ancient system of church government, to weaken the authority of bishops, to increase their own revenues and emoluments, and to abridge the prerogatives of kings and princes, numberless facts in the history of the subsequent centuries will show. Nor is this denied, at the present day, by respectable and honest men, even though in other respects favourably disposed towards the Romish church and its head.⁸

§ 10. The estimation in which a monastic life was held, was astonishingly great, both in the eastern empire and in the western. In the former, this excessive estimation had long existed; but among the Latins, it takes date only from the preceding century. Hence even kings, and dukes, and counts, abandoning their honours and their wealth, voluntarily retired to monasteries, to devote themselves to the service of God. Of this no small number of examples occurred in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, during this century; and there were some also in the preceding century. Those who, in their lifetimes, could not bring themselves to the resolution of abandoning society, would yet demand the monastic garb, when dying, and actually put it on, before they left the world; that they might enjoy the prayers and spiritual succours of the fraternity, among whom they had been received. Another and a striking proof

⁸ See Jo. Launoy, *de Regia Potestate in Causis Matrimonial.* in his *Opp.* tom. pt. ii. p. 764, and Peter Constant, *Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontiff.* tom. i. p. cxxvii. &c. [Fleury, *Diss.* vii. § v. in *Historiam Eccles.* says, “Falsæ Isidori Decretales, circa octavi finem sæculi in vectæ, jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam in tribus articulis admodum concesserunt, scilicet quoad concilia, judicia episcoporum, et appellationes.” See also *diss.* iv. § 1, &c.—Peter de Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. vii. cap. xx. § 1, &c. “Sub secunda Regum nostrorum dynastia novum jus canonicum in ecclesiam Gallicanam, æque ac in

ceteras Occidentis provincias, introduci ceptum est, *inventis* cam in rem *suppositis* illis veterum Pontificum Romanorum *epistolis*, in quibus extant quam plurima constituta prorsus adversa veterum canonum statutis.” But while these, and other Roman Catholic writers, trace the commencement of a great revolution in the constitution of the Catholic church, to the *Decretal Epistles*, and other forgeries of the eighth and ninth centuries; they say, it was only the commencement; for the revolution was not completed, till after the publication of the *Decretum* of Gratian, in the twelfth century. *Tr.*]

of the high estimation in which monks were held, is the custom of the emperors and kings of the Franks, in this age, of calling monks and abbots to their courts, and entrusting them with civil affairs, and business of great moment, both at home and in foreign countries. For those unsuspicious princes thought, that no persons could more safely be entrusted with the management of public affairs, than men of such sanctity and piety, as to have subdued all their natural desires, and stripped off every lust. Hence it is, that, in the history of these times, we meet with so many abbots and monks, who performed civil functions as ambassadors or *missi*⁹, that is, extraordinary judges, often with good success, but with bad not seldom.

§ 11. And yet those who conferred such honours upon monks and the monastic life, did not deny, that most of that class lived vicious lives; and they laboured to reform their morals, and recal them to obedience to their monastic rules. The efforts of *Lewis* the Meek especially, in this particular, deserve notice. That emperor employed *Benedict*, abbot of Aniane, and afterwards of Indre, a man distinguished for piety and the fear of God, to reform the monasteries, first in Aquitaine, and then throughout the kingdom of France, and to purge them of the enormous vices which had crept into them; and afterwards, in the council¹ of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817, in which the same *Benedict* presided, he caused good laws to be enacted, for restoring monastic discipline, which had completely sunk. This *Benedict*, accordingly, who has been called the second father of the western monks, allowed none of them any other rule than that of *Benedict* of Monte Cassino, suppressing the diversity of rites and customs, and making the entire body live in one uniform way: he also cleared monasteries of the graver vices; finally, he no longer suffered monastic establishments to be independent of each other, but made all of them members, as it were, of a single corporation or society.² This discipline flourished for

⁹ [*Missi*, apud scriptores nostros proprie dicebantur, qui e palatio in civitates et provincias extra ordinem mittebantur a principe cum amplissima potestate, ut de omnibus causis quæ ad correctionem pertinere viderentur, quanto possent studio, per semetipsos regia auctoritate corrigerent: et si aliqua difficultas in qualibet re eis obsisteret, ad regis seu imperatoris notitiam deferre curarent: deinde ut inquirerent quomodo hi qui populum regere deberent, unusquisque in suo ministerio se

custoditum haberet, quique gratiarum actione, et qui correctione et increpatione digni haberentur." Du Cange, in voc. *Ed.*]

¹ [Of abbots. *Tr.*]

² See Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* sæcul. iv. pt. i. præf. p. xxvii. and præf. ad sæcul. v. pt. xxv. also his *Annales Ordinis S. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 430, &c. and many other places in that volume. Aug. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 596. Concerning *Benedict* of Aniane, and his merits generally,

a while ; but from various causes it gradually declined : and at the end of this century, such devastations had every where been made, both in church and state, that only some slight traces of it remained in a few places.

§ 12. The order of canons, which was devised by *Chrodegang*, and had been extensively introduced in the preceding century, *Lewis* the Meek cherished with great care, and extended through all the provinces of his empire. He also added an order of *canonesses*, which had been unknown in the Christian world till that time.³ A rule for each of these, he caused to be drawn up in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, superseding the rule of *Chrodegang* ; and these new rules continued to be followed in most of the convents of canons and canonesses, till the twelfth century, although they were disagreeable to the court of Rome. The compiler of the rule for *canons* was undoubtedly *Amalarius*, a presbyter of Metz ; but whether he also drew up that for *canonesses*, is uncertain.⁴ From this time onward, numerous

see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Febr. p. 606, and *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 447, &c. [Also, the Life of Benedict, by Ardo, one of his disciples ; in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iv. pt. i. tom. v. p. 183—215.—This Benedict appears to have been a very sincere man, and a great reformer of the monasteries ; that is, one who brought them to greater uniformity in dress, living, worship, and usages. He was himself most rigorous in voluntary mortifications ; and the rule of St. Benedict he revered, as if it had come immediately from God, and was the only true guide to heaven. *Tr.*]

³ See Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 428, &c.

⁴ Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina Eccles. Vetus et Nova*, pt. i. lib. iii. cap. 42, 43, &c. Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Mediævi*, tom. v. p. 185. 540, &c. and all the writers who treat of the order of canons ; though they are not all of equal value. The least worthy of credit are, those who, belonging themselves to the order of canons, have treated of the origin and progress of that order ; as, *e. g.* Raymund Chapponel, *Histoire des Chanoines*, Paris, 1699, 8vo. For these writers are so attached to the order, that they usually trace its origin back to Christ himself, and his Apostles, or at least to the first ages of the Christian church. [This ordinance of Lewis, for

regulating the order of canons, is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1055—1180. The following abstract, by Schlegel, contains its most essential features :—“ It contains 145 articles ; of which the first 113 are mere extracts from the fathers and acts of councils, describing the duties of bishops and priests. These are followed by two sermons of Augustine, on living in associations. Then commence the rules framed by this council. First, the prevailing error, that the prescriptions of the Gospel were obligatory only upon monks and clergymen, is confuted ; and then the distinction between monks and canons is defined. The latter may wear linen, eat flesh, hold private property, and enjoy that of the church ; the former cannot. Yet, equally with the monks, they should avoid all vices, and practise virtue. They should live in well-secured cloisters, containing dormitories, refectories, and other necessary apartments. The number of canons in each cloister, should be proportioned to the exigencies of the church, to which it belonged. In their dress, they should avoid the extravagances of ornament and finery, and likewise uncleanness and negligence, &c. The second part of the rule relates to *canonesses*, and contains twenty-eight articles. The first six are extracts from the fathers, and relate to the duties of ladies who consecrate themselves to

convents of canons and canonesses were founded in every part of Europe, and endowed with ample revenues, by pious individuals. But this institution, like the others, very soon degenerated widely from the plan of its originators.⁵

§ 13. Of the Greek writers these are the most distinguished. *Photius*, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of superior talents, and of various and extensive knowledge. His *Bibliotheca*⁶, Epistles, and other writings, are yet highly valuable.—*Nicephorus*, also patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote against the opposers of images, and some other works.⁷—*Theodorus Studites*

God. They may have private property; yet must commit the management of it to some kinsman or friend, by a public act or assignment. They may also have waiting maids, and eat in the refectory, and sleep in the dormitory. They are to be veiled, and to dress in black. Their business must be prayer, reading, and labouring with their hands; and especially, they must fabricate their own clothing, from the flax and wool given to them." *Tr.*]

⁵ Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 591. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 536, &c.

⁶ See Camusat, *Histoire des Journaux*, tom. i. p. 87, &c. [Photius was of noble parentage, well educated, and perhaps the greatest genius of his age. He certainly was a great scholar. While in civil life, he cultivated all learning, sacred and profane, he was commander of the imperial body guards, first senator of Constantinople, and chief private secretary to the emperor. He was also employed on embassies. During a Syrian embassy, he wrote his famous *Bibliotheca*, or *Μυριόβιβλον*, giving a critical account of 280 authors, which he had read, and frequently also summaries of their contents, with considerable extracts. As many of these authors are no longer extant, the account of them by Photius is extremely valuable. In the year 858, the emperor Michael III. deposed Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and Photius was ordained sub-deacon, deacon, priest, and patriarch, in four successive days. The friends of Ignatius, and the bishops of Rome, refused to acknowledge Photius as a legitimate patriarch. Yet he held the office, till A.D. 867; when, having offended the emperor, he was deposed, and Ignatius was restored. But in the year 877 Ignatius died, and

Photius again took the chair, till A.D. 886, when the new emperor, Leo the Philosopher, deposed and banished him to a convent in Armenia, where he died about A.D. 890. The *Bibliotheca* of Photius, Gr. and Lat. with the notes of Hæschelius, (the very faulty Latin by Schott,) was first published 1601, fol. and has been several times reprinted. A better edition was promised in the last century, but not produced. His Epistles, to the number of 248, were published, Gr. and Lat., by R. Montague, Lond. 1651, fol. His *Nomocanon*, or collection of eccl. canons, embracing xiv. *Tituli*, with the Commentary of Theod. Balsamon, was published, Gr. and Lat. by both the Justells; the last in his *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Paris, 1662, tom. ii. p. 789. Several additional letters and tracts have crept to light in different collections; but his extensive commentaries on scripture, his large lexicon, and several smaller works, remain still in MS.—For an account of his writings, see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Gr.* vol. ix. p. 381—519. Of his public life, and the controversies in which he was involved, notice will be taken in the next chapter, § 27, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Martii ad diem xiii. p. 293. Oudin, *Scriptores Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2, &c. [Nicephorus, after being secretary of state at Constantinople, and in high honour, retired from the world, and became a monk. He was learned, devout, and exceedingly zealous for image worship. He was made patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 806; but was expelled his see, ten years after, by the emperor Leo V., who was opposed to image worship, and died in exile, A.D. 828. His best work is a *Compendious History*, from Maurice, A.D. 600, to A.D. 769; extant in the *Corpus*

is likewise indebted to the controversy respecting images, for the greater part of his reputation among those who have come after him.⁸ Not much better or more learned were *Theodorus Graptus*, who suffered much in defence of image-worship⁹; *Methodius*, entitled the Confessor, because no penalties or pressure could induce him to abandon the defence of images¹; *Theodorus Abucara*², *Petrus Siculus*³, *Nicetas David*⁴, and others, whose names would perhaps have not been handed down to this day,

Hist. Byzantinæ. He also wrote a *Chronologia Tripartita*, or a Catalogue of public men, among the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, &c. and a *Στιχομερία*, or Index of canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal books; annexing to each the number of lines (στίχοι) it contained. Besides these historical works, he wrote a long Epistle to pope Leo III. containing his creed; several small collections of canons, and a number of books in defence of image-worship. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Theodorus Studites was born at Constantinople A. D. 759, became a monk in 781, and abbot in 794, and four years after, head of the monastery Studium in Constantinople, whence his surname Studites. He was zealous, even to madness, in favour of image-worship; and for thirty years was the instigator of rebellions, and the dauntless leader of them (when out of prison) against the government, which was opposed to image-worship. He died A. D. 826, aged 67. Besides a few tracts on monkery, and monkish saints, he has left us 134 catechetical Discourses, and a vast number of inflammatory letters, in defence of image-worship, most of which, or at least parts of them, Baronius has inserted in his *Annals*. He was a man of some learning and talent; but wasted all his strength on the controversy respecting images, *Tr.*]

⁹ [Theodorus Graptus was a monk of Palestine, went to Constantinople, A. D. 818, to plead the cause of image-worship, was banished four times for his abuse of emperors and others, and his seditious movements in favour of images; and at last died in exile, about A. D. 840. He has left us a Dispute, an Epistle, and a Creed; all in defence of images. *Tr.*]

¹ [Methodius Confessor was well born, at Syracuse in Sicily; went to Constantinople, and there became a monk. About A. D. 820, the patriarch sent him as his envoy to Rome. Here he was guilty of adultery, and did penance.

Returning to Constantinople, he became very zealous in defence of image-worship, was banished, and imprisoned, and whipped. But in 842 he was made patriarch of Constantinople. He died A. D. 847; and has left us five orations, in praise of monkery, and a collection of *Canones Penitenciales*. Some of his orations have passed for works of Methodius Patarensis, who flourished A. D. 290. *Tr.*]

² Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 35, &c. [The word Abucara signifies *bishop of Caria*. He followed the party of Photius, but afterwards renounced it and joined that of Ignatius. According to Cave, he flourished A. D. 867. He has left us about forty Dissertations, Doctrinal and Polemic, against heretics, Jews, and Mahumedans; which were published, Gr. and Lat. by Jac. Gretser with the *Hodegus* of Anastasius, Ingoldstadt, 1606, 4to. *Tr.*]

³ [Peter Siculus, (flourished A. D. 870,) was a learned nobleman, whom the emperor Basil I. sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners in Armenia. There he became acquainted with the sect of the new Manicheans, or Paulicians; the history of whose origin, progress, and decline, he afterwards composed; published Gr. and Lat. Ingoldstadt, 1604, 4to, and partially in Latin, by Baronius, *Annal.* tom. ix.; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxii. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Nicetas David, a learned bishop of Paphlagonia, flourished about A. D. 880, and was strongly attached to the party of Ignatius, whose life he composed, full of reproaches against Photius. He also wrote encomiums on the twelve apostles, and several other saints; a defence of the synod of Chalcedon, and a commentary on some parts of Greg. Naz. His life of Ignatius was published, Gr. and Lat., with the Acts of the eighth general Council, Ingoldstadt, 1604, 4to; and in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 944—1009. *Tr.*]

had not the Greeks been involved in contests with the Latins on several subjects, and among themselves respecting image-worship.—Among the Syrians the name of *Moses Barcepha* is famous, and not undeservedly; for he possessed genius, and skill in writing, beyond most others, as his works evince.⁵

⁵ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 127, &c. [Moses Barcepha was a Syrian bishop of Beth-Raman, and inspector of the churches in Babylonia. He probably flourished near the close of the next century; Cave says, about A. D. 990.—His three books *de Paradiso*, in a Latin translation from the Syriac, by Andr. Masius, were published, Antw. 1569, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 456.

The Greek writers omitted by Dr. Mosheim, are the following:

Nicephorus, Chartophylax, who flourished, perhaps, A. D. 801, and wrote two Epistles to Theodosius, a monk of Corinth, containing solutions of several difficult questions in Ethics; extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Jus Gr. et Roman.* lib. v. p. 341, and Lat. in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii.

Josephus, archbishop of Thessalonica, brother of Theodorus Studites, and also a zealot for image-worship. He was deposed, A. D. 809, exiled, and died after A. D. 816. Gretzer (*de Cruce*, tom. ii. p. 1200) has published, Gr. and Lat., an Oration of his, on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; and Baronius (*Annales*, ad ann. 808, § 22.) has given us an Epistle of his in Latin.

Ignatius, a grammarian and deacon at Constantinople, and then metropolitan of Nice. He flourished A. D. 810, and was alive A. D. 828. His life of the patriarch Tarasius is extant, Lat. in Surius, and in Bolland on Feb. 25th. His life of the patriarch Nicephorus was published, Gr. and Lat., by Henschenius, and Papebroch, on March 12th.

Naucratius, a monk of Constantinople, very active in favour of image-worship, for which he was often imprisoned. He flourished from A. D. 813, till after A. D. 820. Several letters addressed to him are given us by Baronius; and a very long one of his, containing an account of the sufferings of the image-worshippers, is inserted, Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 903. Cave (*Hist. Lit.* tom. ii.) gives a specimen of the Greek, but did not deem it worth publishing entire.

Theophanes, the brother of Theodorus Graptus, (see note ⁹, p. 193,) and of the same character, conduct, and fortune. Yet he became metropolitan of Nice, about A. D. 845. We have a Hymn, consisting of nine odes, in memory of his brother; edited by Combefis, Gr. and Lat., in his *Orig. Constantinop.* p. 224.

Michael Syncellus, leader of the choir at Constantinople, a zealot for image-worship, in which cause he suffered much. He flourished about A. D. 830; and wrote an Encomium on St. Dionys. Areop. which is extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Opp. Dionys. Areop.* tom. ii. p. 207; also an Encomium on the holy angels and archangels of God; extant, Gr. and Lat., in Combefis, *Auctuar. Nov.* tom. i. p. 1525.

George Hamartolus, an Archimandrite, who flourished about A. D. 842, and wrote a *Chronicon* from the creation to A. D. 842, which still exists in MS. From it the succeeding chronologists, Cedrenus, Theophanes, Glycas, &c., have copied all that is valuable.

Ignatius, son of the emperor Michael Curopalata, castrated and banished by Leo the Armenian, lived a monk about thirty years, was made patriarch of Constantinople A. D. 847; quarrelled with Barda, and was deposed and banished A. D. 858. In the year 867, Photius, his competitor, was deposed, and Ignatius restored. He died in 878, aged 80 years. Two letters and one discourse of his are extant, Latin, in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 791. 872. 937.

Metrophanes, metropolitan of Smyrna, A. D. 858, 859, and A. D. 867—880. He was a strenuous opposer of Photius, and rose as he fell. He has left us a letter, giving us the history of Photius from A. D. 858 to 870; which is extant, in Latin, in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 870, § 453; and Gr. and Lat. in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1111.

Basil the Macedonian, Greek emperor from A. D. 867—886. He wrote exhortations to his son Leo, some orations, addresses, and epistles, still extant; besides some things which are lost.

§ 14. At the head of the Latin writers may justly be placed *Rabanus Maurus*, whose last office was that of archbishop of Mentz. He was the common preceptor of Germany and France, with whom no one in this century can be compared, either for genius or extent of learning, or the multitude of books that he composed. Whoever acquaints himself with the opinions of Rabanus Maurus, learns all that the best of the Latins thought and believed for about four centuries, for his writings were in the hands of all the learned.⁶ *Agobard of Lyons*, a man

Michael Psellus, a philosopher who flourished A.D. 870, is supposed to have written some of the pieces which go under the name of another Michael Psellus that lived in the eleventh century; particularly a paraphrase on most of the books of Aristotle, a Dialogue on the operations of demons, a tract concerning demons, &c.

Stylianus, surnamed Mapa, metropolitan of Neo-Cesarea in the *Provincia Euphratensis*, who flourished about A.D. 870. He was a strong partizan of Ignatius, in opposition to Photius; for which he suffered a temporary deprivation of his see. He has left us two Epistles, Gr. and Lat., in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1122. 1130.

Michael, the monk, Syncellus to the patriarch Ignatius; flourished A.D. 878; and wrote an Encomium on Ignatius; extant, Gr. and Lat., in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 1009; and a life of Theodorus Studites, from which Baronius, in his *Annals*, has made various extracts.

George, chartophylax of the great church at Constantinople, and archbishop of Nicomedia, about A.D. 880. He was a warm friend of Photius. Several orations, and some poems of his, in praise of saints, are extant, Gr. and Lat., in Combefis, *Auctuar. Nov.* Paris, 1648, tom. i. p. 995.

Leo the Philosopher, Greek emperor from A.D. 886, to A.D. 911. He has left us sixteen sacred orations; some letters and tracts, *πρόχειρον νομικόν*, sive *Deductus Legum*, in *lx. Tituli*; a huge digest of the laws of the Greek empire, published, Paris, 1647, Gr. and Lat., in vii. tomes, fol. *Novellæ Constitutiones III.*; and *Tactica, seu de Re Militari Opus*.

Nicolaus, surnamed Mysticus, patriarch of Constantinople, from A.D. 892, to A.D. 903, when he was deposed and banished for opposing the divorce of the empress,

and the marriage of another. But in 911 he was restored, and lived till 924. He has left us eight Epistles; extant, in the Collections of Councils, or in Baronius' *Annals. Tr.*]

⁶ See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Febr. p. 500. *Histoire Littéraire de la France.* tom. v. p. 151. [Also Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 1—45. —Rabanus, or Hrabanus, surnamed Maurus, was of French extract, and born of respectable parentage, at Mentz, A.D. 776. He studied first at Fulda, where he was made deacon in 801. The next year he removed to Tours, to study under the famous Aleuin. After one or two years, he returned to Fulda, and was made head of the school there, at the age of twenty-five. As an instructor, he was so celebrated as to draw young men of talents from a great distance. Among his pupils were, Walafrid Strabo, Servatus Lupus, and others, who were among the first scholars of their age. In the year 822, he was made abbot of Fulda, in which office he was for a time popular; but at length the monks complained, that he was so engaged in writing books, as to neglect his active duties. He now resigned his abbacy, and retired to a literary life. This was in 842. Five years after, he was made archbishop of Mentz; in which office he continued till his death, A.D. 857. — He wrote commentaries on all the canonical books, and several of the apocryphal; also sermons, letters, and tracts. Most of his works, as published, are comprised in six vols. folio, Cologne, 1627. *Tr.*] — In his *Penitential*, published at Ingoldstadt, by P. Steuart, in 1616, in tom. *Insignium Auctorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum*, is a mutilated but most decisive testimony against transubstantiation. It mentions an identification of the sacramental elements with *our Lord's very body and blood born of the Virgin Mary*, as a

of character and discernment, and not destitute of learning, would have deserved more commendation, if he had not been a defender of the rebellion of the sons of *Lewis* the Meek against their own father.⁷ *Hilduin* obtained notoriety by his work entitled *Areopagitica*.⁸ *Eginhard*, abbot of Seligenstadt, the celebrated author of the life of *Charlemagne*, and of other works, was distinguished for the neatness of his style, and was not destitute of other excellences.⁹ *Claudius* of Turin is in reputation at this day, for his exposition of certain books of Scripture, and for his *Chronology*.¹ *Freculphus* of Lisieux, whose *Chronicon* is

recent and erroneous opinion. Something then is lost; but he goes on to say, *to which error, as far as we could, writing to abbot Egilo, we opened what is truly to be believed of the body itself*. When transubstantiation was making its way to general belief, a witness of such importance branding it with novelty and error, naturally became obnoxious; and William of Malmsbury, in a liturgical MS. presented by Henry VI. to All Souls' College, Oxford, and yet preserved there, attacks Raban for attributing to the eucharist the qualities of ordinary food. See the Editor's *Bampton Lectures*. 414. 417. *Ed.*]

⁷ *Colonia, Histoire Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 93. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critique*, tom. i. p. 178, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 567, &c. [and Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, tom. ii. Agobard was a Frank, called from Spain to be coadjutor of Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 813, whom he afterwards succeeded. He was a man of an ardent, independent mind, of great learning and inflexibility. He attacked the superstitions of the age, so far as he discovered them, with boldness; was very zealous against the Jews, to whom the French kings were disposed to grant privileges; and taking sides with Lothaire and Pipin against their father Lewis the Meek, he went so far, that on a reconciliation between those sovereigns, he was deprived of his bishopric. However, he was restored, and held his office till his death in 840. He attacked Felix of Urgel; wrote against image-worship, against the trial by ordeal, and against the belief that evil spirits can produce storms and hail and thunder; and when some pretended *witches* were arraigned before him, he caused them to be whipped, till they confessed that they deceived the people,

in order to gain a livelihood. His works were first published by Masson, Paris, 1605, 8vo; and then, much better, together with those of Leidrad his predecessor, and Amulo his successor, by Stephen Baluze, Paris, 1666, 2 vols. 8vo. *Tr.*]

⁸ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 607, [and Cave, *Historia Litteraria*, tom. ii.—Hilduin was made abbot of St. Denys, about A.D. 814, and of St. Germain, near Paris, in 816, also archchaplain of the palace. After being in great favour with Lewis the Meek, he joined the rebellion of his sons, and was deprived of his offices, and banished to Corbey in Saxony, A.D. 830. But soon after he was restored to his Parisian abbacies. Lewis now directed him to write a full history of St. Dionysius, the founder of his monastery, and the reputed first bishop of Paris. This Hilduin executed in his famous *Areopagitica*. He there makes Dionysius the Areopagite, mentioned Acts xvii. 34, after being bishop of Athens, to have travelled to Rome, thence to Arles, and at last to Paris, where he founded the monastery of St. Denys (Dionysius), converted vast numbers, was bishop of that region, and at length suffered martyrdom, in the reign of Domitian. To him, also, he ascribes all the works that go under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. This is his famous *Areopagitica*, a mere bundle of idle tales, once indeed generally believed, but now universally rejected. *Tr.*]

⁹ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 550; and his *Life of Charlemagne*, as published by Herm. Schmincke. [See above, p. 143, note ¹. *Tr.*]

¹ See Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 284. [Claudius was a native of Spain,

still extant, compiled almost entirely in the very words of the ancient writers.² *Servatus Lupus*, whose Epistles and tracts are still extant, ranks among the most agreeable writers of those times; nor does he so much want acuteness of mind as elegance and extent of learning.³ *Drepanius Florus*, called also *Florus Magister*, has left us Poems, Expositions of some books of Scripture, and a few other writings.⁴ *Christian Druthmar* ex-

and educated under Felix of Urgel. In 812 or 813, he became a presbyter in the court of Lewis the Meek, and commenced writing commentaries. In 821, Lewis made him bishop of Turin. He immediately set himself against all image-worship, and even removed and destroyed the pictures, and images, throughout his diocese. This excited strong opposition, and involved him in controversy all his life. Yet he persevered, denounced image-worship as idolatry, denied that the cross was to be honoured, disapproved of pilgrimages, questioned the supremacy of the pope, &c. Hence some have considered him as a great reformer, and as the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. He certainly opposed some of the superstitions of the age; and probably contributed to preserve more independence of the pope, and greater purity of doctrine and worship in the Alpine countries, than in most other parts of Europe. The catholics have never been partial to him. Indeed, they taxed him with great errors. Yet he was never arraigned as a heretic; nor removed from his bishopric till his death, about A.D. 839. His commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 134. His other commentaries, though not inferior perhaps to those of Rabanus, still lie in MS. Probably, they are unfavourable to popery: for it appears, that he maintained the original parity of bishops and presbyters. He wrote on Genesis three books; on Exodus four books; on Leviticus; on the Gospel of Matthew; on the other epistles of Paul; a short scripture Chronology; and tracts on the worship of images and saints, which are lost, except large fragments quoted by his antagonists. See Cave, *Hist. Litteraria*; Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, liv. xlvii. cap. 20, 21. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 281. 407, &c. and Milner's *Church Hist.* cent. ix. ch. iii. *Tr.*

² [Freculphus was a Benedictine monk of Fulda, and was made bishop be-

fore A.D. 824. Lewis the Meek sent him as an envoy to the pope, A.D. 829. He was present in various councils, A.D. 829, 835, 837, 846, and 849; and died about A.D. 850. His *Chronicon* is in twelve books; the seven first extend from the creation to the Christian era; the other five reach to A.D. 606. The work was published, Cologne, 1539, fol. Heidelb. 1597, 8vo, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 1061. *Tr.*]

³ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 255. [Lupus surnamed Servatus, was a French Benedictine monk, of Ferrara. From about A.D. 828, he spent eight years at Fulda, under Rabanus; then some time at Seligenstadt, with Eginhard. He next went to court, and in 842 was made abbot of Ferrara. He was in several councils, and once envoy to Rome. His death was after A.D. 861. He wrote *Liber de Tribus Questionibus*, ss. free-will, predestination, and the superabundance of Christ's merits; also a *Collectaneum*, on the same subjects; the life of St. Wigbert; the life of St. Maximin of Treves; and 130 Epistles; all well edited by S. Baluze, Paris, 1664, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xiv. p. 1.—Dr. Mosheim's account of his style seems not very consistent. Lupus wrote in an easy, flowing style, tolerably chaste for that age; but not very vigorous, nor very brilliant, yet on the whole agreeable. *Tr.*]

⁴ Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 135. *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 213, &c. [Florus was a deacon in the church at Lyons, and flourished about A.D. 837; yet he was a writer as late as A.D. 852. His commentaries on all the epistles of Paul, are printed as the work of Bede. They are a compilation from Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, and about nine other fathers. He also wrote on the canon of the mass; on using compulsion with the Jews; on the election and duties of a bishop; a commentary on the Psalms; three books on predestination, against John Scotus;

pounded the Gospel of St. Matthew.⁵ *Godeschalcus*, a monk of Orbais, is rendered immortal by the controversies respecting divine grace and predestination, to which he gave rise.⁶ *Paschasius Radbert*, a man of fame in the controversies respecting the Lord's supper, has left us, besides other works, a book on that subject, which afforded matter for a long debate in that age.⁷ *Bertram*, or *Ratramn*, a monk of Corbie, was the principal antagonist of Radbert. His tract on the Lord's supper,

nine poetic paraphrases of some Psalms, Hymns, and Epistles; and five other poems. Some of these are published, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. viii. and xv. Mabillon, *Analect.* tom. iv. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xii. Mauguin, *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, &c. tom. i. &c. The rest were never printed. *Tr.*]

⁵ *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 84. [Druthmar was a French Benedictine monk of Corbie, and flourished about A. D. 840. His commentary on Matthew is so opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation, that the friends of that doctrine have laboured hard to prove the work corrupted by the Lutherans; but in vain, for it was first published, before Luther began to assail popery, namely, in the year 1514, as is shown by Edm. Albertin. It is now in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 86. See Cave, *Historia Littér.* tom. ii. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Godeschalcus, or Gotteschalcus, was of Saxon origin, and educated in the monastery of Fulda. When arrived at manhood, he wished no longer to lead a monastic life; but was compelled to it, on the ground that his father had devoted him to such a life in his childhood, and that no human power could vacate the transaction. He now removed to Orbais, was ordained a presbyter, and was so distinguished as a scholar, that he was surnamed Fulgentius. Upon some disaffection between him and the bishop of the diocese, he travelled to Italy, and thence to Dalmatia and Pannonia. Augustine was his favourite author; and he now began to advance the opinions of Augustine respecting divine grace, and a two-fold predestination. Many favoured these views; but more were opposed to them. The synod of Mayence, A. D. 847, condemned his sentiments; and the president, Rabanus Maurus, sent him to Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, to whose diocese he belonged. The next year, he was arraigned before the synod of Chiersey, condemned, degraded, and shut up by

Hinemar in the monastery of Hauteville; and after twenty-one years' confinement, died in prison. He persevered to the last in his opinions, and was denied Christian burial. He wrote two statements of his faith, a longer and a shorter; both of which are extant. In one of them he offered to be cast into boiling water or oil, and to stake the truth of his doctrine on the issue. He also wrote a letter or two, and a tract, on predestination; but they are lost. See Cave's *Historia Littér.* Mauguin, *Vindiciæ Prædestinationis et Gratiæ*, tom. ii. p. 45, &c. L. Cellot, *Historia Gotteschalci Prædestinationi*; Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 5, &c. J. Milner, *Church Hist.* cent. ix. ch. iv. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Paschasius Radbert was a French monk, born about A. D. 786. In the year 844, he became abbot of Corbie in France. He was a member of the synod of Chiersey; which condemned Godeschalcus, A. D. 849; and died Apr. 26, A. D. 851. The Protestants regard him as the man who introduced the doctrine of transubstantiation into the Romish church. Berengarius taxed him with this: and even Bellarmin (*de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* p. 288) says, *Hic auctor primus fuit, qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia*. But Mabillon, (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. præf. p. ix. &c.) endeavours to confute this charge. He wrote expositions of Matthew, of the book of Lamentations, of the 44th Psalm; *de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis D. N. Jesu, ad Pacidum Liber*; *de Corpore et Sang. Domini, ad Frudegardum Epistolæ*; the life of St. Adelhard; the passion of SS. Rufinus and Valerius; all which were published by Sirmond, Paris, 1618, fol. He also wrote the life of St. Wala; and *de Partu Virginis*, libri ii. See Cave, *Hist. Littér.* vol. ii. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 126—142. *Tr.*]

drawn up by order of *Charles the Bald*, has occasioned likewise much debate among the learned.⁸ *Haymo* of Halberstadt wrote books of various sorts, which are specimens rather of industry than of genius and learning.⁹ *Walafrid Strabo* deserved well of the church in that age, by his Poems, his Lives of Saints, and his Exposition of difficult passages of Scripture.¹ *Hincmar* of Rheims deserves a very honourable place among the Latin writers of this century. For his writings on various subjects show, that his mind was not of the ordinary class, but elevated, independent, and zealous for truth. But he at the same time was arrogant and of a restless temper. His works throw much light on both the civil and the ecclesiastical history of that age.² *John Erigena Scotus*, the friend and companion of

⁸ Concerning both Radbert and Ratramn, see the *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 287 and 332. [Bertram, or Ratramn, was a French monk of old Corbie, and afterwards abbot of Orbais. He flourished as early as 840, and was still alive in 870. He was a devout, modest, and learned man: and wrote of *Partu Virginis*, proving that the Saviour was born in the ordinary manner; which Radbert answered, maintaining the perpetual virginity of Mary; *de Prædestinatione*, libri ii. in vindication of the sentiments of Godeschaleus; *contra Græcorum Errores*, libri iv.; *de Corpore et Sang. Domini*, in opposition to Radbert; and *de Anima Liber*. Tr.—His name seems really to have been Ratramn, and to have been corrupted into Bertram by joining on to it *Be*, a contraction for *Beatus*. His tract of *Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, was first printed at either Cologne or Bâle, in 1532. It gave an irretrievable shock to the belief in transubstantiation, and has been represented as a forgery of Ecolampadius. This view has, however, long been given up as utterly untenable, and some Romanists have endeavoured to explain the piece in such a manner as rather to make it appear unskillfully penned, than subversive of their capital tenet. It has been frequently reprinted and translated. *Ed.*]

⁹ Of the works commonly ascribed to Haymo, a considerable part are not his, but the productions of Remigius of Auxerre. See Casimir Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 330. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 111, tom. vi. p. 106. Le Beuf, *Recueil*

des Diss. sur l'Histoire de la France, tom. i. p. 278. [Haymo, or Aymo, was a disciple of Alcuin, an intimate friend and fellow student of Rabanus Maurus, a monk of Fulda, abbot of Hersfeld A. D. 839, and bishop of Halberstadt A. D. 841. He was at the synod of Mayence in 848, and died 853. Among the writings ascribed to him, are Commentaries on the Psalm, on Isaiah, on the epistles of Paul, on the Apocalypse; all of which are mere compilations from the fathers; *Historia Eccles. Breviarium*, sive *de Christianorum Rerum Memoria*, libri x. a mere abridgment of Rufinus; some Homilies; *de Amore Patriæ Celestis*, libri iii.; and *de Corpore et Sang. Domini Tractatus*. See Cave, *Hist. Littér.* tom. ii. and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 585, &c. Tr.]

¹ See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 59. [Walafrid Strabo, (or Strabus, i. e. *squint-eyed*.) was a Swabian; studied in the monastery of Richenau, then at Fulda under Rabanus; became head of the school, and at last abbot of Richenau, A. D. 842. His death is placed in the year 849. He was a learned, and a pleasing writer; yet tainted in monkish superstition. He wrote of *Officiis divinis sive de Exordiis et Incrementis Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Liber*: Lives of St. Gall, St. Otho, St. Blaithmax, St. Mamma, St. Leudegar; and the vision of St. Wittin; various poems; a Tract on the destruction of Jerusalem; and the *Glossa Ordinaria Interlinearis in S. Scripturam*; which is extracted chiefly from the writings of Rabanus Maurus. Tr.]

² *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 544. Hincmar was a Frenchman.

the emperor *Charles the Bald*, combined the study of philosophy with that of theology, and acquired great reputation and fame by the acuteness of his mind, and by his translations from Greek into Latin, as well as by his original compositions.³ *Re-*

of noble birth, educated under Hilduin, in the monastery of St. Denys near Paris. He was distinguished as a scholar and a theologian, and in great favour at court. In the year 830 he had leave to accompany Hilduin in his banishment to Saxony. In the year 845, he was made archbishop of Rheims, in which office he continued till his death, A. D. 882. Possessing talents of the first order, and great activity and perseverance, his influence at court, and in all the ecclesiastical transactions of that part of his country, was immense. Against Augustinianism, and in favour of the liberties of the Gallican church, he was equally strenuous. Yet he was not free from superstition; as appears from his justification of a trial by ordeal, (*Opp.* tom. ii. p. 676,) and his belief in purgatory and visions. (*Ibid.* p. 805.) Most of his writings are still extant, edited by Sirmond, Paris, 1645, 2 vols. fol. They consist of letters on important subjects and events; *Capitula*, or ecclesiastical rules; confutations of Gottschalkus, &c. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.* tom. ii. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 20, &c. *Tr.*]

³ See Herm. Conringius, *Antiquitates Academica*, p. 308. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 416, &c. and others. [John Scotus Erigena was a native either of Scotland or Ireland; and a very profound scholar. He passed most of his life in France, and at the court of Charles the Bald. About the year 850, he wrote his tract *de Prædestinatione Dei, contra Gotteschalcum*, in nineteen chapters. Being well acquainted with Greek, he acquired the subtlety of an Aristotelian, and the propensity to mysticism of a Platonist. His great work, he entitled *περὶ φυσικῶν μερίσματος, de Divisione Natura, seu de Rerum Naturis*, libri v. ed. Oxon. 1681, fol. He translated the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areop. and the *Scholia* of St. Maximus on difficult passages of Gregory Naz., and composed a tract on the Lord's Supper; which is lost, but in which he is said to have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.—Several writers confound him with John, a Saxon monk, whom king Alfred invited over from France to England, to teach in his school

at Oxford, and who was murdered by the envious monks. But Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæc. iv. part 2, p. 514. Ed. Ven.) shows, that he was a different person; and that there is no evidence of his going to England in the days of Alfred. He was alive A. D. 872. *Tr.*—Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedictini*, Lut. Par. 1706, tom. iii. 243, thus sums up the evidence against the identity of Erigena with John, Alfred's friend. Erigena is called *Scottigena* by Hincmar and Anastasius, *that is, a Scot by extraction, and born among the Scots*, "id est, Scottum genere, ut Nicolaus papa primus diserte explicat, et apud Scottos genitus;" he never calls himself priest or monk, in the prefaces of his books, nor is so called by his contemporaries; he reached the pontificate of John VIII. (872) but appears not to have outlived it (Dec. 882): he was a mere sophist, "nonnisi sophisticam artem calluerit;" he seems to have written nothing later than some verses which must be dated before the end of 875. Whereas, John, Alfred's friend, was both priest and monk: was *from the old Saxon stock, that is, took his origin from Old Saxony*. "Eald Saxonum genere, id est, e veteri Saxonia oriundum," therefore, was a German Saxon: yet alive in 895, being then killed yet in his strength; and was not inexpert in the warlike art. Of these reasons, Mabillon considers the place of Erigena's birth quite conclusive against his identity with Alfred's friend, the one being undoubtedly a native of either Ireland or Scotland, the other of continental Saxony. "Hac vel una ratione omnino distinguendus est hic Johannes a Johanne Scotto." But although Old Saxony, undoubtedly, means the former continental home of the Saxons, Asser's words do not necessarily imply that Alfred's friend John was born there, only that his family came from that country, which it might well do, and live, notwithstanding, when he was born, either in Scotland or Ireland. The omission of his description as a *priest* and *monk*, in some contemporary books, and in his own, is not conclusive. He might have been neither, when first known to the world, but both subsequently; or the omission might have

niqius ⁴, *Bertharius* ⁵, *Ado* ⁶, *Aimoin* ⁷, *Heric* ⁸, *Regino* of Prum ⁹,

been merely accidental. Nor is the argument from dates conclusive. He appears to have come into France in the early part of Charles the Bald's reign, which began in 840, and he is thought to have lived until 895, having been strong enough to struggle, some time before, with two assassins. He might, however, have gone to France, a mere lad, some time after 840, and been quite able to struggle for his life, nearly, or quite, fifty years afterwards. Mabillon's reasons, therefore, though carrying considerable weight, are not sufficient to prove that Malmesbury and Hoveden were mistaken in calling Alfred's friend *John Scot*, and that Spelman, Abp. Ussher, Fuller, Collier, and other moderns, were to blame for following them. Undoubtedly, these latter were anxious to make out a case against transubstantiation, of which doctrine, John Scot was an early opponent. If, therefore, Alfred was his patron, he too must be numbered among opponents of that doctrine. On the other hand, Mabillon, with others, was anxious to make out a case in favour of transubstantiation. Each side, consequently, has its own bias, and it need not be supposed that Mabillon has completely overthrown the opinion, that, until his time, generally prevailed. In fact, he ultimately pronounced it *not clear* whether John Scot might not have gone to Alfred *uninvited* after the death of Charles the Bald. "An vero Johannes Scotus ad Ælfredum, quem literarum amantem noverat, mortuo Carolo Calvo, ultro ipse accesserit, mihi non liquet." *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.* iv. pars 2. p. 519.) Only Mabillon will not admit that Erigena could be the John sent for by Alfred from Gaul. This is, however, for polemical purposes, immaterial, the whole dispute being raised upon the possibility of Alfred's patronage to a strong opponent of transubstantiation. Trithemius makes John Scot and Erigena two different persons. Alfred's John and Erigena are also distinguished by some of the moderns. But Oudin contends for their identity, and with arguments that are a thorough match for Mabillon's on the other side. *De Scriptor. Eccl.* ii. 241. *Ed.*

⁴ [There were two eminent men in this century, of the name of Remigius. The one, bishop of Lyons, and active from A. D. 850 to A. D. 875, in several

councils, in behalf of Augustinianism and Godeschalculus. He wrote *De tribus Episcoporum Epistolis Liber, seu Responsio Ecclesie Lugdunensis nomine facta adversus Hinemari, Rabani, et anonymi Episcopi Epistolas*; (in defence of Augustinianism;) *Libellus de tenenda Scripturæ veritate, et SS. Patrum autoritate sectanda*; and *Absolutio questionis de generali per Adamum damnatione, et speciali per Christum ex eadem ereptione electorum*. These tracts are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv.; and in Mauguin, *Collectio Scriptor. de Prædestinatione, &c.* tom. i. — The other Remigius was a Benedictine monk of St. Germain, in Auxerre; and hence called Autissiodorensis. In the year 882, or subsequently, he was called to Rheims, to take charge of the bishop's school. He died about A. D. 900. His works are Commentaries on all the Psalms of David; on the eleven last minor prophets; on the Epistles of St. Paul; (sometimes ascribed, though falsely, to Haymo of Halberstadt; and an exposition of the mass. All these are compilations from the fathers. *Tr.*]

⁵ [St. Bertharius was of noble French origin, and first a monk, and then abbot of Monte Cassino in Italy, from A. D. 856, till his death in the year 884. The Saracens frequently plundered that monastery, and at last slew Bertharius at the altar. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 472, &c. He wrote several discourses, poems, and lives or eulogies of saints; most of which remain unpublished in the archives of his monastery. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Ado, a French monk, born about A. D. 800, made archbishop of Vienne A. D. 860, and died A. D. 876. He was much esteemed, and active in several councils, in favour of Augustinianism. He wrote a *Martyrology* before he was a bishop, and afterwards, a brief chronology, from the creation to about A. D. 870; also the lives of some saints. See Mabillon, l. c. tom. vi. p. 278—290. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Aimoin, a Benedictine monk of St. Germain, near Paris, near the close of this century. He wrote the history of the miracles and of the removal of the relics of St. Germain and St. George; which is extant in Mabillon, l. c. tom. iv. p. 96, &c.; and tom. vi. p. 45, &c. This Aimoin must not be confounded with Aimoin the Benedictine monk of Fleury, in the eleventh century, the author of

and others, are here passed over, as a sufficient knowledge of them may easily be obtained from common writers.¹

the *Historia de Rebus gestis Francorum*. See Labbe, de *Scriptor. Ecclesiast. ad Bellarminum*, p. 305, &c. Tr.]

⁸ [Herrius or Errius, born at Hery, a village near Auxerre, and a Benedictine monk at Auxerre, near the close of this century. He wrote six books of poetry, on the life of St. Germain; and two books of prose, respecting his miracles; besides numerous Homilies, some of which are now inserted in the *Homiliarium* of Paul Diaconus. See Cave, *Hist. Litter.* tom. ii. Tr.]

⁹ [Regino was a German, a monk of Prüm, in the diocese of Treves, chosen abbot there A. D. 892; opposed, and induced to resign A. D. 899. He died A. D. 908. His *Chronicon*, from the Christian era to the year 907, and continued by another hand to A. D. 972, relates chiefly to the affairs of the Franks and Teutones. It is printed among the *Scriptores Rerum German.* ed. of Pistorius, tom. i. His two books de *Disciplinis Ecclesiasticis et Religione Christiana*, (a collection from councils, and the fathers, relating to ecclesiastical law, are best edited by Steph. Baluze, Paris, 1671, 8vo. Tr.)

¹ [The *Latin writers* omitted by Dr. Mosheim are the following:

Benedictus Anianensis, born in Lower Languedoc, A. D. 751; educated at court, and for some years employed in civil life. In the year 774 he retired to a monastery: and six years after, to avoid being made abbot, withdrew to a cell near the river Aniane, where monks gathered around him, and he became abbot of that, and a dozen other monasteries propagated from it. He died, A. D. 814. See his life, written by Ardo, his disciple, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 183—215. He wrote *Codex Regularum Monasticar.* (a collection of the rules of most orders of monks previous to his time); edited by L. Holsteinus, 1661, and Paris, 1664, 4to.—*Concordia Regularum*;—a collection of exhortations to monks; *Modus diversarum Penitentiarum*; and some epistles.

Ludger, a monk of Utrecht, who spent some time in England, and travelled in Italy, became abbot of Werden, and bishop of Munster, A. D. 802, and died A. D. 809. See his life, written by Altfred, the second bishop after him, in Mabillon, l. c. tom. v. p. 14—33. He wrote the life of St. Gregory, bishop of Utrecht, and some letters, still extant.

Smaragdus, abbot of St. Michael, in the diocese of Verdun; flourished about A. D. 810, and wrote commentaries on the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles; *Diadema Monachorum*; a commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict; *Via Regia*; a letter for Charlemagne to the pope; Acts of a conference at Rome, A. D. 810; and a grammatical commentary on Donatus, in fourteen books. The last never published.

Amalarius, a deacon, and perhaps rural bishop of Metz. He flourished from A. D. 812 to A. D. 836; and wrote de *Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis Libri* iv. (both in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv.;) also some epistles, *Ecloga in Canonem Missæ*, and *Regula seu Institutio Canonicorum*.

Hatto, abbot of Richenau, and bishop of Bâle, A. D. 811—836. He wrote some capitula for his diocese, and an account of the visions of Wettin Hildegard, and other monkish saints.

Hettius or Hetto, archbishop of Treves, A. D. 814, &c. has left us two Epistles.

Frotharius, abbot of St. Aper, and bishop of Toul, A. D. 817—837. He wrote *Epistolarum Liber*, addressed to various bishops; published by Duchesne, among the *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum*, tom. ii. p. 719.

Ebbo or Ebo, a German, educated at the imperial court, employed some time in civil affairs, then abbot of Remigius, and A. D. 816 archbishop of Rheims. In 822, he went to Rome, and obtained a commission to convert the northern nations; in consequence of which he made two journeys to Denmark. In the year 833 he joined the revolt of Lothaire against his father Lewis; for which he lost his bishopric, and was kept in custody at Fulda and other places. In 840 he was restored to his see; but lost it the next year. In 844, he was made bishop of Hildesheim; and died A. D. 851. Of this restless prelate, we have nothing remaining, but his *Apologeticus*, presented to the council of Hildesheim; and published in the collections of councils.

Halitgarius, bishop of Cambrai and Arras, A. D. 816. He accompanied Ebbo in one of his excursions to Denmark. In 828 the emperor Lewis sent him as envoy to Constantinople. He returned the next year with abundance of relics; and died in 831. He wrote *Opus de Virtutibus, Remediis Peccatorum, et*

Ordine et Judiciis Pœnitentiæ, sex Libris absolutum; published by H. Canisius, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 906.

Paschal II. pope, A.D. 817—824, has left us three Epistles; which are in the Collections of the Councils.

Sedulius, a Scot, who flourished about A.D. 818, and compiled from the fathers a *Collectaneum, seu Explanatio in Epistolas S. Pauli*; which is extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 494. He is to be distinguished from Sedulius the poet. See Labbe, *de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. apud Bellarminum, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* p. 149—152.

Dungal, a monk of St. Denys, near Paris, A.D. 821. He wrote a confutation of Claudius of Turin, in vindication of image-worship; which is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 196, and a letter to Charlemagne, *de Eclipsi Solari*.

Jonas, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 821—843. He was much employed on councils; and wrote against Claudius of Turin, an *Apologeticum* for retaining images, but without worshipping them, in three books; also *de Institutione Laicorum*, libri iii. and *de Institutione Regia Liber*; extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 166.

Eugenius II. pope, A.D. 824—827. has left us two Epistles, and nine Decreta; which are extant in the Collections of Councils.

Gregory IV. pope, A.D. 828—844. Three of his Epistles are in the Collections of Councils; and another, concerning the monastery of Fleury, in *Baluzii Miscel.* tom. ii. p. 145.

Ansegisus, abbot of various monasteries in France, from A.D. 807, till his death in 833. He collected the *Capitularia Caroli Magni de Rebus præsertim Ecclesiasticis*, in four books; best edited by Steph. Baluze, Paris, 1677, 2 tom. fol. His life, written by a contemporary, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 593, &c.

Ardo, called Smaragdus, abbot of Aniane, and author of the life of his predecessor Benedictus Anianensis; which is in Mabillon, l. c. tom. v. p. 183, &c. Several other works have been ascribed to him; but some adjudge them to another of the same name.

Theganus, a learned French gentleman, and suffragan to the archbishop of Treves. He flourished about A.D. 837; and wrote *Annales de gestis Ludovici Imp. ab ann. 813 usque ad ann. 837*; extant among the *Scriptores Rerum Francicar.* d. Duchesne, tom. ii.

Amulo, Amulus, or Amularius, archbishop of Lyons, A.D. 841—852, or longer. He wrote *Epistola ad Theobaldum*, exploding certain relics and the vendors of them: *ad Godeschalum Epistola*, disapproving his opinions: and three tracts, on free-will, predestination, and grace: all which were published by S. Baluze, subjoined to the works of Agobard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xiv. p. 329.

Nithardus, grandson of Charlemagne; first a courtier and soldier, and then a monk. He flourished A.D. 843, and died in 853. He has left us four books, *de Dissidio filiorum Ludovici Pii*, from A.D. 814—843; published by Pitheaus, and by Duchesne, *Rerum Francicarum Scriptores*, tom. ii. p. 259.

Sergius II. pope, A.D. 844—847. has left one Epistle; extant in the Collections of Councils.

Prudentius or Prudentius, a Spaniard, but bishop of Troyes in France. He flourished A.D. 846, and died in 861. He wrote several tracts on predestination, &c., against John Scotus, Hincmar, &c., which are extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 598; and also in Maignu *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, tom. ii.

Pardulus, bishop of Laon, A.D. 847—856. His Epistle to Hincmar of Rheims, is printed *inter Opera Hincmari*, tom. ii. p. 838.

Eulogius of Corduba, flourished from A.D. 847 to 859, when he was beheaded by the Saracens, for his opposition to their laws. He wrote *Memoriale Sanctorum, sive Libri iii. de Martyribus Cordubensibus; Apologeticus pro Martyribus; Exhortatio ad Martyrium*; and several Epistles; all extant *inter Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores*, tom. iv.; and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 242.

Alvarus, a Spanish Christian of Corduba, the intimate friend of Eulogius. He wrote the life of Eulogius, several epistles, and a tract entitled *Scintilla Patrum*; all of which, except the last, are published with the works of Eulogius.

Leo IV. pope, A.D. 847—855, has left us two entire epistles, and fragments of several others; besides a good homily, addressed to presbyters and deacons on the pastoral duties; extant in the Collections of Councils.

Wendelbert, a Benedictine monk of Prüm, who flourished A.D. 850. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Goar (in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 269, &c.); also a martyrology, in

heroic verse, published among the works of Bede, tom. i. under the title of *Ephe-meridum Bedæ*.

Æneas, bishop of Paris, A.D. 854—869. He wrote *Adversus Objectiones Græcorum Liber*; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. vii. and a short epistle to Hincmar.

Benedict III. pope, A.D. 855—858. Four of his epistles are in the Collections of Councils.

Herard, bishop of Tours, A.D. 855—871, has left us 140 *Capitula*, addressed to his clergy, and some other papers, in the Collections of Councils.

Hincmar, bishop of Laon, A.D. 856—871, when he was deposed. This proud and tyrannical prelate quarrelled with his uncle, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, with the king, with his clergy, and others; appealed to Rome, and obtained support from the pope; but was finally put down. He died about A.D. 881. There remain of him several epistles, and documents relating to his contests: extant in the works of Hincmar of Rheims, and in the Collections of Councils.

Angelomus, a Benedictine monk of Luxeuil in Burgundy, who flourished A.D. 856. He wrote *Stromata*, or Commentaries on the four books of Kings; and also on the Canticles; which are extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xv. p. 307.

Nicolaus, pope, A.D. 858—867. He began the controversy with Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, and opposed king Lothaire's divorce of his queen. He has left us about 100 epistles; a reply to the interrogatories of the Bulgarians in 106 *Capitula*, besides decrees and rescripts on various subjects. His letters were published at Rome 1542, fol. and with his other works are now in the Collections of Councils.

Isaac, bishop of Langres, A.D. 859—878, or longer. He, or Isaac, abbot of Poitiers, wrote a long epistle, *de Canone Missæ*; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xiii. He is the author of a *Collectio Canonum*, like the Greek Nomo-canon, compiled from the Capitula of the French kings, and the decisions of councils; which was published by Sirmond, and since in other Collections of Councils.

Hulderic, Udalric, or Hulric, bishop of Augsburg, A.D. 860—900. He was a distinguished prelate, and wrote a long letter to pope Nicolaus, reprobatng his rigid enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy. This famous letter, which pope Gregory VII. condemned as heretical,

A.D. 1079, has been often printed by the Protestants.

Hadrian, or Adrian, pope, A.D. 867—872. He continued the contest with Photius, and assumed great power in France. Twenty-six of his epistles, besides some addresses and papers, are extant in the Collections of Councils.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, an abbot, presbyter, and librarian at Rome, who was papal envoy to Constantinople, to Naples, &c. He was one of the most learned men of his time, (A.D. 870—886,) and well acquainted with the Greek language. He wrote *Acta Concilii Constantinop. IV.* in Latin, falsely called the eighth general Council, A.D. 869; *Acta Concilii Nicæni II.* A.D. 787, Latinæ versa; *Historia Ecclesiastica*, sive *Chronographia Tripartita*, compiled from Niceph. Patr. of Cpl. George Syncell. and Theophanes Confessor; *Historia de vitis Romanorum Pontificum, seu Liber Pontificalis*, from St. Peter to pope Nicolaus I. *Collectaneæ de vis, quæ spectant ad Historiam Monothelitarum*; besides various letters and tracts, either original, or translations and abstracts; published by Sirmond, Paris, 1620, 8vo. His Acts of councils, and his lives of the popes, are inserted in the Collections of Councils. [The Lives of the Popes, more usually called the *Pontifical Book*, was not written by Anastasius, but is universally admitted to be a spurious production from two or more unknown pens. Oudin. ii. 267. *Ed.*]

John VIII. pope, A.D. 872—882. He was an active pope, but greatly harrassed by the Saracens, who infested all southern Italy. There are extant in the Collections of Councils, and elsewhere, 326 of his epistles.

Hartmutus, or Hartmannus, abbot of St. Gall, A.D. 872—883. He wrote some poems and hymns, published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. v. also the life of St. Wiborada, a virgin martyr; extant in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 42, &c.

John, a deacon at Rome, and the friend of Anastasius Biblioth. who flourished A.D. 875. He wrote the life of St. Gregory the Great, in four books; which is in all the editions of the works of Gregory; and in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 389, &c.

Usuuardus, a French monk of St. Germain, near Paris, who flourished A.D. 876. Displeased with the brevity of the martyrologies of Jerome and Bede, he wrote one more full and particular, un-

der the countenance of Charles the Bald. It was published, Louvain, 1568, 8vo; and with omissions of what displeased the Papists, at Antwerp, 1587, 8vo.

Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, having witnessed the siege of Paris by the Normans, in the year 887, composed a history of it, in three books of very uncouth verses; published among the *Scriptores Historie Franc.*

Stephen V. pope, A.D. 885—891, has left us three Epistles and part of another.

Wolfhardus, a Benedictine monk and presbyter in the diocese of Eichstadt, who flourished A.D. 886, has left us a life of St. Walpurga, or St. Walpurgis, in four books; extant in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 260, &c.

Herembertus, or Erchembertus, a monk of Monte Cassino, A.D. 887. He wrote a *Chronicon*, or a full History of the Lombards, continued to A.D. 888; an abridgment of which, made up (it is supposed) by the author himself, was published at Naples, 1626, 4to, together with three other Chronicons.

Adrevaldus, or Adalbertus, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A.D. 890; wrote the history of the removal of the remains of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica from Monte Cassino to Fleury; extant in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 338, &c. He also wrote *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, in opposition to the views of John Scotus; extant in D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xii.

Asserius, a British monk, much employed by Alfred the Great, and by him made bishop of Sherborne. He flourished A.D. 890, and wrote a history of the life and achievements of king Alfred; which is published among the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Francf. 1602, p. 1, &c. [Asser was first published together with Walsingham, by Abp. Parker, in 1574. In 1722 it was published separately by Wise, at Oxford. *Ed.*]

Gulielmus, librarian of the church of Rome, A.D. 890. He continued Anastasius' lives of the popes, from A.D. 867 to A.D. 891.

Solomon, a German monk, abbot, and at last bishop of Constance, A.D. 890—920. He left several poems; published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvi.

Formosus, pope, A.D. 891—896. He had sharp contests with the citizens of Rome; and when dead, his successor, Stephen VII., dug up his remains, deposed him, mutilated his body, and cast it into the Tiber. Two of his Epistles are extant in the Collections of Councils.

Auxilius, a writer little known, who flourished about A.D. 894, and composed a history of pope Formosus, and the contests respecting him, in two books; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xvii. p. 1.

The popes, Stephen VII. A.D. 896—897, John IX. A.D. 898—900, and Benedict IV. A.D. 900—904, have left us, the first two Epistles, the next four, and the third two; which are in the Collections of Councils. *Tr.*

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CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

- § 1. The low state of religion and learning.—§ 2. Causes of this evil.—§ 3. The corruption of the age manifest in the worship of saints and relics.—§ 4. Canonization of saints.—§ 5. Biographies of saints.—§ 6. Attachment to relics.—§ 7. Regard for the Holy Scriptures.—§ 8. Faults of the Latin expositors.—§ 9. The Allegorists.—§ 10. Method of treating theological subjects.—§ 11. State of practical theology.—§ 12. Progress of mysticism.—§ 13. Polemic theology.—§ 14, 15. Controversy respecting images, among the Greeks.—§ 16. Among the Latins.—§ 17. Iconoclasts among the Latins.—§ 18. Controversy respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit continued.—§ 19. Paschasius Radbert's controversy respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 20. His opposer, Bertram.—§ 21. The involved controversy about stercoreanism.—§ 22. Controversy respecting grace and predestination; Godeschalcus.—§ 23. History of this contest.—§ 24. Judgment re-

specting it.—§ 25. Hincmar and Godeschalcus contend about a three-fold Deity.—§ 26. Strife respecting the parturition of St. Mary.—§ 27, 28. First controversy between the Greeks and Latins, respecting Photius.—§ 29, 30, 31, 32. Their second controversy.

§ 1. So long as those persons survived in the West, whom *Charlemagne's* liberality and zeal for Christianity had prompted to the study of the Bible, and a candid investigation of truth, there were many errors and superstitions which could not find access to the Latins. Not a few proofs, accordingly, have been collected out of the writers of this age, showing that the truth had some strenuous vindicators. But as these men were gradually removed, and barbarism regained its former ascendancy, a flood of superstitious and pious follies, and of base and degrading opinions, rushed in from all quarters. And none were more zealous and active in the propagation of them, than the professed teachers and patrons of piety and religion; who were corrupted, partly by ignorance, partly by love of their own interests. The face of Christianity was not much better among the orientals and Greeks, although sometimes an individual arose, who was anxious to succour the sinking cause of pure religion.

§ 2. The causes of this evil those will readily perceive, who are not ignorant of the things that happened among Christians in this age. The oriental doctors, distracted by intestine broils and foreign controversies, became disqualified for more sober investigations: and as one error generally draws on another, it was the natural consequence of their fierce disputes among themselves upon image-worship, and with the Latins, upon the superiority and divine origin of their discipline and opinions, that many other evils should arise. Moreover, the uncomfortable and irrational mode of life pursued by those who retired to deserts and solitary retreats, was inconsistent with a sound mind and a sober judgment. Yet persons of this class were immensely numerous, and their influence was by no means small. In the West, the incursions of the barbarous tribes, the wars and abominable crimes of the sovereigns, the neglect of every branch of learning, the infatuated purpose of the Roman pontiffs to display and extend their power, and the impositions and falsehoods of the monks, were ruinous to the cause of virtue, of mental cultivation, and piety.

§ 3. To see clearly the heights which ignorance and perversity reached in this age, it is only needful to consider its extravagant, or more properly, senseless fondness for saints, and for their

bones and carcasses. In this the greatest part of piety and religion was really placed. Every body believed that God would never be found propitious to those who had not secured some intercessor and friend among the inhabitants of heaven. Hence every separate congregation, and almost every individual person, sought for some particular patron, fearing lest insufficient care should be taken of their own interests by those who were already engaged for other people: their habit, in fact, was to estimate the condition of the blessed by man's way of living and thinking. Hence arose the rage for making, almost daily, new objects of deification. And the priests and monks were most successful in dispelling the darkness that concealed the wondrous deeds of many holy men; or rather in fabricating the names and the histories of saints that never existed; so that they might have patrons enough for all the credulous and senseless people. Many, however, provided for themselves, by committing their interests and their salvation to phantoms of their own creation, or to delirious persons, whose lives were thought extremely holy, because they had been those of fools and madmen.

§ 4. To this licentiousness of multiplying daily the number of ministers at that celestial court, which ill-informed men pictured to themselves, the ecclesiastical councils endeavoured to set bounds; for they ordained that no person should be accounted a glorified saint, unless he was declared worthy of that honour by a bishop and provincial council, in presence of the people.¹ This fallacious remedy laid some restraint upon the inconsiderateness of the people. There were also some in this age who deemed it useful and proper, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be sanctioned and confirmed by the concurrence and authority of him who stood at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, that is, of the Roman bishop. Nor will this excite surprise, if we consider the great increase of the papal power, in this unenlightened, rude, and superstitious age. There is indeed no example extant, older than the tenth century, of any man's formal enrolment among nobles of the heavenly commonwealth by the Roman bishop.²

¹ Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. v. [tom. vii.] Pref. p. xlv. &c. [p. lvii. &c. ed. Venice.] Jo. Launoy, *de Lazari, Magdalene et Martine in Provinciam appulsu*, cap. i. § xii. Opp. tom. ii. pt. i. p. 342. Franc. Pagi,

Breviarium Pontif. Romanor. tom. ii. p. 259, tom. iii. p. 30.

² See Dan. Papebroch, *de Solemnium Canonisationum Initio et Progressu*, in *Propylæo Actor. SS. mense Maii*, p. 171, &c. [Jo. Mabillon, *ubi supra*; J. F.

That he was, however, sometimes consulted on such matters, and his opinion asked respecting those to be consecrated, may be shown by various testimonies³: and it was by such steps as these, that he mounted gradually to that power of creating tutelary deities, which is denominated *canonization*.

§ 5. The number of celestial or glorified saints being so posterously multiplied, nothing better was to be expected than that their biographies would be written, filled with falsehoods and fables; and that accounts should be published of transactions which no one ever performed. There is yet extant a great mass of such silly tales; most of them undoubtedly produced not long after Charlemagne's age, by idle monks. The same adepts at imposition did not shrink from contaminating with many falsehoods and fictitious prodigies the histories of those who really suffered persecution and death for the cause of Christ, in former times; which presumption does not escape castigation from some of the better contemporary writers.⁴ These falsifications often flowed from a perverted piety. For this rude and ignorant age supposed men in heaven still to be delighted with praise, and therefore to favour excessively such as publish their services. Others were prompted to this presumptuous conduct by their lust of gain and honour. The populace, it was found, in seasons of perplexity and danger, crowded with presents to the temples of those saints who passed for the more ancient, and for those whose power had been demonstrated by many and great prodigies while they were alive. Wherefore none, whom any religious community had employed in writing the biography

Budeus, *de Origine Ἀποθεώσεως, seu Canonisationis*, in *Eccl. Rom.* in his *Miscell. Sacr.* p. 463, &c.] and the authors referred to, on this subject, by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* cap. vii. § xxv. p. 270.

³ See the very temperate and ingenious discussion of this subject, by the sovereign pontiff, Benedict XIV. previously Prosper Lambertini; *de Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. in his *Opp.* tom. i. p. 50. ed. Rome. It were to be wished the historians of the church of Rome would learn to imitate the discretion and fairness of their pontiff. [The earliest solemn canonization by the popes, of which we have authentic records, is that of Ulric bishop of Augsburg, by John XV. A.D. 995. Yet bishops, metropolitans, and provincial councils, were concerned in such acts

for more than a century after this. And it was not till the pontificate of Alexander III. A.D. 1160—1181, that the popes claimed the exclusive power of adding new saints to the Calendar. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. lix. § 91, and p. lxxviii. § 99, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Servatus Lupus, *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276; and the ingenious and learned remarks on this subject, made in several places by John Launoy; *Disputatio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110.—Dissert. iii. *de primis Christianæ Relig. in Gallia initis*. Diss. ii. p. 142, 144, 145, 147, 168, 169, 184.—*de Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam impulsu*, p. 340.—*de duobus Dionysiis*, *Opp.* tom. ii. pt. i. p. 527, 529, 530. See also Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 151, and the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 273.

of its heroes, could give satisfaction, if they were strictly honest, and would not add fictitious miracles to the true.⁵

§ 6. In the bones of those who were accounted saints, and in every thing which they had used while alive, nay, even in the very ground which they had touched, there was supposed to reside a marvellous power for repelling all evils, both bodily and mental, and especially of paralyzing the machinations of the prince of darkness. Hence, hardly any one was willing to be without safeguards of this kind. Eagerness for them led some to encounter severe toils and troublesome, but useless, journeys; others to delude the miserable populace with base impositions. To obtain a sufficiency of relics for those in quest of them, the latent carcasses of saints were first sought by the priests with prayer and fasting, and then forsooth, were found, God showing the way, and pointing to the spot. Oh, how great the joy when such a treasure came to light! Some travelled into the East, with a view of bringing home from places rendered famous by the presence of Christ and his friends, those objects which would comfort the faint-hearted, and give a feeling of security to their country itself, and their fellow-citizens. Nor did they come back disappointed; for the cunning Greeks, always versatile and knavish, took from the unsuspecting Latins genuine coin, and sent them off again laden with spurious wares. In this way the numerous holy bodies, and parts of bodies, of *Mark, James, Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon*, and others, in which the West still exults, were introduced among the Latins. Those who were unable to procure these precious treasures, by either journeys, or prayers, or frauds, deemed it expedient to *steal* them, or to seize them by violence and robbery. For whatever means were used in such a case as this, were considered as pious and acceptable to God, if one only could succeed.⁶

§ 7. There were few among the Greeks who attempted to explain the sacred volume, except *Photius*; who has left *Questions on the Holy Scriptures*⁷, an explanation of St. Paul's epistles,

⁵ Among all the lives of saints, composed in this age, none are more to be suspected than those written by Britons and Armoricans. See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. preface, p. viii.

⁶ Read Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 6, &c. who presents us with examples.

⁷ [This work is entitled *Amphilochia*,

because it was addressed to Amphilochius, bishop of Cyzicum. Though several manuscripts of it still exist, it has never been published entire. Among other large extracts, J. C. Wolf has subjoined one of sixty-five pages to the fourth volume of his *Cura Philologica*, ed. 2. Hamb. 1741. He also gives account of the work in his preface to that volume. Most of the questions relate

and some other things of this nature. He made use of his own reason and ingenuity; and yet he cannot be esteemed a good interpreter. All the other Greeks, who attempted expositions of the Scriptures, merely collected passages from the writers of preceding ages, and attached them to the declarations of the sacred volume. Thus it was in this century, and among the Greeks, that what are called *catenæ*, that is, expositions of Scripture compiled from the writings of the old doctors, of which no small number has come down to us, first began to be drawn up. For most theologians, feeling an incompetence for greater things, thought themselves able to accomplish their object by collecting together the fine thoughts of the ancient fathers.

§ 8. The Latin interpreters were far more numerous; for *Charlemagne* had, in the preceding century, awakened an ardour for the study and exposition of the sacred volume. Among these interpreters, here and there one is not wholly destitute of merit; as for instance, *Christian Druthmar*, whose Commentary on Matthew has come down to us⁸, and *Bertharius*, to whom are ascribed two books *Ἀντικειμένων*.⁹ But most of them were incompetent to their work; and, like the interpreters of the preceding age, may be divided into two classes, those who trod in the steps of former expositors and collected their opinions, and those who dig mysteries and various recondite meanings, from the plainest texts, generally in a very clumsy manner. At the head of the former class stands *Rabanus Maurus*; who confesses, that he drew his expositions of Matthew and of St. Paul's epistles from the writings of the fathers. Of the like character were *Walafrid Strabo*, author of what is called the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and who drew his materials chiefly from *Rabanus*; *Claudius* of Turin, who followed *Augustine* and *Origen*; *Hincmar*¹, whose *Stromata* on the four Books of Kings, compiled from the fathers, are still extant; *Remigius* of Auxerre, who elucidated the Psalms of David and other books of Scripture from the same source; *Sedulius*, who expounded the epistles of St. Paul according to the views of the fathers;

to difficult texts in the Old and New Testaments; but some of them are theological, philosophical, grammatical, historical, and literary. About one-sixth part of the whole is to be found in the Epistles of Photius, published by R. Montague, London, 1651. *Tr.*

⁸ See Rich. Simon, *Histoire Critique*

des Principaux Commentat. du N. T. cap. xxv. p. 348, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 293, &c. He treats of most of the other commentators here noticed; *ibid.* cap. xxvi. xxvii.

⁹ [Reconciling difficult texts. *Tr.*]

¹ [Of Rheims. *Tr.*]

Florus Magister, who chose Augustine for his guide; *Haymo* of Halberstadt; and others.

§ 9. At the head of the latter class, we again find *Rabanus Maurus*; whose very diffuse work on the Allegories of the Scriptures, is yet extant. He is followed by *Smaragdus*, *Haymo*, *Scotus*, *Paschasius Radbert*, and many others, whose names it would be needless to mention. The expositors of this class all agree, that besides the literal import, there are other meanings of the sacred books; but as to the number of these meanings, they are not agreed. For some of them make *three* senses, others *four* or *five*; and one, who is not the worst Latin interpreter of the age, *Angelome*, a monk of Lisieux, maintains that there are *seven* senses of the sacred books.²

§ 10. In explaining and supporting the doctrines of religion, the Greeks and Latins were equally neglectful of their duty. Their manner of treating such subjects was dry, and better suited to the memory than to the understanding. The Greeks, for the most part, followed *Damascenus*: the Latins acquiesced in the decisions of *Augustine*. The authority of the ancients was substituted for arguments and proofs; as may be clearly seen by the *Collectaneum de tribus questionibus*, by *Servatus Lupus*, and the Tract of *Remigius* on holding firmly to the truths of Scripture, and adhering faithfully to the authority of the holy and orthodox fathers. Those who appealed to the testimony of the sacred writers, either construed their words in what is called the *allegorical sense*, or deemed it wrong to put any other construction upon them than had been put on them by councils and the fathers. The Irish doctors alone, and among them *John Scotus*, ventured to explain the doctrines of Christianity in a philosophical manner. But they generally incurred strong disapprobation; for the Latin theologians of that age would allow no place for reason and philosophy in matters of religion.³

§ 11. Practical theology was treated negligently and unskillfully by all who attended to it. Some gleaned sentences from

² See the Preface to his Commentary on the books of Kings, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of Angelome on the book of Genesis, was published by Bernh. Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. pt. i. But it would have been no loss to sa-

cred literature, had it remained in obscurity.

³ Respecting the dislike of Scotus, see Boulay, *Historia Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 182. Add the life of John of Gortz, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. v.* [tom. vii.] p. 392.

the writings of the ancients, relating to piety and the duties of men: as may be seen in the *Scintille Patrum* of *Alvarus*. Others composed treatises on the virtues and vices; as *Halitgarius*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Jonas* of Orleans; but it is not easy to discover in them traces of the pattern left us by Christ. Some endeavoured to unfold the will of God, and make it intelligible to the unlearned by a tissue of *allegories*; a method, the faults of which are manifest. The writers of sermons and of treatises on penance, of whom the number was not inconsiderable among the Latins, I pass over in silence. Some of the Greeks began to apply themselves to the solution of what are called *cases of conscience*.⁴

§ 12. The doctrines of the mystics, which originated from *Dionysius*, falsely called the Areopagite, and which taught men to abstract their minds from all sensible things, and to join them in an inexplicable union with God, had long been in the highest estimation among the Greeks, and especially the monks. And the praises of this *Dionysius* were pompously sung, in this century, by *Michael Syncellus* and *Methodius*; who thus endeavoured to multiply the admirers and followers of the man. The Latins had hitherto been unacquainted with this imposing system. But when *Michael* the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, sent a copy of *Dionysius* as a present to *Lewis* the Meek, A. D. 824⁵, at once the whole Latin world fell violently in love with it. For *Lewis*, to put the Latins in possession of so great a treasure, ordered the works of *Dionysius* to be forthwith translated into the Latin language.⁶ Afterwards, *Hilduin*, abbot of St. Denys, by the order of *Lewis*, published his *Areopagitica*, or Life of *Dionysius*; in which, according to

⁴ See Nicephorus Chartophylax, Epistol. ii. in the *Biblioth. Magna Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 413.

⁵ Jac. Ussher, *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicarum*, p. 54, 55.

⁶ This we are explicitly taught by *Hilduin*, in his epistle to the emperor *Lewis* the Meek, prefixed to his *Areopagitica*, p. 66, ed. Cologne, 1563, 8vo, in which he says: "De notitia librorum, quos (*Dionysius*) patrio sermone conscripsit et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, *cujus dispensatione interpretatos*, serinia nostra eos petentibus reserat, satisfacit." Those err, therefore, who tell us that the

Latin translation of *Dionysius* was not made till the reign of Charles the Bald. And those err also who say (with *Jo. Mabillon*, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. ii. lib. xxix. § lix. p. 488, and the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 425, &c.) that *Michael* the Stammerer sent to *Lewis* the works of *Dionysius*, translated from Greek into Latin. The contrary is most clearly signified by *Hilduin*, in the place cited: "Authenticos namque eodem (*Dionysii*) libros *Græca lingua conscriptos*, cum echnomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ et ceteri missi *Michaelis* legatione—functi sunt—pro munere magno suscepimus."

the custom of the age, he not only states many things void of truth, but also shamefully confounds *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* with *Dionysius* bishop of Paris; designing, no doubt, to advance the glory of the French nation.⁷ And this fable, caught up by credulous ears, became so firmly fixed in the minds of the French, that it is not yet fully eradicated. The first translation of *Dionysius*, made by order of *Lewis* the Meek, was perhaps considerably obscure and barbarous. Therefore, his son, *Charles* the Bald, procured a new and more neat translation to be made by the celebrated *John Erigena Scotus*; which, being circulated, the patrons of mystic theology arose in France, Germany, and Italy more abundantly than ever. *Scotus* himself was so captivated with this new system of theology, that he did not hesitate to accommodate his philosophy to its precepts, or rather to explain its principles by the rules of his philosophy.⁸

§ 13. In defence of Christianity, against Jews, pagans, and others, only a few took the field; because the internal contests among Christians engrossed all the attention of those who were inclined to be polemics. *Agobard* inveighed against the arrogance and other faults of the Jews in two short tracts. *Amulo* and *Rabanus Maurus* likewise assailed them. The Saracens were confuted by the emperor *Leo*, by *Theodorus Abucara*, and by others whose writings are lost. But these and other opposers of the Mahumedans, advanced various false and unsubstantiated statements respecting *Mahumed* and his religion; which (if brought forward designedly, as would seem to be the fact,) prove, that the writers did not aim so much at convincing the Saracens as at deterring Christians from apostasy.

§ 14. Among themselves the Christians had more strenuous and animated contests, than against the common enemy; and these contests involved them continually in new calamities, and brought reproach upon the cause of true religion. Upon the banishment of *Irene*⁹, the contest about image-worship was renewed among the Greeks; and it continued, with various success for nearly half this century. For *Nicephorus*¹, though he

⁷ Jo. Launoy, *Diss. de Discrimine Dionysii Areop. et Parisiensis*, cap. iv. Opp. tom. ii. pt. i. p. 38, and the other writings of this great man, and of others. concerning the two *Dionysii*.

⁸ [Scotus was partial to the Platonic philosophy; which, being one of the

primary sources of the mystic theology, would easily amalgamate with it, and serve to explain and enforce it. *Tr.*]

⁹ [A. D. 802. *Tr.*]

¹ [Who now ascended the throne. *Tr.*]

would not revoke the Nicene decrees, nor remove images from the temples, yet laid restraints upon their patrons, and would not allow them to use any violence or do any harm to the opposers of image-worship. His successor, *Michael* Curopalates, was a timid prince, afraid to provoke the monks and priests who contended for images, and therefore, during his short reign², he favoured the cause of images, and persecuted their enemies. *Leo* the Armenian had more vigour³, and assembling a council at Constantinople, A. D. 814, he rescinded absolutely the Nicene decrees respecting the worship of the images of saints; yet he did not enact any penal laws against the worshippers of them.⁴ As this temperate procedure was not satisfactory to *Nicephorus* the patriarch, and to the other friends of images, and as dangerous tumults seemed ready to break out, the emperor removed *Nicephorus* from his office, and repressed the rage of some of his adherents with punishments. His successor, *Michael* the Stammerer, who was also opposed to image-wor-

² [A. D. 811 — 813. *Tr.*]

³ [And more ingenuousness too. For, before calling the council, the emperor, in an interview with *Nicephorus*, requested him to show the fact by proofs from the writings of the apostles and of the earlier fathers, if, as the patriarch asserted, the worship of images was in early use in the church. The answer he received was, that in this case we must be satisfied with 'unwritten tradition'; and that what had been decided in a general council was never to be controverted. After this, the emperor brought the contending parties to a conference in his presence, which *Theodorus Studites* and his party frustrated, by telling the emperor, to his face, that doctrinal controversies were not to be discussed in the palace, but in the church; and that if an angel from heaven should advance a doctrine contrary to the decrees of the Nicene council, they would treat him with abhorrence. The emperor punished this insolence by merely sending the monks back to their cloisters, forbidding them to raise disturbances about images, and requiring them to be peaceable citizens. *Schl.*]

⁴ [According to *Mansi* (*Supplem. Concil.* tom. i. p. 755,) there were several councils held at Constantinople, under *Leo* the Armenian, in regard to images. One was held under the patriarch *Nicephorus*, A. D. 814, and con-

demned *Anthony*, bishop of *Sillæum*, as an Iconoclast, and established image-worship. The next council was called by *Leo* himself, in the year 815; and this it was which deposed *Nicephorus*, and declared him a heretic. The third was held under the new patriarch, *Theodorus*, and established the doctrines of the Iconoclasts. Images were now removed; and the unsubmissive monks were banished, but restored again to their cloisters, as soon as they promised to remain quiet, and to hold communion with the new patriarch *Theodorus*. There were, however, among them, blind zealots, who, with *Theodorus Studites* at their head, belched forth most shameful language against those bishops and monks who yielded obedience to the emperor's commands, and even against the emperor himself. The former they declared to be enemies of Christ, deniers of him, and apostates; the emperor they called an Amorite, another Og of Bashan, the great Dragon, a vessel of wrath, an Ahab, a second Julian; and to insult *him*, they extolled their images, by chanting *their* praises in the most public places. These indeed were taken up and punished; and *Theodorus Studites* was sent into exile; and, as this did not tame him, he was imprisoned; yet so as to be allowed free correspondence by letters. *Schl.*]

ship, found it necessary to pursue the same course; for although he at first showed great clemency to image-worshippers, he was obliged to lay aside his lenity, and to chastise the restless faction that was enslaved by images, especially the monks.⁵ His son, *Theophilus*⁶, bore harder upon the defenders of images, and even put some of the more violent of them to death.⁷

§ 15. But after the death of *Theophilus*, in the year 842, his surviving consort, *Theodora*, who administered the government of the empire, wearied out and deluded by the menaces, the entreaties, and the fictitious miracles of the monks, assembled a council at Constantinople, A. D. 842, and there re-established the decisions of the Nicene council, and restored image-worship among the Greeks.⁸ Thus, after a contest of one hundred and ten years, image-worship gained the victory; and all the East, except the Armenian church, embraced it; nor did any one of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of their folly in this matter. The council of Constantinople, held under *Photius*, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the *eighth* general council, fortified image-worship by new and firm guards, approving and renewing all the decrees of the Nicene council. The Greeks, a superstitious people, and con-

⁵ [Notwithstanding Michael ascended the throne under a very dubious title, the image-worshippers described him as a second David, and a Josiah, so long as they accounted him one of their party; because he released those imprisoned, and recalled the exiles. He in fact showed great gentleness towards the image-worshippers. He caused conferences to be held, for allaying the controversies; and these proving ineffectual, he allowed them to retain their images, though not to display them in Constantinople; and only required silence from both parties, so that the bitterness between them might subside. This gentleness was the more remarkable, as the superstition of the image-worshippers knew no bounds, and led on to the grossest follies. For they set up images, instead of the cross; lighted candles before them; burned incense to them; sang to their praise; made supplications to them; used them as sponsors for their baptized children; scraped off the colours from the pictures, and mixed them with the wine of the eucharist; and placed the bread of benediction in the hands of the images, in order to

receive it as from them. See the Epistle of Michael to the emperor Lewis the Meek, in Baronius's *Annales*, ad ann. 824, § 26. *Schl.*]

⁶ [A. D. 829—842.]

⁷ [It is impossible to believe all that the Greek monks tell us of the cruelties of this emperor, against the image-worshippers; as he was, in other respects, an upright ruler. And it is well known, that he was very indulgent and kind towards Theoktista, the mother of his empress, who worshipped images in her house, and endeavoured to instil the love of them into the young princesses of the emperor. And if some persons did actually suffer severely under him, they suffered rather on account of their slanderous language, their disobedience to the laws, and their seditious conduct; to which they were prompted by their mad zeal for promoting image-worship. *Schl.*]

⁸ See Fred. Spanheim, *Historia Imaginum*, sect. viii. Opp. tom. ii. p. 845, &c. Jac. Lefant, *Preservatif contre la Réunion avec le Siège de Rome*, tom. iii. lettr. xiv. p. 147, &c. lettr. xviii. xix. p. 509, &c.

trolled by monks, regarded this as so great a blessing conferred on them by heaven, that they resolved to consecrate an anniversary in remembrance of it, which they called the *Feast of Orthodoxy*.⁹

§ 16. Among the Latins, image-worship did not obtain so easy a victory; although it was warmly patronised by the Roman pontiffs. For the people of the West still maintained their ancient liberty of thinking for themselves in matters of religion; and could not be brought to regard the decisions of the Romish bishops as final and conclusive. Most of the European Christians, as we have seen, took middle ground between the *Iconoclasts* and the image-worshippers. For they judged, that the images might be tolerated, as helps to the memory; but denied, that any worship or honour was to be paid to them. *Michael* the Stammerer, emperor of the Greeks, when he sent an embassy to *Lewis* the Meek, A. D. 824, for the purpose of renewing the confederation with him, instructed his ambassadors, if possible, to draw *Lewis* over to the side of the *Iconoclasts*. *Lewis* chose to have the subject thoroughly discussed by the bishops, in the council assembled at Paris, A. D. 824.¹ They decided that they ought to abide by the opinions of the council of Frankfort; namely, that the images of Christ and the saints were not indeed to be cast out of the temples, yet that religious worship should by no means be paid to them. Gradually, however, the European Christians swerved from this opinion; and the opinion of the Roman pontiff, whose influence was daily increasing, got possession of their minds. Near the close of this century, the French first decided that some kind of worship might be paid to the sacred images: and the Germans, and others, followed their example.²

⁹ See Jac. Gretser, *Observat. in Codicum de Officiis Aule et Ecclesie Constantinop.* lib. iii. cap. viii. and the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by Reiske, lib. i. cap. 28, p. 92, &c.

¹ [“ Fleury, Le Sueur, and the other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825.—It may be proper to observe here, that the proceedings of this council evidently show, that the decisions of the Roman pontiff were by no means looked upon, at this time, either as obligatory or infallible. For when the letter of pope Adrian, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was

almost unanimously rejected, as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of Nice, relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *acumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See Fleury, liv. xlvii. § 4.” *Macl.*]

² Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 488. *Idem, Præf. ad Acta Sanctor.*

§ 17. Still there were some among the Latins, who inclined to the side of the *Iconoclasts*. The most noted of these, was *Claudius*, bishop of Turin, a Spaniard by birth, and educated under *Felix* of Urgel. As soon as the favour of Lewis the Meek had raised him to the rank of bishop, in the year 823, he cast all the crosses and sacred images out of the churches, and broke them. The next year, he published a book, not only defending the procedure, but advancing other principles also, which were at variance with the opinions of the age. Among other things, he denied the propriety of worshipping the cross, which the Greeks conceded; spoke contemptuously of all sorts of relics, and maintained that they had no efficacy; and disapproved of all pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints and to holy places. He was opposed by the adherents to the inveterate superstition; and first, by the abbot *Theodemir*, and afterwards by *Dungal*, a Scot, *Jonas* of Orleans, *Walafrid Strabo*, and others. But this learned and ingenious man defended his cause with energy³; and thence it was, that long after his death, there was less superstition in the region about Turin, than in the other parts of Europe.

§ 18. The controversy, which commenced in the preceding century, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and respecting the words, *and the Son*, (*Filioque*,) inserted by the Latins in the Constantinopolitan creed, broke out with greater vehemence in this century; and

Ord. Bened. Sæcul. iv. pt. i. p. vii. viii. Car. Le Cointe, *Annales Eccl. Francor.* tom. iv. ad ann. 824: and many others.

³ Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 488. Pref. ad Sæcul. iv. *Actor. Sanctor.* *Ord. Bened.* p. viii. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 491, and tom. v. p. 27. 64. Among the Reformed, Jac. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. period. iv. p. 38, &c. ed. in 4to.—[It is to be regretted, that we have only those testimonies of Claudius against the superstitions of his time, which his opposers, and especially Jonas of Orleans, have quoted from his writings. Yet in these quotations, there is much that is solid, and expressed in a nervous and manly style. Against images, he thus expresses himself: "If a man ought not to worship the works of God, much less should he worship and reverence the works of men.—Whoever expects salvation, which comes only from God, to

come from pictures, must be classed with those mentioned Rom. i. who serve the creature, more than the Creator."—Against the cross, and the worship of it, he thus taught, "God has commanded us to bear the cross, not to pray to it. Those are willing to pray to it, who are unwilling to bear it, either in the spiritual or in the literal sense. Thus to worship God, is in fact to depart from him."—Of the pope, he said, (when accused for not yielding to his authority,) "*He is not to be called the Apostolical*," (a title then commonly given to the pope,) "who sits in the apostle's chair; but he who performs the duties of an apostle. For, of those who hold that place, yet do not fulfil its duties, the Lord says, *They sit in Moses' seat, &c.*"—See bishop Jonas, lib. iii. *de Imag.* in the *Biblioth. Patr. Max. Lugd.* tom. xiv. p. 166. *Schl.*]

from being a private dispute, gradually became a public controversy of the whole Greek and Latin church. The monks of Jerusalem contended about this matter, and particularly about the words *Filioque*; and one of their number, *John*, was despatched into France, to the emperor *Charlemagne*, A. D. 809.⁴ This subject was discussed in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in this year; and also at Rome, before the pontiff *Leo III.*, whither *Charlemagne* had sent envoys. *Leo III.* approved the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son; but disapproved of the alteration of the creed, and wished the words *Filioque* to be disused by degrees.⁵ And his successors held the same sentiments; but the interpolation, being once admitted, retained its place, in spite of the pontiffs, and at length was received by all the Latin churches.⁶

§ 19. To these ancient controversies, new ones were added, among the Latins. The first was, respecting *the manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper. Though all Christians believed, that the body and blood of Christ were presented to the communicants in the Lord's supper, yet up to this time their views had been various and fluctuating, respecting the *manner* in which the body and blood of Christ are present; nor had any council prescribed a definite faith on the subject. But in this century *Paschasius Radbert*, a monk of Corbie, afterwards abbot, in his treatise on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, written A. D. 831, attempted to give more clearness and stability to the views of

⁴ See Steph. Baluze, *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 14. [The occasion of this transaction was as follows: some French monks, residing at Jerusalem as pilgrims, chanted the creed in their worship, as was common with their countrymen, with the addition of *Filioque*. The Greeks censured this custom; and the Franks sought the protection and the determination of the emperor. *Schl.*]

⁵ [The conference of the imperial envoys with pope Leo III. is still extant, in Harduin's *Collection of Councils*, tom. iv. p. 970, &c. From this it appears, that Leo was displeased, not with the doctrine itself, but with the unauthorized interpolation of the creed; and disapproved the recent decision of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, the con-

firmation of which was requested by the imperial envoys. Pope John VIII., in a letter to Photius, went still further; for he called the expression, that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, blasphemy; though the abolition of it was attended with difficulty and required time. *Schl.*]

⁶ See Carl. Le Cointe, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad ann. 809, &c. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. v. p. 151, and the other writers above cited. [The pope had not, either in the eighth century, or the fore part of the ninth, such influence and authority over the Spanish and French churches, as to be able to compel them directly to expunge the interpolation. *Schl.*]

the church.⁷ Upon the presentation of this book, enlarged and improved, to *Charles the Bald*, in the year 845, a great dispute arose out of it. *Paschasius* taught, in general, that in the Lord's supper, after the consecration, there remained only the form and appearance of bread and wine; and that the real body, or the flesh and blood of Christ, were present; and indeed, the *identical body, that was born of the virgin, suffered on the cross, and arose from the tomb.*⁸ This doctrine seemed to many to be new and strange; and especially the last part of it. *Rabanus Maurus* therefore, *Heribald*, and others, opposed it; but on different grounds. And the emperor, *Charles the Bald*, commanded two men, of distinguished learning and talents, *Ratramn* and *John Scotus*, to give a true exposition of that doctrine which *Radbert* was supposed to have corrupted.⁹ Both of them did

⁷ See *Mabillon, Annales Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 539. The treatise of *Paschasius* was published in a more accurate manner than before, by *Edm. Martene, Amplissima Collectio Veter. Script.* tom. ix. p. 378, &c. The life and character of *Paschasius* are formerly treated of by *Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. iv. pt. ii. p. 126*, &c. and by the Jesuits, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Antw. ad diem 26 Aprilis; and by many others.

⁸ [Far too corporeal conceptions of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist had existed in preceding times, and indeed ever since *Cyril's* notion of the nature of Christ's becoming flesh, had been received; and the holy supper had been compared to an offering or sacrifice. But such gross corporeal expressions, as *Paschasius* employed, no one had before used; nor had any carried their conceptions so far. In his book, *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, he says, "Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud quam caro et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt—nec alia (caro) quam quæ nata est de Maria, passa in cruce, resurrexit de sepulcro; et hæc, inquam, ipsa est, et ideo Christi caro est, quæ pro vita mundi adhuc hodie offertur." *Schl.*—"Tria potissimum docet in hoc opere *Paschasius*: nempe, Verum Christi Domini corpus, verumque sanguinem existere in sanctissimo eucharistiæ sacramento: Panis et vini substantiam, facta consecratione, non superesse; denique, Ipsum corpus non aliud esse, quam quod de Maria Virgine natum est." *Mabillon*

Annal. Bened. tom. ii. p. 538. Of course the great contest is, whether *Radbert* was or not a rash speculator, who put forth opinions hitherto unadmitted, if not altogether unknown. The question being vital to modern Romanism, its advocates maintain that he was no otherwise remarkable than as the first distinct enunciator of a doctrine ever holden by the church. *Mabillon* argues that a man of his learning must have known what the church thought, and never could have been so impudent as to feign reception for a belief which the church did not entertain. He confesses, however, that adversaries of *Radbert's* book arose after a few years, but he pronounces their exceptions to have been of a peculiar nature, unapproved by the church or prelacy, rather indeed rejected by both, and suggested not so much by the thing itself, as by certain modes of speaking. But such representations do not well cohere with the speedy appearance of *Ratramn* and *John Scot's* tracts, under royal patronage, nor with *Raban Maur's* denunciation of *Radbert's* theory as an *error and a novelty*. The archbishop of *Mentz* was, perhaps, the most celebrated prelate of his day, and following *Mabillon's* line of inference, it may be said, that he must have known what the church then thought, and never could have been so impudent as to tax that with novelty which had notoriously been established time immemorial. *Ed.*]

⁹ Concerning *Ratramn* or *Bertram*, and his book, which has caused so much discussion, see *Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Bib-*

so; but the work of *Scotus* is lost; and that of *Ratramn*, which is still extant, has given occasion to much disputation, both in a former age, and in our own.¹

§ 20. The writers who engaged in this controversy, were not agreed among themselves, nor were they self-consistent throughout their respective treatises. Indeed, the mover of the controversy, *Radbert* himself, was deficient in consistency, and not unfrequently recedes, manifestly, from that which he had asserted. His principal antagonist, *Bertram* or *Ratramn*, seems in general to follow those who think that the body and blood of Christ are not truly present in the eucharist, but are only *represented* by the bread and wine: and yet he has passages which appear to depart widely from that sentiment; and therefore, it is not without some plausibility that he has been understood and explained diversely.² *John Scotus* only, as being a philosopher, expressed his views perspicuously and properly: teaching, that the bread and wine are *signs* and *representatives* of the absent body and blood of Christ. All the others fluctuate and assert in one place, what they gainsay in another, and reject at one time what they presently after maintain. Among the Latins, therefore, in this age, there was not yet a determinate, common opinion, as to the *mode* in which the body and blood of Christ are in the eucharist.

§ 21. The disputants in this controversy, as is common, taxed each other with odious consequences from their opinions. The most considerable of these consequences, was that which, in the eleventh century, was denominated *stercoranism*. Those who held, with *Radbert*, that after the consecration, only the forms of bread and wine remained, contended, that from the

lioth. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 661, &c. [Concerning *Ratramn*'s book, there has been dispute as to its genuineness, some ascribing it to *John Scotus*, and also as to the doctrine it contains. The Roman Catholics would make it teach transubstantiation; the Lutherans, consubstantiation; and the Reformed, only a mystical or sacramental presence of Christ. *Tr.*]

¹ This controversy is described at length, though not without partiality, by Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Sæcul. iv. pt. ii. p. viii. &c. With him, compare Jac. Bagnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 909, &c.

² [*Bertram*'s Treatise, in a new English translation, was published at Dublin, A.D. 1753; and with a learned historical Dissertation prefixed. Mabillon (*Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. Præf. p. xxx. &c.) evinces, triumphantly, the genuineness of the book; and then goes into an elaborate argument to prove, in opposition to *John Claude*, that the author was a believer in the *real presence*. But the mere reading of his argument, with the full and candid quotations it contains, has left on one mind, at least, the conviction, that Dr. Mosheim has truly stated the character and contents of that work. *Tr.*]

sentiments of their adversaries, who believed that in the holy supper there was nothing more than the figure or signs of Christ's body and blood, this consequence would follow, namely, that the body of Christ was ejected from the bowels, with the other *fæces*. On the other hand, those who rejected the transmutation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, taxed the advocates of this doctrine with the same consequence. Each party, probably, casts this reproach upon the other, without reason. The crime of *stercoranism*, if we do not mistake, was a fabricated charge; which could not justly fall on those who denied the conversion of the bread into the body of Christ; but which might be objected to those who believed in such a transmutation, although it was probably never admitted, by any one really in his right mind.³

§ 22. At the very time when the sacramental controversy was at its height, another controversy sprang up, which related to *divine grace and predestination*. *Godeschalcus*, a Saxon of noble birth, and, against his own choice, a monk, first at Fulda, and

³ Respecting the Stercoranists, see John Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Præf. ad Sæcul. iv. pt. ii. p. xxi. Jac. Basnage, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 926, &c. and the late treatise of the venerable Pfaff, Tubing. 1750, 4to. [It is not easy to determine the precise form of this indecent charge, as advanced by either party. The believers in transubstantiation supposed the sacramental elements not to pass through the human body like ordinary aliments, but to become wholly incorporated with the bodies of the communicants; so that, on their principles, they could not be justly charged with stercoranism. On the contrary, the opposers of transubstantiation supposed the substance of the sacramental elements to undergo the ordinary changes in the stomach and bowels of the communicant; so that by assuming that these elements had become the real body and blood of Christ, they might be charged with stercoranism; but it was only by assuming what they expressly denied, namely, the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Thus neither party could be justly taxed with this odious consequence; and yet a dexterous disputant, by resorting to a little perversion of his antagonist's views, might easily cast upon him this vulgar and unseemly reproach. *Tr.*—The jus-

tice of this reproach is, however, distinctly admitted by Mabillon. Speaking of the three great principles enunciated by Radbert, he says, "Ad hæc, tria alia ex his consequentia docet, scilicet, Christum in mysterio quotidie veraciter immolari; eucharistiam et veritatem esse et figuram; denique secessum obnoxium non esse." *Annal. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 538. Thus this filthy question was really not left untouched by Radbert himself. It was not, indeed, likely to be overlooked in the gross discussions of such an age as his. He may be readily considered as little else than the formal enunciator of propositions which had obtained extensive currency; their authority is a very different question. For their currency it is easy to account. The fathers have intermingled with much unfavourable to transubstantiation, many things that its advocates find highly serviceable, their object seemingly being to draw a strong line of distinction between the consecrated elements and common food: two things which seotlers and the thoughtless would be very liable to confound. As critical discernment declined, and superstition advanced, such language could hardly fail of passing with many for assertions of sensible, though veiled divinity, in the elements themselves. *Ed.*]

then at Orbais in France ; upon his return from a journey to Rome, in the year 847, lodged with his friend, (and perhaps, also, relative,) count *Eberald* ; and there in presence of *Nothingus*, bishop of Verona, entered into discussion respecting predestination ; and maintained, that God had predestinated, from eternity, some to everlasting life, and others to the punishments of hell. When his enemy, *Rabanus Maurus*, heard of this, he first by letter charged him with heresy ; and afterwards when *Godeschalcus* came from Italy to Germany, in order to purge himself, and appeared before the council of Mentz, A. D. 848, *Maurus* procured his condemnation, and transmitted him, as one found guilty, to *Hincmar*, archbishop of Rheims in France.⁴ *Hincmar*, who was a friend of *Rabanus*, condemned him anew, in a council held at Quiersy, A. D. 849 ; and as he would not renounce his sentiments, which he said, and said truly, were those of *Augustine*, *Hincmar* deprived him of his priestly office, ordered him to be whipped, till he should throw the statement made by him at Mentz into the flames ; and then sent him in

⁴ Nothingus, by letter, gave Rabanus an account of the tenets advanced by Godeschalcus. Upon this, Rabanus wrote a long letter to Nothingus, and another to count Eberald, loading the sentiments of Godeschalcus with reproaches. Godeschalcus, therefore, set out immediately for Germany ; in order to vindicate his assailed principles. On his arrival at Mentz, he presented to Rabanus his tract on a twofold predestination. Rabanus laid this before a synod ; which condemned the sentiments it contained, but did not venture to punish Godeschalcus, because he did not belong to their jurisdiction, but to that of Rheims. They however exacted from him an oath, not to return again to the territories of king Lewis ; and transmitted him, as a prisoner, to Hincmar, the archbishop of Rheims. The synodal epistle of Rabanus accompanying the prisoner contained this statement : “Be it known to your goodness, that a certain vagabond monk, named Gothescale, who says he was ordained priest in your diocese, came from Italy to Mentz, introducing new superstitions, and pernicious doctrine concerning the predestination of God, and leading the people into error ; affirming that the predestination of God related to *evil* as

well as to *good* ; and that there are some in the world, who cannot reclaim themselves from their errors and sins, on account of the predestination of God, which compels them on to destruction ; as if God had, from the beginning, made them incorrigible and obnoxious to perdition. Hearing this opinion, therefore, in a synod lately held at Mentz, and finding the man irreclaimable, with the consent and direction of our most pious king Hludovicus, we determined to transmit him, together with his pernicious doctrine, to you, under condemnation ; that you may put him in confinement in your diocese, from which he has irregularly strolled ; and that you may not suffer him any more to teach error, and seduce Christian people : for we have learned, that he has already seduced many, who are negligent of their salvation, and who say : What will it profit me to exert myself in the service of God ? Because, if I am predestinated to death, I can never escape it ; but if predestinated to life, although I do wickedly, I shall undoubtedly obtain eternal rest. In these few words, we have written to you, describing what we found his doctrine to be,” &c. See Harduin’s *Concilia*, tom. v. p. 15, 16. *Tr.*]

custody to the monastery of Hautvilliers.⁵ In this prison, the unhappy monk, who was a man of learning, but high-minded and pertinacious, ended his days in the year 868 or 869; retaining firmly, till his last breath, the sentiments that he had embraced.

§ 23. While *Godeschalcus* remained in prison, the Latin church was involved in controversy on his account. For distinguished and discerning men, such as *Ratramn* of Corbie, *Prudentius* of Troyes, *Lupus* of Ferrieres, *Florus*, a deacon of Lyons, and *Remigius*, bishop of Lyons, together with his whole church, and many others, defended with energy, both orally and in writing, either the person or the sentiments of the monk. On the other hand, *Hincmar* his judge, *Amalarius*, *John Scotus* the celebrated philosopher, and others, by their writings, contended that both he and his opinions were justly dealt with. As the spirit of controversy waxed hotter continually, *Charles the Bald*, in the year 853, ordered another convention or council to be held at Quiersy; in which, through the influence of *Hincmar*, the decision of the former council was confirmed, and *Godeschalcus* was again condemned as a heretic.⁶ But in the

⁵ [The sentence upon Godeschalcus, passed by the synod of Quiersy, was thus worded: "Brother Gotescale, know thou, that the holy office of the sacerdotal ministry, which thou hast irregularly usurped," (because, in a vacancy of the see of Rheims, he obtained ordination of the sub-bishop of Rheims,) "and hast not feared hitherto to abuse by wicked persons and acts, and by corrupt doctrines, is now, by the decision of the Holy Spirit, (of whose grace the sacerdotal office is the administration, by virtue of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,) taken from thee; if thou ever receivedst it: and thou art utterly prohibited from ever presuming again to exercise it. Moreover, because thou hast presumed, contrary to the design and the name of a monk, and despising ecclesiastical law, to unite and confound the civil and ecclesiastical vocations; we, by our episcopal authority, decree, that thou be whipped with very severe stripes (*durissimis verberibus*), and, according to ecclesiastical rules, be shut up in prison. And that thou no more presume to exercise the functions of a teacher, we, by virtue of the eternal Word, impose perpetual silence upon

thy lips." See Harduin, *ubi supra*, p. 20. This sentence was executed without mitigation. *Tr.*]

⁶ [In this council, the opposers of Godeschalcus set forth *their* creed, in respect to the contested doctrines, in the four following articles: viz.

I. Almighty God created man, without sin, upright, endued with free will; and placed him in Paradise; and purposed his continuance in the holiness of uprightness. Man, abusing free will, sinned, and fell, and the whole human race became a mass of corruption. But the good and righteous God elected, out of that mass of perdition, according to his foreknowledge, those whom he predestinated unto life through grace, and foreordained eternal life for them: but the others, whom in his righteous judgment he left in the mass of perdition, he *foresaw* would perish; but he did not *foreordain* that they should perish; yet, being just, he foreordained eternal punishment to be their portion. And thus we affirm but *one* predestination of God, which relates either to the gift of grace, or to the retributions of justice.

II. We lost freedom of will in the

year 855, the three provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, assembled in council at Valence, *Remigius* presiding, and set forth other decisions, in opposition to those at Quiersy, and defended the cause of *Godeschalcus*.⁷ With the decisions of the council

first man ; which we recover by Christ, our Lord ; and we have free will to good, when *prevented* and *aided* by grace ; and have free will to evil when *forsaken* of grace. That we have free will, is because we are made free by grace, and are healed of corruption by it.

III. Almighty God wills, that all men, without exception, should become saved ; and yet all men will not be saved. And that some are saved, arises from the gratuity of him who saves ; but that some perish arises from their desert of perdition.

IV. As there never was, is, or will be, a man, whose nature was not assumed by our Lord Jesus Christ ; so there never was, is, or will be, a man, for whom Christ has not died ; and this, notwithstanding all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion. That all are not redeemed by the mystery of his passion, is not owing to the [limited] magnitude and value of the price ; but is the fault of unbelievers, or of them who do not believe with the faith that works by love. For the cup of human salvation, which is provided for our weakness, and has divine efficacy, contains what might benefit all ; but if it be not drunken, it will not produce healing.

These doctrinal articles were agreed on in the council of Quiersy, A.D. 853 ; though sometimes attributed to the council of Quiersy in the year 849, and printed as such in Harduin, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 18, 19 ; compare p. 57. *Tr.*]

⁷ The council of Valence published twenty-three canons ; five of which contain the doctrinal views of the friends and defenders of *Godeschalcus*. See Harduin, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 87, &c. These five canons are too long to be inserted here, without some abridgment. The substance of them is as follows, viz. :

Can. II. "That God foresees, and eternally foresaw, both the good which the righteous will perform, and the evil which the wicked will do." Dan. ii. 29. "We hold faithfully and judge it should be held, that he foresaw, that the righteous would certainly become righteous through his grace ; and by the same grace would obtain eternal blessed-

ness : and he foresaw, that the wicked would be wicked through their own perverseness ; and would be such as must be condemned by his justice to eternal punishment." According to Ps. lxxii. 12, and Rom. ii. 7—9, and 2 Thess. i. 7—10. "Nor has the prescience of God imposed upon any bad man a necessity, that he cannot be other than bad ; but, what he would become by his own free volition, God, as one who knows all things before they come to pass, foresaw, by his omnipotent and unchangeable majesty. Nor do we believe that any one is condemned by a divine prejudication ; but according to the deserts of his own wickedness. Nor do the wicked perish, because they *could* not become good ; but because they *would* not become good, and through their own fault remained in the mass of condemnation, or in their original and their actual sin."

Can. III. "As to the predestination of God, we decide, and faithfully decide, according to the authority of the Apostles ;" Rom. ix. 21—23. "We confidently profess a predestination of the elect unto life ; and a predestination of the wicked unto death. But in the election of those to be saved, the mercy of God *precedes* their good deserts ; and in the condemnation of those who are to perish, their *ill deserts* precede the righteous judgment of God. In his predestination, God only determined what he himself would do, either in his gratuitous mercy, or in his righteous judgment."—"In the wicked, he *foresaw* their wickedness, because it is from themselves ; he did not *predestine* it, because it is not from him. The punishment, indeed, consequent upon their ill desert, he foresaw, being a God who foresees all things ; and also *predestined*, because he is a just God, with whom, as St. Augustine says, there is both a fixed purpose, and a certain foreknowledge, in regard to all things whatever."—"But that some are *predestinated to wickedness, by a divine power, so that they cannot be of another character*, we not only do not believe ; but if there are those who will believe so great a wrong, we, as well as the council of Orange, with all detestation, declare them *anathema*."

of Valence, coincided those of the council of Langres, A. D. 859, composed of the same provinces; and likewise those of the council of Toul, A. D. 860, composed of the bishops of fourteen provinces.⁸ On the death of *Godeschalcus*, the author of the contest, this vehement controversy subsided.⁹

§ 24. The cause of *Godeschalcus* is involved in some obscurity; and many and eminent men have appeared, both as his patrons, and as his accusers. He taught, unquestionably, that there is a two-fold predestination, the one to eternal life, and the other to eternal death; that God does not will the salvation of all men, but only of the elect; and that Christ suffered death, not for the whole human race, but only for that portion of it to which God decreed eternal salvation. His friends put a favourable construction upon these propositions; and they deny, that he held those whom God predestinated to eternal punishment, to be also predestinated to sin and guilt. On the contrary, they maintain, that he taught only this, that God from eternity condemned those who, he foresaw, would become sinners: and condemned them on account of their sins voluntarily committed; and decreed, that the fruits of God's love and of

Can. IV. In this canon they disapproved the sentiments of some, who held "that the blood of Christ was shed, even for those ungodly ones who had been punished with eternal damnation, from the beginning of the world to the time of Christ's passion." And they held "that this price was paid (only) for those of whom our Lord has said: 'As Moses lifted up the serpent,' &c. 'that every one that believeth in him,' &c. John iii. 14—16. 'And the Apostle says: Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.'"—"Moreover, the four articles, adopted without due consideration by the synod of our brethren (at Quiersy, A. D. 853), on account of their inutility, and indeed, their injurious tendency, and error, contrary to the truth; as also those other, (of John Scotus,) unfitly set forth in nineteen syllogisms; and in which, notwithstanding the boast, that they are not the result of philosophy, there appears to be rather the fabrication of the devil, than an exhibition of the faith; we wholly explode, as not to be listened to by the faithful; and we enjoin, by the authority of the Holy Spirit, that such, and all similar statements, be looked upon as dangerous, and

to be avoided. And the introducers of (such) novelties, we judge ought to be censured."

Can. V. This canon maintains the necessity of a saint's persevering in holiness, in order to his salvation.

Can. VI. In regard to saving grace, "and free will, which was impaired by sin, in the first man; but is recovered and made whole again by Jesus Christ, in all believers in him;" this council held with various councils and pontiffs; and reject the trash vented by various persons. *Tr.*]

⁸ [The five doctrinal canons of the council of Valence, were adopted, without alteration, by the councils of Langres and of Toul. See Harduin, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 481, &c. 498. *Tr.*]

⁹ Besides the common writers, an impartial history of this controversy is given by Cæsar Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Academiæ Paris.* tom. i. p. 178. &c., by Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sæctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi.; or *Sæcul.* iv. pt. ii. Præf. p. xlvii. in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 352. by Jac. Ussher, *Historia Godeschalci*, Hanov. 1662, 8vo. and Dublin, 1731, 4to; and by Gerh. Jo. Vossius, *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. vii.

Christ's sufferings should extend only to the elect; notwithstanding the love of God and the sufferings of Christ, in themselves considered, have reference to *all* men. But his adversaries fiercely contend, that he concealed gross errors under ambiguous phraseology; and in particular, that he wished to have it believed, that God had predestinated the persons who will be damned, not only to suffer punishment, but likewise to commit the sins by which they incur that punishment.¹ This, at least, seems to be incontrovertible, that the true cause of this whole controversy, and of all the sufferings endured by the unhappy *Godeschalcus*, may be traced to the private enmity, existing between him and *Rabanus Maurus*, who had been his abbot.²

§ 25. With this great controversy, another smaller one was interwoven, relative to *the trine God*. In the churches over which he presided, *Hincmar* forbade the singing of the last words of a very ancient hymn: *Te trina Deitas, unaque poscimus*³; on the ground that this phraseology subverted the simplicity of the divine nature, and implied the existence of *three Gods*. The Benedictine monks would not obey this mandate of *Hincmar*; and one of their number, *Ratramn*, wrote a considerable volume, made up, according to the custom of the age, of quotations from the ancient doctors, in defence of a *trine Deity*. *Godeschalcus*, receiving information of this dissension, while in prison, sent forth a paper, in which he defended the cause of

cap. iv. Add Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 210, &c.

¹ The cause of *Godeschalcus* is learnedly treated, in an appropriate work, by William Mauguin; who published all the writings on both sides of this controversy that have reached us, Paris, 1650, 2 vols. 4to; under the title: *Veterum Auctorum, qui nono sæculo de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, cum Historia et gemina Præfatione*. A more concise account of it is given by Henry Noris, *Synopsis Historiæ Godeschalcaneæ*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 677, &c. But he more strenuously defends *Godeschalcus*, than Mauguin does. All the Benedictines, Augustinians, and Jansenists maintain, that *Godeschalcus* was most unjustly oppressed and persecuted by *Rabanus* and *Hincmar*. The Jesuits take opposite ground; and one of them,

Lewis Cellot, in his *Historia Godeschalci Prædestinationiani*, splendidly printed, Paris, 1655, fol., labours to show, that *Godeschalcus* was most righteously condemned.

² *Godeschalcus*, who was committed to the monastery of Fulda by his parents, while an infant, agreeably to the custom of the age, when he became adult, wished to abandon a monastic life. But *Rabanus* retained him, contrary to his wishes. This produced a great contest between them, which was terminated only by the interposition of Lewis the Meek. Hence those conflicts and sufferings. See the *Centuriæ Magdeb.* centur. ix. c. 10, p. 543. 546; and Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. ii. ann. 829, p. 523.

³ [Of thee, trine Deity, yet one, we ask. *Tr.*]

his fellow monks. For this, he was accused by *Hincmar* of *Tritheism* also, and was confuted in a book written expressly for that purpose. But this controversy soon subsided; and in spite of *Hincmar's* efforts, those words retained their place in the hymn.⁴

§ 26. About the same time another controversy found its way from Germany into France, relative to the manner in which our blessed Saviour issued from the womb of his mother. Some of the Germans maintained that Jesus Christ did not proceed from the womb of Mary, according to the laws of nature in the case of other persons, but in a singular and extraordinary manner. When this opinion reached France, *Ratramn* opposed it; and maintained that Christ came into the world in the way which nature has provided. *Paschasius Radbert* came forth in defence of the Germans, maintaining, in a distinct treatise, that Christ was born with no expansion of his mother's body; and charging those who taught otherwise with denying the virginity of Mary. But this also was a short contest, and gave way to greater ones.⁵

§ 27. Of all the controversies that disturbed this century, the most famous and the most unhappy was, that which severed the Greek and Latin churches. The bishops of Rome and Constantinople had long indulged, and sometimes also manifested, great jealousies of each other. Their mutual animosity became violent from the times of *Leo* the Isaurian⁶, when the bishops of Constantinople, supported by the authority and patronage of the [Greek] emperors, withdrew many provinces

⁴ See the writers of the history of Godeschaleus, who also touch upon this controversy.

⁵ See Lucas d'Achery, *Spicileg. veterum Scriptorum*, tom. i. p. 396. Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* [tom. vi.] Sæcul. iv. pt. ii. Præf. p. li., &c. [After giving account of this controversy, Mabillon proceeds to the history of another, between Ratramn and Paschasius Radbert, respecting the *unity* of human souls. The controversy was of short continuance, and seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of each other, in consequence of their not clearly discriminating between *numerical unity* and a *specific unity*. See Mabillon, *ubi supra*, p. liii., &c.—There was another controversy, under Charlemagne, re-

specting the *seven-fold grace of the Spirit*. Charlemagne asked the opinion of several bishops, whether Christ and believers receive the same extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. They answered, that Christ received *all* the seven gifts equally: but that believers receive each his *particular gift*. The emperor, dissatisfied with their answer, wrote a tract, to prove that Christ received all the gifts of the Spirit at once, and *in perpetuum*, without change, increase, or diminution: but that believers did not so receive them, though they might in some degree enjoy the temporary possession of them all. See Wale's *Programm. de Gratia septiformis Spiritus*, A. D. 1755. *Tr.*

⁶ [A. D. 716—741. *Tr.*]

from their subjection to the see of Rome.⁷ But in the ninth century the smothered fire which had been burning in secret broke out into an open flame upon occasion of the elevation of *Photius*, the most learned Greek of the age, to succeed the deposed *Ignatius* in the see of Constantinople, by the emperor *Michael*, A. D. 852⁸; and the confirmation of that elevation, as regular and correct, by the council of Constantinople, in the year 861.⁹ For the Roman pontiff, *Nicolaus I.*, whose aid had been solicited by *Ignatius*, in a council at Rome, A. D. 862, pronounced *Photius* (whose election he maintained was uncanonical,) together with his adherents, to be unworthy of Christian communion. This thunder was so far from terrifying *Photius* that it only made him give back that which he had received; and excommunicate *Nicolaus*, in the council of Constantinople of the year 866.

§ 28. The pretence for the war which *Nicolaus I.* commenced was the justice of the cause of *Ignatius*; whom the emperor had deprived of his episcopal office, upon a charge, true or false, of treason. But *Nicolaus* would have been unconcerned about the injury done to *Ignatius*, if he could have recovered, from the Greek emperor and from *Photius*, the provinces taken from the Roman pontiffs by the Greeks, namely Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, and Sicily. For he had demanded them back through his envoys at Constantinople. And when the Greeks paid no regard to his demand, he wanted to avenge his own wrong, rather than that of *Ignatius*.

§ 29. While every thing was being hotly contested on both sides, *Basil* the Macedonian, a parricide, who had usurped the empire of the Greeks, suddenly restored peace; for he recalled *Ignatius* from exile, and commanded *Photius* to retire to private life. This decision of the emperor was confirmed by a council assembled at Constantinople, A. D. 869, in which the legates of the Roman pontiff, *Hudrian II.*, had controlling influence.¹ The Latins call this the *eighth general council*. The

⁷ See Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 535. 646. Peter de Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdot. et Imperii*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6, &c. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96, &c.

⁸ [Rather A. D. 858. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Some of the Greeks call this a *general council*. It was attended by 318 bishops; and its decrees were subscribed

by the two Romish delegates. Its Acts are lost; having probably been destroyed by the adherents to *Ignatius*. See Walch's *Kirchenversamml.* p. 552, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ The writers on both sides of this controversy, are named by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. iv. cap. xxxviii. p. 372.

religious contest between the Greeks and Latins now ceased; but the strife respecting the boundaries of the Romish [pontifical] jurisdiction, especially in regard to Bulgaria, still continued: nor could the pontiff, with all his efforts, prevail on either *Ignatius* or the emperor to give up Bulgaria, or any other of the provinces.

§ 30. The first schism was of such a nature that it was possible to heal it; but *Photius*, a man of high feelings, and more learned than all the Latins, imprudently prepared materials for interminable war. For, in the first place, in the year 866, he annexed Bulgaria to the see of Constantinople, which *Nicolaus* was eager to possess; and this was extremely offensive to the Roman pontiff. In the next place, what was much more to be lamented, and unworthy of so great a man, he sent an *encyclic epistle*² to the oriental patriarchs on the subject; thus converting his own private controversy into a public one; and moreover accused, in very strong terms, the Roman bishops sent among the Bulgarians, and through them the whole Latin church, of corrupting the true religion, or of heresy. In his great irritation he taxed the Romans with five enormities; than which in their view, the mind could conceive no greater. *First*, that they deemed it proper to fast on the seventh day of the week or the *Sabbath*. *Secondly*, that in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. *Thirdly*, that they wholly disapproved of the marriage of priests. *Fourthly*, that they thought none but the bishops could anoint the baptized with the holy oil, or confirm; and that, of course, they anointed a second time those who had been anointed by presbyters. And *fifthly*, that they had adulterated the Constantinopolitan creed, by adding to it the words *Filioque*; and thus taught, that the Holy Spirit did not proceed from the Father *only*, but also from the Son.³ *Nicolaus I.* sent this accusation to *Hinemar*, and the other Gallic bishops, in the year 867; that they might deliberate in councils, respecting the proper answer to it. Hence *Odo* of Beauvais, *Ratramn*, *Ado* of Vienne, *Aeneas*

² [Circular letters. *Tr.*]

³ See an Epistle of Photius himself, which is the *second* of his Epistles, as published by Montague, p. 47, &c. Some enumerate ten allegations of charge by Photius. But they undoubtedly blend the first controversy with the second, between the Greeks and Latins; and

include the excommunications which were made in the time of Michael Cerularius, [patriarch in the middle of the eleventh century.]—Certain it is, that in the Epistle of Photius, from which alone the first controversy is to be judged of, there are only the *five* heads of disagreement which we have stated.

of Paris, and perhaps others also, entered the lists against the Greeks and very warmly defended the cause of the Latins in written vindications.⁴

§ 31. In the year 878, *Ignatius* died; and *Photius* was again raised, by the favour of the emperor, to the patriarchate of the Greek church. The Roman pontiff *John VIII.* gave his assent; but it was on condition, that *Photius* would allow the Bulgarians to come under the Roman jurisdiction. *Photius* promised the whole; nor did the emperor seem opposed to the wishes of the pontiff.⁵ Therefore, in the year 879, the legates of *John VIII.* were present at the council of Constantinople, and gave their sanction to all its decrees.⁶ But after the council the emperor (doubtless with the consent of *Photius*) would not permit the Bulgarians to be made over to the Roman pontiff:—and it must be acknowledged there were very strong motives for such a determination. Hence the pontiff sent *Marinus* his legate to Constantinople, and signified that he persevered in the former sentence passed upon *Photius*. The legate was thrown into prison by the emperor, but was again liberated; and afterwards, on the death of *John VIII.*, was created Roman pontiff; when, mindful of the ill usage he had received, he issued a second condemnation of *Photius*.

§ 32. Six years afterwards, A. D. 886, the son of the emperor *Basil*, namely *Leo*, called the Philosopher, again deposed the patriarch *Photius*, and exiled him to a monastery in Armenia, called *Bardi*; where in the year 891, he died.⁷ Thus the

⁴ Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. ; or *Sæcul. iv. pt. ii. Præf. p. lv.*

⁵ See Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103, &c.

⁶ [The entire acts of this council are in Harduin's collection, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 207—342. The council was called by order of the emperor Basil; and by all the Greeks it has been accounted a *general* council: but the Latins do not so regard it. The number of bishops present was 383: and the legates of the Roman pontiff, and also representatives of the three Oriental patriarchs attended it. *Photius* presided; and the principal objects were obtained, without difficulty, in seven sessions. *Photius* was unanimously acknowledged the regular patriarch of Constantinople, and all that had been decreed against him, at Rome and at Constantinople, was annulled and declared void. Such as should

not acknowledge *Photius*, were to be excommunicated. The council proceeded to establish the true faith, by confirming the creed of the first Nicene, and the first Constantinopolitan councils, rejecting all interpolations; (that is, merely the addition, *Filioque*;) and again enacting the decrees of the second Nicene council, respecting image-worship. The council was closed, by an eulogy of *Procopius* of Cesarea on *Photius*; and by a solemn declaration, on the part of the Roman legates, that whoever would not acknowledge the holy patriarch *Photius*, and hold ecclesiastical communion with him, ought to be accounted an associate of the traitor Judas, and no Christian; and this was assented to by the whole council. See Walch's *Kirchenversamml. p. 575, &c. Tr.*]

⁷ [*Photius* had ordained one *Theodorus* a bishop, who was falsely accused of treason. This circumstance brought

author of the contest being removed, if there had been due moderation and equity at Rome, the whole strife might have been quieted, and harmony have been restored between the Greeks and Latins. But the Roman pontiffs required, that all the bishops and priests, whom *Photius* had consecrated, should be deprived of their offices. And as the Greeks would by no means submit to this, all the contentions, respecting points of religion as well as other things, were renewed with increased bitterness, and being augmented by new grounds of controversy, continued till the unhappy separation between the Greek and Latin churches became absolute and perpetual.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Writers who explained the sacred rites.—§ 2. The rites themselves.—§ 3. Superstitions in civil and private life.

§ 1. THAT many things were added by degrees to the public rites and ceremonies, may even be argued from those who undertook, in this century, to write and publish interpretations of them for the sake of the rude people; as *Amalarius*, (whose numerous explanations, however, are confuted by *Agobard* and *Florus*,) *John Scotus*, *Angelome*, *Remigius* of Auxerre, *Walafrid Strabo*, and others. These treatises are entitled *de Divinis Officiis*; for, in the style of this age, a *divine office* is a religious ceremony. Though these works were drawn up, undoubtedly, with good intentions; yet it is difficult to say, whether they benefited, more than they injured, the Christian cause. They contained indeed some spiritual aliment, for those who attended on public worship; but it was, for the most part, crude and

the patriarch under some temporary suspicion. Besides, the new emperor wished to raise his brother Stephen to the patriarchal chair. He therefore deposed Photius, and gave the office to his brother. Yet, when he learned the in-

nocence of Photius, he seems to have felt some relentings, for he made his exile comfortable, and in a letter to the pope, spoke of him as having *voluntarily* resigned his office, and gone into retirement. *Tr. from Schol.*]

unwholesome. For the alleged grounds and reasons of the various rites are, to a great degree, far-fetched, false, constrained, nay, ridiculous and puerile. Besides, excessive regard for external rites was increased and strengthened by this elaborate explanation of them, to the detriment of real piety. For how could any one withhold respect and reverence from that which he understood to be most wisely ordained, and full of mystery?

§ 2. To describe severally all the new rites adopted, either by Christians generally, or by particular churches, would not comport with the designed brevity of this work. We therefore despatch the extensive subject in a few words. The corpses of holy men, either brought from distant countries, or discovered by the industry of the priests, required the appointment of new feast days, and some variation in the ceremonies observed on those days. And as the success of the clergy depended on the impressions of the people respecting the merits and the power of those saints, whom they were invited to venerate, it was necessary, that their eyes and their ears should be fascinated with various ceremonies and exhibitions. Hence the splendid furniture of the temples, the numerous wax-candles burning at mid-day, the multitude of pictures and statues, the decorations of the altars, the frequent processions, the splendid dresses of the priests, and *masses* appropriate to the honour of saints.¹ The festival of *All Saints* was added, by the care of *Gregory IV.*, to the public holy days of the Latins.² The feast of *St. Michael*, which had long been observed with much reverence, by both the Greeks and the Latins, became now more popular than ever.³

¹ See the Tract of Jo. Fichte, *de Missis in Honorem Sanctorum*.

² See Jo. Mabillon, *de Re Diplomatica*, p. 537. [This holds true only of Germany and France. For, as to England, Bede mentions this feast, in the preceding century; and, at Rome, it had been established by pope Boniface IV. See above, p. 49, note ³. *Schl.*]

³ The Latins had but few feast-days up to this century, as appears from the poem of Florus, extant in Martene's *Thesaurus*, tom. v. p. 595, &c. [The council of Mentz, A.D. 813, determined precisely the number of both fasts and feasts to be observed. Canon 34 designates the *fasts*; namely, the *first* week

in March, the *second* week in June, the *third* week in September, and the last full week preceding Christmas eve. On these weeks all were to fast; and were to attend church on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, at 3 o'clock, P.M.—Canon 36 thus enumerates and sanctions the *festivals*: “We ordain the celebration of the feast days of the year. That is, Easter Sunday is to be observed with all honour and sobriety; and the whole of Easter week, we decree, shall be observed in like manner. Ascension day must be celebrated with full worship. Likewise Pentecost, just as Easter. In the nativity [martyrdom] of Peter and Paul, one day; the nativity of St. John

§ 3. In the civil and private life of Christians, especially among the Latins, there existed many customs, derived from ancient paganism. For the barbarous nations that embraced Christianity, would not allow the customs and laws of their ancestors to be wrested from them, though very alien from the rules of Christianity; nay, by their example, they drew other nations, among whom they lived commingled, into the same absurdities. We have examples, in the well-known methods of demonstrating right and innocence in civil and criminal causes, by cold water¹, by single combat², by red-hot iron³, by a cross⁴,

Baptist; the assumption of St. Mary; the dedication of St. Michael; the nativity of St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew; at Christmas, four days, the octaves of our Lord, the epiphany of our Lord, the purification of St. Mary. And we decree the observance of the festivals of those martyrs or confessors, whose sacred bodies repose in each diocese: and, in like manner, the dedication of each church."—The 37th canon adds, "We ordain the observance of all the Lord's days [Sundays], with all reverence and with abstinence from servile work; and that no traffic take place on those days; nor do we approve, that any one be sentenced to death, or to punishment," on those days.—See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1015. *Tr.*]

¹ See Jo. Mabillon, *Analecra Veteris Aevi*, tom. i. p. 47. Roye, *de Missis Dom.* p. 152. [The ordeal by immersion in cold water was very common in the ninth and following centuries, especially for criminals of vulgar rank in society. It was sanctioned by public law in most countries of Europe. And though disapproved by various kings and councils, yet was generally held sacred; and was supposed to have been invented by pope Eugene. The person to be tried was conducted to the church, and most solemnly adjured to confess the fact if he was guilty. If he would not confess, he received the sacrament, was sprinkled with holy water, and conducted to a river or lake. The priest then exorcised the water, charging it not to receive the criminal, if he were guilty. The criminal was now stripped naked, and bound; and a rope was tied to him, by which to draw him out, if he sank to a certain depth. When cast into the water, if he floated, he was accounted guilty; but if he sank to the depth

marked on the rope, (sometimes a yard and a half,) he was instantly drawn out, and was accounted innocent. See a large and very satisfactory account of this ordeal, in Du Cange, *Glossar. Latin.* under the article *AQUÆ*, vel *Aquæ frigide judicium*, tom. i. p. 308—313, ed. Francf. 1710.—Du Cange proceeds to describe the ordeal by *hot water*. For this the preparatory religious ceremonies were the same as for the ordeal by cold water. Afterwards the priest heated a caldron of water, till it boiled. Then taking it off the fire, he immersed in it a stone, which he held suspended by a string, to the depth of one, two, or three palms; and the criminal must thrust in his naked hand and arm, and seizing the stone, pull it out. His hand and arm were immediately wrapped up in linen cloths, and a bag drawn over the whole and sealed. After three days, the hand and arm were examined; and if found not scalded, the man was accounted innocent. This ordeal was nearly as much used as the other; but was considered rather more suitable for persons of quality. *Tr.*]

² Jo. Locenius, *Antiquitat. Sueo-Gothicæ*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. Even clergymen did not refuse to terminate controversies by the *duellum*, or single combat. See Just. Hen. Boehmer's *Jus Eccles. Protestantum*, tom. v. p. 88, &c. [The trial by combat originated among the northern barbarians, was in use before the Christian era, and was brought by the Lombards into Italy, and by the Germans into Sweden. It was not an ordeal for the trial of public offences, but was a mode of settling private disputes and quarrels between individuals, when there was not sufficient evidence to make the case clear. The parties deposited with the judge their hands, or

and other methods, which were in general use among the Latins, in this age and the following. No sober man, at the present day, entertains a doubt, that these equivocal and uncertain modes of deciding causes, originated from the customs of barbarians; and that they are fallacious and abhorrent to the genius of true religion. Yet in that age, the pontiffs and inferior bishops did not blush to honour and dignify them with prayers, with the eucharist, and other rites, in order to give them somewhat of a Christian aspect.

goods to the requisite amount, for paying the forfeiture in case they were cast, and for the fees of court. The judge also appointed the time for the combat, and presided over it. Knights fought on horseback, and armed as for war, in complete armour, and with their horses covered with mail. Common men fought on foot, with swords and shields; covered, except their faces and feet, with linen or cotton, to any extent they pleased. Certain persons, as women, priests, and others, might employ champions to fight in their stead. See the full account in Du Cange, *Glossar. Latin.* article *Duelum*: see also Hallam's *View of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 292, &c. ed. Philadel. 1821. This mode of trial gradually sank into disuse; but it was not abolished by legislative enactments, either in France or England. Hence, so late as the 19th century, the right of challenging to single combat, was asserted in an English court. *Tr.*—It has been since abolished. *Ed.*]

⁶ Petrus Lambecius, *Rerum Hamburg. lib. ii. p. 39.* Jac. Ussher, *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernic.* p. 81. Johnson's *Laws of the British Church*, and the extracts from them, in Mich. de la Roche, *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. viii. p. 391. [This was a very common ordeal, and was esteemed more honourable than the ordeals by water. Sometimes the person walked barefoot over nine or twelve red-hot ploughshares, treading on each. But more frequently he carried a hot iron in his naked hands, nine times the length of his foot. The religious rites attending this ordeal were very similar to those of the ordeal by hot water. See Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* articles *FERRUM candens*, and *VOMERES igniti.* *Tr.*]

⁷ See Agobard, *Contra Judicium Dei Liber*, Opp. tom. i. and *Contra Legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114. Hier. Bignonius, *ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii.;

Steph. Baluzius, *ad Agobardum*, p. 104; and others. [Du Cange, in *Glossar. Latin.* article *CRUCIS judicium*, is not able definitely to state what was the mode of this ordeal. He finds some instances of persons standing long with their arms extended horizontally, so as to present the form of a cross. If they grew weary, fainted, and fell, they were accounted guilty. He also finds other modes of trial by cross. Sometimes it was merely laying the hand on a sacred cross, and then uttering a solemn oath of purgation.—On all the forms of ordeal, see Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Ordeal*.—This mode of trying difficult and dubious causes was denominated *Judicium Dei*; and was considered as a solemn appeal to God, to show, by his special interposition, whether a person were guilty or innocent. It was, therefore, a presumptuous attempt to call forth a miracle from the hand of God; and it argued both the ignorance and the superstition of those times. And thus it was viewed by some of the more discerning; for instance, by Agobard, bishop of Lyons. (See the references at the beginning of this note.) But others, as Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, approved and defended both the ordeals, and the trial by combat. *Tr.*—The word *ordeal* comes from the old Frankish *Urdela*, *to judge*. It is equivalent to the *judgment*, as if such a mode of terminating controversies were either more noble, or more satisfactory, than any other. Mosheim's view of the ecclesiastical encouragement given to ordeals must be taken with some limitation. Undoubtedly churches were the ordinary scenes of them, and religious rites, among which was the receiving of the sacrament, regularly made part of them. But the Roman church never gave them countenance, and it was, probably, papal disapprobation that drove them into disuse. *Ed.*]

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF SECTS AND HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects.—§ 2. The Paulicians.—§ 3. Persecution of them.—§ 4. Their condition under Theodora.—§ 5. Whether they were Manichæans.—§ 6. Their religious opinions.

§ 1. CONCERNING the ancient Christian sects there is little new to be said. Nearly all of them that were considerable for numbers had their abettors and congregations beyond the boundaries of the Greek and Latin dominions. The *Nestorians*, in particular, and the *Monophysites*, who lived securely under the protection of the Arabians, were very attentive to their own interests, and did not cease from efforts for the conversion of the nations still in pagan ignorance. Some represent the Abyssinians or Ethiopians as being persuaded by the Egyptians to embrace the Monophysite doctrines, in the course of this century. But it was, undoubtedly, from the seventh century, if not earlier, that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their bishop from the patriarch of Alexandria, embraced the tenets of the Monophysites; for in that century the Arabs conquered Egypt, oppressed the Greeks¹, and protected the advocates of one nature in Christ; so that this sect was able to subject nearly the whole Egyptian church to its jurisdiction.²

§ 2. The Greeks were engaged with various success, during nearly this whole century, in cruel wars with the *Paulicians*; a sect allied to the Manichæans, and residing especially in Armenia. This sect is said to have been formed in Armenia, by two brothers, *Paul* and *John*, the sons of *Callinice* of Samo-

¹ [Or Melchites. *Tr.*]

² *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant*, tom. iv. p. 283, 284. *Henr. le Grand*, Diss. iv. on *Jerome Lobo's Voyage Historique de l'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 18.

sata; and to have received its name from them: some, however, derive it from one *Paul*, an Armenian who lived in the reign of *Justinian II.*³ Under *Constans*, in the seventh century, it was in an exhausted and depressed state, in consequence of penal laws, and oppressions, when one *Constantine* resuscitated it. The emperors, *Constans*, *Justinian II.*, and *Leo* the Isaurian, harassed it in various ways, and laboured for its extirpation; but they were utterly unable to subdue a party so inflexible, and insensible to all sufferings. In the beginning of the ninth century, its condition was more prosperous. For the emperor, *Nicephorus Logotheta*⁴, favoured the Paulicians, and gave them free toleration.⁵

§ 3. But, after a few years of repose, the Paulicians were again assailed, with increased violence, by the emperors *Michael* Curopalates, and *Leo* the Armenian⁶, who commanded them to be carefully searched after, through all the provinces of the Greek empire, and, if they would not return to the Greek church, to be put to death. Driven to desperation by this cruelty, the Paulicians of Armenia slew the imperial judges, and likewise *Thomas*, the bishop of Neocæsarea; and then took refuge in the territories of the Saracens: from which they harassed the neighbouring Greeks with perpetual incursions.⁷ Afterwards this war, it seems, gradually subsided; and the

³ Photius, *Contra Manichæos*, lib. i. p. 74, in Wolf's *Anecdota Græca*, tom. i. [According to the statement of Peter Siculus, the founder of this sect was an Armenian, named Constantine, and surnamed Soloannes. Complaint was made against him to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus in the seventh century. The emperor sent his commissioner Simeon to investigate the subject; and he put the leader of the sect to death, and dispersed his adherents; but some years after he himself joined the sect and became its teacher. Under Justinian II. they were again complained of, and their principal leader was burnt alive. But this did not prevent their growth. For one Paul, with his two sons, Genesis (who was also called Timothy) and Theodorus, propagated the sect in Cappadocia. The first of these was summoned to Constantinople by the emperor Leo; but after hearing he was acquitted, and retired, with his adherents, into the territories of the Mahomedans. He was followed by his son Zacharias,

who, with Joseph, his assistant, again took residence in Cappadocia; but when persecution broke out, he fled to Phrygia; and during some time taught at Antioch in Pisidia. He was succeeded by Bahanes, under whom the sect spread itself much in Asia, particularly in Armenia, and also in Thrace. After Bahanes, the principal teacher was Sergius, called also Tychicus, who opposed image-worship most zealously, under the empress Irene. They were then likewise called Athingias, or Separates, because they would have no part in the abuses of the times, especially in image-worship, and in veneration of the cross and of the hierarchy of the reigning party. *Schl.*]

⁴ [A. D. 802—811. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Jo. Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiar.* tom. ii. p. 480, ed. Paris, or p. 379, ed. Venice.

⁶ [A. D. 811—820. *Tr.*]

⁷ Photius, *Contra Manich.* lib. i. p. 125, &c. Peter Siculus, *Historia Manichæor.* p. 71.

Paulicians returned to their former habitations within the Grecian territories.

§ 4. But far greater calamities were produced by the inconsiderate and rash zeal of the empress *Theodora*.⁸ In the minority of her son she governed as regent, and decreed that the Paulicians should be exterminated by fire and sword, or brought back to the Greek church. The public officers, sent into Armenia on this business, executed their commission in the most cruel manner; for they destroyed, by various punishments, about a hundred thousand of this unhappy sect, and confiscated their property. Such as escaped took refuge, once more, among the Saracens. Being there kindly received, they built themselves a city, called *Tibrica*; and choosing *Carbeas*, a man of very great valour, for their leader, and forming alliance with the Saracens, they waged fierce war with the Greeks. This war continued with various success nearly through the century; and in it an immense number of persons perished on both sides, and several provinces of the Greeks were ruined.⁹ During these troubles, and near the close of the century, some of the Paulicians disseminated their doctrines among the Bulgarians; which easily took root among that people, as being recently converted to Christianity.¹

⁸ [A. D. 841 — 855. *Tr.*]

⁹ Geo. Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiar.* p. 541, ed. Paris, or p. 425, ed. Venice; and p. 547 or 429. Jo. Zonaras, *Annal.* lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 122. ed. Venice. But the principal historians of the Paulicians are, Photius, *Contra Manichæos, Liber primus*; and Peter Siculus, whose *Historia Manichæorum* was published, Gr. and Lat. by Matth. Raderus, Ingoldstadt, 1604, 4to. This Peter Siculus, as he himself informs us, was the envoy of Basil the Macedonian to the Paulicians at *Tibrica*, in the year 870; sent to negotiate with them an exchange of prisoners; and he remained among them nine months. These facts alone show how great the power of the Paulicians was at that period. From this Peter, it appears, Cedrenus borrowed his account. *Histor. Compend.* p. 431. The moderns, who treat of the Paulicians, as Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Pauliciens*. Jo. Christ. Wolf, *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*, p. 247, and others, seem to have derived their information chiefly from Bossuet, *Histoire*

des Variations des Eglises Protest. [liv. xi. § 13, &c.] tom. ii. p. 129, &c. But this writer certainly did not go to the sources; and being influenced by party zeal he was willing to make mistakes. — [Photius wrote four books against the Manichæans or Paulicians; of which the *first* book gives the history of them to about A. D. 870. The subsequent books are a confutation of their doctrines; and with the common arguments used against the Manichæans: the history of Peter Siculus terminates at the same time; the edition of it by the Jesuit Rader is said to need revision. Photius and Peter agree, in the main, in their histories. Which of them wrote first, remains a question: but Photius is deemed the better authority. For the history of the sect, after A. D. 870, we must go to the Byzantine writers, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, lib. iv. c. 16, and Cedrenus, p. 541, ed. Paris. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xx. p. 363, &c. and vol. xxiii. p. 318, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Perhaps there still are Paulicians, or Paulians as some call them, remain-

§ 5. These *Paulicians* are by the Greeks called *Manichæans*: but, as *Photius* himself states, they declared their abhorrence of *Manes*, and of his doctrine²: and it is certain that they were not *genuine* Manichæans: although they might hold some doctrines bearing a resemblance to those of that sect. There were not among them, as among the Manichæans, bishops, presbyters, and deacons: they had no order of clergymen, distinguished from laymen by their mode of living, their dress, and other things: nor had they councils, or any similar institutions. Their teachers, whom they denominated *Synecdemi*, (companions of this journey,) and *Notarii*³, were all equals in rank, and separated from other people by no rights, or regulations, or distinctions.⁴ They had, however, this peculiarity, that such as were made teachers among them changed their names, and assumed each the name of some holy man mentioned in the New Testament. They received the whole of the New Testament, except the two Epistles of Peter, which they rejected for reasons not known: and they received it unaltered, or in its usual form, as received by other Christians; in which, again, they differed from the Manichæans.⁵ They moreover would have these holy books to be read assiduously, and by all, and were indignant at the Greeks, who required the scriptures to be examined only by the priests.⁶ But many parts of the scrip-

ing in Thrace and Bulgaria. There certainly were some there in the seventeenth century; and they resided at Nicopolis, according to Urb. Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72, who tells us, (truly or falsely, I know not,) that Peter Deodatus, archbishop of Sophia, convinced them of their errors, and converted them to the Romish church.—[The history of these Paulicians is of the more consequence, as they propagated their sect in various countries of Europe, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and composed a large part of the dissentients from the Romish church during those times. The Romanists (as Bossuet, *Variations*, &c. liv. xi.) charge the Protestants with being the progeny of the Paulicians; and some Protestant writers seem half inclined to regard them as witnesses for the truth in their times. This subject will, of course, come up in the following centuries. *Tr.*]

² Photius, *Contra Manichaëos*, lib. i. p. 17. 56. 65. Peter Siculus, *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

³ Quos *Synecdemos*, itineris hujus comites, et *Notarios* appellare solebant. *Orig.* [Συνέκδημοι, fellow-travellers, and Νοτάριοι, notaries. *Tr.* — Συνέκδημος, συνοδοιπόρος. *Hesych.* — The word is also used for a *guide-book*, and the Paulicians probably applied it to their ministers, from considering them not mere companions through the journey of life, but such companions as were serviceable in showing the right way. *Νοτάριος* was a word adapted from Latin by the later Greeks, and is said by Suidas to be equivalent with γραμματεὺς, a *Scribe*. The Paulician ministers, most probably, did any writing that was required for their body. They seem, in fact, very much to have resembled a similar body among the modern quakers. *Ed.*]

⁴ Photius, l. c. p. 31, 32. Peter Sicul. p. 44. Cedrenus, l. c. p. 431.

⁵ Photius, l. c. p. 11. Peter Sicul. p. 19.

⁶ Photius, l. c. p. 101. Peter Sicul. p. 57.

ture they construed allegorically, abandoning the literal sense, lest it should militate with their doctrines⁷: and this construction they undoubtedly put upon the passages relating to the Lord's supper, baptism, the Old Testament, and some other subjects. Besides the New Testament, the epistles of one *Sergius*, a great doctor of the sect, were in high esteem among them.

§ 6. The entire creed of this sect, though doubtless consisting of various articles, is no where described by the Greeks; who select from it only six dogmas, for which they declare the Paulicians unworthy to live, or to partake of salvation. I. They denied that this lower and visible world was created by the supreme God; and distinguished the creator of the world and of human bodies, from the God whose residence is in heaven. It was on account of this dogma, especially, that the Greeks accounted them *Manichæans*: and yet this was the common doctrine of all the sects denominated *Gnostics*. What opinions they entertained respecting this creator of the world, and whether they supposed him to be a different being from the prince of evil or the Devil, no one has informed us. This only appears from *Photius*, that they held the author of evils to have been procreated from darkness and fire: of course, therefore, he was not eternal, or without beginning.⁸ II. They contemned the virgin *Mary*, the mother of *Jesus Christ*: that is, they would

⁷ Photius, l. c. p. 12, &c.

⁸ Photius, l. c. lib. ii. p. 147. It is manifest that the Paulicians, with the Oriental philosophers, those parents of the Gnostic and Manichæan sects, considered *eternal matter* to be the seat and source of all evil. And this *matter*, like many of the Gnostics, they supposed to be endued from eternity with motion and an animating principle, and to have procreated the prince of all evil, who was the former of bodies which are composed of matter; while God is the parent of souls. These opinions are indeed allied to the Manichæan doctrines; yet also differ from them. I can believe this sect to have been the offspring of one of the ancient Gnostic parties, which, though sadly oppressed by imperial laws and punishments, could never be entirely suppressed and exterminated. [As the Paulicians were great friends to allegories and mystical interpretations, and held certain hidden doctrines, which they made known only to the perfect, and as we are in possession

of no creed, nor of any other writing of their doctors, we must always remain in uncertainty whether they understood these Gnostic-sounding doctrines literally, and so were actually a branch from the old Gnostic stock. And for the same reason we cannot place much confidence in the Greeks who wrote their history; and we should always remember, that these writers were liable, from misapprehension, if not also from their party feelings, to mis-state their doctrines. At the same time we discover, as to most of their doctrines, that they had, in several respects, more correct ideas of religion, of religious worship, and of church government, than the prevailing church at that day had; and that they drew on themselves persecution by their dislike of images, and by their opposition to the hierarchy, more than by their other religious opinions. So Dr. Semler judges of them, in his *Selecta Capita Historiæ Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 72, and 365. *Schl.*]

not adore and *worship* her as the Greeks did. For they did not deny that Christ was born of *Mary*: because, as their adversaries expressly state, they taught that Christ brought his body with him from heaven: and that *Mary*, after the birth of the Saviour, had other children by *Joseph*. They therefore believed, with the Valentinians, that Christ passed through the womb of his mother, as water through a canal; and that *Mary* did not continue a virgin to the end of life; which must have seemed abominable to Grecian ears. III. They did not celebrate the Lord's supper. For believing that there were metaphors in many parts of the New Testament, they deemed it proper to understand by the bread and wine, which Christ is stated to have presented to his disciples at his last supper, those divine *discourses* of Christ, by which the soul is nourished and refreshed.⁹ IV. They loaded the cross with contumely; that is, as clearly appears from what the Greeks state, they would not have any religious *worship* paid to the wood of the cross, as was customary among the Greeks. For, believing that Christ had an ethereal and celestial body, they could by no means admit his actual nailing to a cross, and real death upon it: from which naturally came contempt of the cross. V. They rejected, as did nearly all the Gnostics, the entire Old Testament; and believed its writers to have been prompted by the creator of the world, and not by the supreme God. VI. They excluded *presbyters* or elders from the administration of the church. The foundation of this charge, beyond all controversy, was, that they would not allow their teachers to be styled *presbyters*; because this title was Jewish, and appropriate to those who persecuted and wished to kill *Jesus Christ*.¹

⁹ The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error in respect to the doctrine of baptism. Yet there is no doubt that they construed into *allegory* what the New Testament states concerning this ordinance. And Photius (*Contra Manich.* lib. i. p. 29.) expressly says, that they held only to a fictitious bap-

tism, and understood by baptism, *i. e.* by the water of baptism, the *Gospel*.

¹ These six errors I have extracted from Peter Siculus, *Historia Manich.* p. 17, with whom Photius and Cedrenus agree, though they are less distinct and definite. The reasonings and explanations are my own.

CENTURY TENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Propagation of Christianity.—§ 2. Presbyter John.—§ 3. Rollo embraces Christianity.—§ 4. Conversion of the Poles.—§ 5. Christianity established in Muscovy.—§ 6. Hungary becomes a Christian country.—§ 7. Denmark.—§ 8. Norway.—§ 9. Zeal of *Otto* the Great for Christianity.—§ 10. Project of a crusade.

§ 1. ALL agree that in this century the state of Christianity was every where most wretched; not only from amazing ignorance, the parent of superstition and moral debasement, but also from other causes. But still there were not a few things which may be placed among the prosperous events of the church. The Nestorians, living in Chaldea, introduced Christianity into Tartary Proper, beyond mount Imaus, where the people had hitherto lived entirely uncultivated and uncivilized. Near the end of the century, the same sect spread the knowledge of the Gospel among that powerful horde of Tartars or Turks, which was called *Carit* or *Karit*, and which bordered on *Chathay*, or the northern part of China.¹ The activity of this sect, and

¹ Jo. Sim. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 482. &c. Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 256, &c. [Mosheim, *Historia Tartaror. Ecclesiast.* p. 23, 24. It is there stated, that this Tartarian prince com-

their great zeal for the promotion of Christianity, deserve praise; and yet no one can suppose that the religion which they instilled into the minds of these nations, was the pure Gospel of our Saviour.

§ 2. The Tartarian king, who was converted to Christianity by the Nestorians, it is said, bore the name of *John* (after his baptism), and in token of his modesty, assumed the title of *presbyter*.² And hence, as learned men have conjectured, his successors all retained this title, down to the fourteenth century, or to the times of *Ginghiskan*, and were each usually called *Prester John*.³ But all this is said, without adequate authority or proof: nor did that *prester John*, of whom there was so much said formerly, as also in modern times, begin to reign in this part of Asia, before the close of the eleventh century. And yet it is placed beyond controversy, that the kings of the people called *Carith*, living on the borders of Cathaia, whom some denominate a tribe of Turks, and others of Tartars, constituting a considerable portion of the Moguls, did profess Christianity from this time onward; and that no inconsiderable part of Tartary, or Asiatic Seythia, lived under bishops sent among them by the pontiff of the Nestorians.⁴

§ 3. In the West, *Rollo*, the son of a Norwegian count, and

manded more than 200,000 subjects; all of whom embraced Christianity in the year A.D. 900. The authority for this account is, a letter of Ebed Jesu, archbishop of Meru, addressed to John, the Nestorian patriarch; and preserved by Abulpharajus, *Chronic. Cyr.*, and thence published by J. S. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Clem. Vat.*, tom. ii. p. 444, &c. The letter states, that this Tartarian king, while hunting, one day got lost in the wilderness, and was wholly unable to find his way out of it. A saint now appeared to him, and promised to show him the way, if he would become a Christian. The king promised to do so. On returning to his camp, he called the Christian merchants who were there to his presence, received instruction from them, and applied to the above-named Ebed Jesu for baptism. As his tribe fed only on flesh and milk, it became a question, how they were to keep the required fasts. This led Ebed Jesu to write to his patriarch, stating the case, and asking for instructions on the point. The patriarch directed the bishop to send two presbyters and two deacons

among the tribe, to convert and baptize them, and to teach them to feed upon *milk* only, on fast days. Dr. Mosheim thinks the conversion of this tribe of Tartars is too well attested to be called in question; but the *manner* of it, he would divest somewhat of the marvellous. He suggests, that the saint, who appeared to the king in the wilderness, might be a Nestorian anchorite, or hermit, residing there; who was able and willing to guide the king out of the wilderness, on the condition stated. *Tr.*

² [Or *elder*. *Tr.*]

³ See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 282.

⁴ The late Theoph. Sigef. Bayer purposed to write a history of the churches of China and northern Asia, in which he would treat particularly of these Nestorian churches in Tartary and China. See the Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*. p. 145. But a premature death prevented the execution of this and other contemplated works of this excellent man for the illustration of Asiatic Christianity.

an arch-pirate, who was expelled his country⁵, and who with his military followers took possession of a part of Gaul in the preceding century, embraced Christianity, with his whole army, in the year 912. The French king, *Charles* the Simple, who was too weak to expel this warlike and intrepid stranger from his realm, offered him no inconsiderable portion of his territories, if he would desist from war, take his own daughter *Gisela* for a wife, and embrace the Christian religion. *Rollo* made peace upon these terms without hesitation; and his soldiers following the example of their general, yielded assent to a religion which they did not understand, and readily submitted to baptism.⁶ These Norman pirates, as many facts demonstrate, were persons of no religion: and hence they were not restrained, by opinions embraced in early life, from approving a religion which promised them great worldly advantages. From this, *Rollo*, who assumed the name of *Robert* at his baptism, the celebrated dukes of Normandy in France are descended; for a part of *Neustria*, with *Bretagne*, which *Charles* the Simple ceded to his son-in-law, was from this time called, after its new lords, *Normandy*.⁷

§ 4. *Micislaus*, duke of Poland, was gradually wrought upon by his wife *Dambrowka*, daughter of *Boleslaus*, duke of Bohemia, till, in the year 965, he renounced the idolatry of his ancestors, and embraced Christianity. When the news of this reached Rome, *John XIII.*, the Roman pontiff, sent *Ægidius*, bishop of Tusculum, accompanied by many Italian, French, and German priests, into Poland; that they might aid the duke and his wife, in their design of instructing the Poles in the precepts of Christianity. But the efforts of these missionaries, who did not understand the language of the country, would have been altogether fruitless, had not the commands, the laws, the menaces, the rewards, and the punishments of the duke, overcome the reluctant minds of the Poles. The foundations being thus laid, two archbishops and seven bishops were created; and by their labours and efforts, the whole nation was gradually brought to recede a little from their ancient customs, and to

⁵ Holberg's *Naval History of the Danes*; inserted in the *Scripta Societatis Scientiar. Hafniensis*, pt. iii. p. 357, &c.

⁶ Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 296. Gabr. Daniel, *Histoire de*

France, tom. ii. p. 587, &c.

⁷ [It was *Neustria* properly, and not *Bretagne*, that received the name of Normandy from the Normans, who chose *Rollo* for their chief. *Macl.*]

make an outward profession of Christianity.⁸ As to that internal and real change of mind, which *Christ* requires of his followers, this barbarous age had no idea of it.

§ 5. In Russia, a change took place during this century, similar to that in the adjacent country of Poland. For the Russians, who had embraced the religion of the Greeks, during the preceding century, in the time of *Basil* the Macedonian, soon afterwards relapsed into the superstition of their ancestors. In the year 961, *Wlodimir*, duke of Russia and Muscovy, married *Anna*, the sister of the Greek emperor, *Basil* Junior; and she did not cease to importune and exhort her husband, till he, in the year 987, submitted to baptism, assuming the name of *Basil*. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their duke: at least, we do not read, that any coercion was used.⁹ From this time the Christian religion obtained permanent establishment among the Russians.

⁸ Dlugoss, *Historia Polonica*, lib. ii. p. 91, &c.; lib. iii. p. 95. 239. Regenvolscius, *Historia Eccles. Slavon.* lib. i. c. i. p. 8. Hen. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 41. Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 71, &c. [Miceslaus II., on the death of his mother Dambrowka, A. D. 977, married a nun, Oda, the daughter of the German marquis Theodoric. This uncanonical marriage was disliked by the bishops, yet was winked at, from motives of policy; and the pious Oda became so serviceable to the church that she almost atoned for the violation of her vows. See Fleury, *Histoire Eccles.* livre lvi. § 13. *Tr.*—"There is sufficient historical evidence, that the rays of the Gospel, which in the ninth century enlightened many Slavonian nations, had penetrated into Poland long before the conversion of Mieczyslaw."—Krasinski's *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*. Lond. 1838, vol. i. p. 3.]

⁹ See Anton. Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* tom. iv. ad ann. 987. p. 55; and ad ann. 1015, p. 110. Car. du Fresne, *Familie Byzantina*, p. 143, ed. Paris. [The occasion of Wlodimir's baptism is variously stated. Some say that he had captured the Greek fortress Corszyn; and promised to restore it, if the princess Anna were given him to wife; but that her brothers, Basil and Constantine, would not consent, unless he would en-

gage to renounce paganism; and he accordingly was baptized at Corszyn, in presence of the court. But the Greek writers know nothing of these circumstances. Others state, that Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians, severally, endeavoured to persuade him to embrace their religions; and that he, gradually becoming informed respecting them all, gave preference to that of the Greeks. So much is certain, that his marriage was the proximate cause of his conversion. After his conversion, he strictly enjoined his subjects to renounce paganism. And it is said, the bishop of Corszyn, and other Greek clergymen, often administered baptism, and destroyed idols, at Kiow. A metropolitan of Kiow, named Michael, who was sent from Constantinople, is reported to have gradually brought all Russia to submit to baptism. Churches were also built. Ditmar does not commend the piety of this prince, who is represented as endeavouring to compensate for his transgressions, by the extent of his alms. Mosheim says, that we nowhere find coercion employed in the conversion of the Russians. But Dlugoss states, that Wlodimir compelled his subjects, by penalties, to submit to baptism. And this was certainly the common mode of the spurious conversions. See Semler's continuation of Baumgarten's *Auszug der Kirchengesch.* vol. iv. p. 423, &c. *Von Ein.*]

Wlodimir and his wife were placed among the foremost of those heavenly personages, whom the Russians venerate; and at Kiow, where they were interred, they are worshipped with extreme devotion to our own times. The Latins, however, hold *Wlodimir* to be absolutely unworthy of this honour.¹

§ 6. Some knowledge of Christianity reached the Hungarians and Avars, through the instrumentality of *Charlemagne*; but it became wholly extinct after his death. In this century Christianity obtained a more permanent existence among those warlike nations.² First, near the middle of the century, two dukes of the Turks on the Danube, (for so the Hungarians and Transylvanians were called by the Greeks in that age,) *Bulosudes* and *Gyula* or *Gylas*, received baptism at Constantinople. The former of these soon after returned to his old superstition: the latter persevering in Christianity, by means of *Hierotheus* a bishop, and several priests, whom he took along with him, caused his subjects to be instructed in the Christian precepts and institutions. His daughter, *Sarolta*, was afterwards married to *Geysa*, the chieftain of the Hungarian nation; and she persuaded her husband to embrace the religion taught her by her father. But *Geysa* again began to waver, and to incline to his former pollutions, when *Adalbert*, archbishop of Prague, near the close of the century, went from Bohemia into Hungary, and reclaimed the lapsed chieftain; and likewise baptized his son *Stephen*. To this *Stephen*, the son of *Geysa*, belongs the chief honour of converting the Hungarians. For he perfected the work, which was only begun by his father and grandfather; he established bishops about the country, and provided them with ample revenues; erected magnificent churches; and by his menaces, punishments, and rewards, compelled nearly the whole nation to renounce the idolatry of their ancestors. His persevering zeal in establishing Christian worship among the Hungarians, procured him the title and the honours of a *saint* in succeeding times.³

¹ Ditmar of Merseberg, lib. vii. *Chronie*, in Leibnitz's collection of the Brunswick Historians, tom. i. p. 417.

² Pauli Debrezeni, *Historia Eccles. Reformat. in Ungaria*, pt. i. cap. iii. p. 19, &c.

³ The Greeks, the Germans, the Bohemians, and the Poles, severally claim the honour of imparting Christianity to

the Hungarians; and the subject is really involved in much obscurity. The Germans say, that Gisela, the sister of the emperor Henry II., was married to Stephen, king of Hungary; and that she convinced her husband of the truth of Christianity. The Bohemians tell us, that Adalbert of Prague induced this king to embrace the Christian religion.

§ 7. In Denmark, the Christian cause had to struggle with great difficulties and adversities, under the king *Gormon*; although the queen was a professed Christian. But *Harald*, surnamed *Blaatand*, the son of *Gormon*, about the middle of the century, having been vanquished by *Otto* the Great, made a profession of Christianity in the year 949; and was baptized, together with his wife, and his son *Sueno*, by *Adaldag*, archbishop of Hamburg, or, as some think, by *Poppo*, a pious priest, who attended the emperor. Perhaps *Harald*, who had his birth and education from a Christian mother, *Tyra*, was not greatly averse from the Christian religion: and yet it is clear, that in the present transaction, he yielded rather to the demands of his conqueror, than to his own inclinations. For *Otto*, being satisfied that the Danes would never cease to harass their neighbours with war and rapine, if they retained the martial religion of their fathers, made it a condition of the peace with *Harald*, that he and his people should become Christians.⁴ After the conversion of the king, *Adaldag* especially, and *Poppo* with good success, urged the Cimbrians and Danes to follow his example. The stupendous miracles performed by *Poppo* are said to have contributed very much to this result: and yet those miracles appear to have been artificial, and not divine; for they did not surpass the powers of nature.⁵ *Harald*, as long as he lived, endeavoured to confirm his subjects in the religion which they had embraced, by the establishment of bishoprics, the enactment of laws, reforming bad morals, and the like. But his son *Sueno* [or *Swein*] apostatized from Christianity;

The Poles maintain, that Geysa married Adelheid, a Christian lady, the sister of Miecslaus I. duke of Poland; and by her was induced to become a Christian. We have no hesitation in following the authority and testimony of the Greek writers, at the same time calling in the aid of the Hungarian historians. In this we were, in part, preceded by Gabriel de Juxta Hornad, *Initia Religionis Christ. inter Hungaros Ecclesie Orientali adserta*, Francf. 1740, 4to, who vindicates the credibility of the Greek writers. The accounts of the others are imperfect, and involved in much uncertainty [The book of Gottfr. Schwartz, under the fictitious name of Gabriel de Juxta Hornad, gave occasion to a learned controversy, which continued several years after the death of Dr. Mosheim.

The result seems to have been, that Schwartz's account is substantially true; and, of course, the representation given by Dr. Mosheim. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 527, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ Adamus Bremens. *Histor.* lib. ii. cap. ii. iii. p. 16; cap. xv. p. 20; in Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Rerum Septentrional.* Alb. Kranz, *Wandalia*, lib. iv. cap. xx. Ludwig, *Reliquia Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 10. Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesie Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 59, &c.

⁵ See Jo. Adolph. Cypræus, *Annales Episcoporum Slesvic.* c. xiii. p. 78. Adamus Brem. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22; cap. xlv. p. 28. Steph. Jo. Stephanius, *ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207. Jo. Mölleri *Introd. ad Histor. Chersones. Cimbr.* pt. ii. cap. iii. § 14; and others.

and for a while persecuted the Christians with violence. But being driven from his kingdom, and an exile among the Scots, he returned to Christianity, and as he was afterwards very successful⁶, he laboured, by all the means in his power, to promote that religion which he had before betrayed.⁷

§ 8. The conversion of the Norwegians commenced in this century, as appears from the most unexceptionable testimony. King *Hagen Adelsteen*, who had been educated among the English, is said to have first commenced this great work, A. D. 933, by the aid of priests from England: but with little success; because the Norwegians were violently opposed to the king's designs. His successor, *Harald Graufeldt*, pursued the begun work; but not more happily.⁸ After these, *Haco*, by the persuasions of the Danish king *Harald*, to whom he owed his throne, not only embraced Christianity himself, but also recommended it to his people in a public diet, A. D. 945.⁹ This effort also was, however, attended with little success among that barbarous and savage people. Somewhat more was effected by *Olaus*, who is called a *saint*.¹ At length *Sueno*, king of Denmark, having vanquished *Olaus Tryggvesen*, conquered Norway; and published an edict, requiring the inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and embrace Christianity. *Guthebold*, an English priest, was the principal teacher at that time among them.² From Norway, the Christian religion was transmitted to the *Orkney* islands, then subject to the kings of Norway; to *Iceland* also, and to old *Greenland*; the inhabitants of which countries, to a great extent, made profession of Christianity in this century, as we learn from various sources.³

⁶ [And recovered his throne. *Tr.*]

⁷ Saxo Grammat. *Histor. Dan.* lib. x. p. 186. Pontoppidan, *de Gestis et Vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. ii. cap. i. § 1, 2.

⁸ See Eric Pontoppidan, *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ Diplomaticæ*, tom. i. p. 66.

⁹ Torm. Torfæus, *Historia Norvegica*, tom. ii. p. 183, 214, &c.

¹ Torfæus, *Hist. Norvegica*, tom. ii. p. 457, &c.

² *Chron. Danicum*, published by Ludewig, in his *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 11. 16, 17.—[According to Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 376, &c., this Olaus Tryggveson, the son of a petty Norwegian chieftain, spent many years in Russia, and on the Wen-

dish coast of Germany, while his country revolted from Harald Blauzahn, king of Denmark, under Hakon their viceroy. Olaus became a successful pirate, advanced in power and wealth; became also a zealous Christian, and in his plundering expeditions in those northern seas, treated the pagans, much as the Mahomedans did the same sort of persons; that is, gave them the alternative of baptism, or slavery and death. The Norwegians now chose him their king, and revolted from Hakon. Olaus got possession of the whole country, and by compulsory measures obliged all opposers to embrace Christianity. This was just at the close of the century. *Tr.*]

³ Concerning the inhabitants of the Orkneys, see Torm. Torfæus, *Historia*

§ 9. In Germany, the emperor *Otto* the Great, illustrious for his valour and his piety, was zealous for suppressing the remains of the old superstition, which existed in various provinces of the empire, and for supporting Christianity, which was but imperfectly established in many places. By his beneficence and liberality it was that bishoprics were erected in various places, as Bradenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; so that there might be no want of spiritual watchmen who should instruct the yet rude and half barbarous people in all the duties of religion.⁴ In accordance with the religious views of the age, he also built many convents, for such as might prefer a monastic life; and he also erected schools. If the illustrious emperor had exhibited as much wisdom and moderation as piety and sincerity in all this, he could scarcely be commended sufficiently. But the superstition of his wife *Adelaide*⁵, and the lamentable ignorance of the times, led this excellent prince to believe, that a man secured the friendship of God, by securing that of his *ministers* and servants with great largesses and presents. He therefore enriched the bishops, the monks, and religious associations of every kind, beyond all bounds: of which liberality this fruit was reaped by posterity, that a sort of people sprang from it, who abused a wealth, which

Rerum Orcadensium, lib. i. p. 22.—For the Icelanders, in addition to Arngrim Jonas, *Crymogæa*, lib. i.; and Arius Multicius, *Schedæ de Islandia*, p. 45, &c.; see the same Torfæus, *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 378. 397. 417, &c. Also Gabr. Liron, *Singularités Historiq. Littér.* tom. i. p. 138. Concerning Greenland, Torfæus also treats, l. c. tom. ii. p. 374; and in *Grœnlandia Antiqua*, cap. xvii. p. 127. Hafn. 1706, 8vo.

⁴ [It is more probable that Otto the Great had long purposed, by the erection of a new archbishopric, to curtail the odious power of the archbishop of Mentz. Therefore, in the year 946, he established the bishopric of Havelberg; and, in 949, that of Brandenburg. For establishing the archbishopric of Magdeburg, (as we are told by Dietmar, p. 335,) the emperor's motives were, *defensio communis patriæ*, and *spes remunerationis æternæ*. The first was, doubtless, the chief motive. The bishop of Halberstadt, and the archbishop of Mentz, looked upon this innovation with dislike.

But the emperor seized the opportunity of their presence in Italy, whither they came to receive their investiture at his hands, to obtain from them the transfer of the suffragan bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg from the jurisdiction of Mentz to that of Magdeburg, and also the transfer of large estates, hitherto possessed by the bishop of Halberstadt. Adelbert, formerly a missionary, and at this time abbot of Weissenberg, was ordained first archbishop of Magdeburg, A.D. 968, by the pope, and received the pallium; and, attended by two papal envoys and the new bishops, repaired to Magdeburg, and was regularly installed. At the same time, he consecrated the new bishops, Boso of Merseburg, Hugo of Zeitz, and Burkard of Meissen; who, together with the bishops of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Posen, were to constitute his suffragans. See the annalist Saxo, ad ann. 969. *Schl.*]

⁵ See her life, in Henr. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 69.

they had never earned, in pampering their vices, waging wars, and leading lives of luxury and gaiety.

§ 10. To these accounts of additions to the church it may be subjoined, that the European kings and princes began, even in this century, to think of waging a holy war against the Mahomedans who possessed Palestine. For it was thought intolerable, and a disgrace to the professors of the Christian religion, that the country in which Christ lived and taught, and made expiation for the sins of the human race, should be left under the dominion of his enemies; and it was deemed most righteous and agreeable to the dignity of the Christian religion, to avenge the numerous calamities and injuries, insults and sufferings, which the possessors of Palestine were accustomed to heap upon the Christians residing in that country, or visiting it for religious purposes. Just at the close of the century, and in the first year of his pontificate, pope *Sylvester II.*, or *Gerbert*, sounded the trumpet of war, by writing a letter, in the name of the church at Jerusalem, addressed to the church universal⁶, in which he solemnly adjured the Europeans to afford succour to the Christians of Jerusalem. But none of them were disposed, at that time, to obey the summons of the pontiff; except the inhabitants of Pisa in Italy, who are said to have forthwith girded themselves for the holy war.⁷

CHAPTER II.

THE ADVERSE EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Progress of the Turks and Saracens.—§ 2. In the West, the barbarians distress the Christians.—§ 3. Effects of these evils.

§ 1. No king, in this century, who was an alien from Christ, except *Gormon* and *Sueno*, kings of Denmark, directly, and with set purpose, persecuted the Christians living under his jurisdic-

⁶ This is the twenty-eighth epistle of the first part in the Collection of the Epistles of Sylvester II.; published by Du Chesne, in vol. iii. of the *Scriptores*

Histor. Franc.

⁷ See Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. p. 400.

tion. And yet they could not live in security and safety, either in the East or in the West. The Saracens in Asia and Africa, though troubled with internal dissensions and various other calamities, were yet very assiduous in propagating their religion, that of Mahumed; nor were they unsuccessful. How much this diminished the number of Christians, it is not easy to ascertain. But they brought over the Turks, an uncivilized people, inhabiting the northern shores of the Caspian sea, to their religion. This agreement in religious faith, however, did not prevent the Turks, when afterwards called in to aid the Persians, from depriving the Saracens, in the first place, of the vast kingdom of Persia; and afterwards, with astonishing celerity and success, invading and conquering other provinces subject to their dominion. Thus the empire of the Saracens, which the Greeks and Romans had for so many years in vain attempted to hold in check, was dismembered, and at length subverted by their friends and allies; and the very powerful empire of the Turks, which has not yet ceased to be terrible to Christians, gradually took its place.¹

§ 2. In the countries of the West, the nations that were still pagans were in general very grievous foes to the Christians. The Normans, during nearly half the century, inflicted the severest blows upon the Franks and others. The Prussians, the Slavonians², the Bohemians, and others to whom Christianity was unknown and hateful, not only laboured with great violence to drive it from their countries, but likewise frequently laid waste, in the most distressing manner, with fire and sword, the neighbouring countries in which it was received. The Danes did not cease to molest the Christians, till after *Otto* the Great had conquered them. The Hungarians assailed Germany, and harassed various parts of the country with indescribable cruelties.

¹ These events Jo. Leunclavius has endeavoured to elucidate, in his *Annales Turcici*, often reprinted. See also Geo. Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, lib. ii. iii. p. 190. 203. 210, &c.

² [These distinguished themselves, especially by the outrages they committed upon the Christian churches, in their insurrections against their Christian margraves. Humanity shudders at the narrations of the historians; that when these Slavonians took Brandenburg, they not only enslaved or slew all the

clergy, but drew the corpse of Dodilo, the deceased bishop, from its grave, in order to strip it of its clothing; that after capturing the city of Altenburg, they dragged sixty priests, whom they had not butchered, from one city to another, till they all died; and among these, Oddar, a provost, they tortured by ripping up his scalp, in the form of a cross, and laying bare his brain; so that he died in the midst of the extreme anguish. See the *Annalist Saxo*, ad ann. 988; and Dietmar, p. 345. *Schl.*]

The tyranny of the Arabs in Spain, and their frequent incursions upon Italy and the neighbouring islands, I pass without further notice.

§ 3. Whoever considers attentively the numberless calamities which the Christian nations suffered from those who were not Christian, will readily perceive a sufficient cause for that unwearied zeal of Christian princes for the conversion of these furious and savage nations. They had the motives not merely of religion and virtue, but likewise of security and peace. For they expected, and with good reason, that those fierce minds would be softened and rendered humane, by the influences of Christianity. Therefore they proffered matrimonial connexion with their kings and chieftains, assistance against their enemies, the possession of valuable lands, and other temporal advantages, if they would only renounce the religions of their ancestors, which were altogether military, and calculated to foster ferocious feelings: and those kings and chieftains, influenced by these offers and advantages, listened themselves to Christian instruction, and endeavoured to bring their subjects to do the same.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Few good writers among them.—§ 3. State of learning among the Saracens.—§ 4, 5. The Western nations.—§ 6. The state of philosophy.—§ 7. Sylvester a restorer of learning.—§ 8. Arabian learning.

§ 1. IT is universally admitted that the ignorance of this century was extreme, and that learning lay utterly neglected. Nor is this greatly to be wondered at, considering what wars and distressing calamities agitated both the East and the West, and how great was the turpitude of those to whom the guardianship of truth and virtue was intrusted. *Leo* the Wise, who ruled the Greek empire at the beginning of the century, both cultivated learning himself, and excited others to do so.¹ His

¹ See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. pt. ii. cap. v. p. 363. [*Leo* VI. reigned from A. D. 886 to 911. The learned Photius had been his instructor. His learning procured him the titles of the *Wise* and the *Philosopher*. He completed the begun revision of the imperial laws by his father, and published the result in sixty books, entitled *Βασιλικά*, or *Βασιλικά διατάξεις*. It is a Greek translation of Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, with extracts from the commentaries of the Greek Jurists, the laws of subsequent emperors, and the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, &c. But much of the originals is omitted, or changed,

or enlarged. C. D. Fabrotti published a Latin translation of forty-one books, and an abstract of the remaining books, Paris, 1647, seven vols. fol. This emperor's book on the art of war, compiled from earlier writers, was published by Meursius, Greek and Latin, Leyden, 1612, 4to. His letter to the Saracen Omar, in favour of Christianity, exists in Chaldaic; from which there is a Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Lugdun. tom. xvii.—Baronius (*Annal.* A. D. 911, § 3.) gives account of thirty-three religious Discourses of this emperor; and Gretser has published nine more, Ingoldst. 1600, 4to. They were

son, *Constantine* Porphyrogenitus, was still more solicitous to revive literature and the arts.² For it appears that he supported learned men of various descriptions, at great expense: he carefully collected the writings of the earlier ages: he was himself an author, and he prompted others to write; he wished to have all that was most valuable in the works of the ancients to be selected, and arranged under appropriate heads; and he re-animating, as it were, the study of philosophy which was extinct.³ Few of the Greeks, however, copied after these noble examples; nor was there any one among the subsequent emperors equally friendly to literature and to the cultivation of the mind. Indeed it is supposed that *Constantine* Porphyrogenitus himself, though the Greeks pronounce him the restorer of all branches of learning, undesignedly injured the cause of learning by his excessive zeal to advance it. For, having caused extracts and abridgments to be compiled by learned men from the writers of preceding ages, in order to elucidate the various branches of knowledge and render them serviceable to the world, the slothful Greeks, now contenting themselves with these *abridgments* of the emperor, neglected the writers from whom they were compiled; and therefore many excellent authors of the earlier period became lost, through the neglect of the Greeks from this time onward.

§ 2. Few writers, therefore, can be named among the Greeks,

chiefly designed for the feast days; and are of little value. See M. Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 127, &c. *Tr.*]

² Fabricius, l. c. cap. v. p. 486. [*Constantine* Porphyrogenitus reigned from A. D. 911 to 959. The historical, political, and moral compendiums, which he caused to be made out from the earlier writers, were arranged under fifty-three heads or titles; and were intended to embrace all that was most valuable on those subjects. Only two of the fifty-three are now to be found; namely, the twenty-seventh, relating to the diplomatic intercourse of the Romans with foreign nations; (published, partly Antwerp, 1582, 4to, and partly Augsburg, 1603, 4to;) and the fiftieth, respecting virtue and vice; of which a part was published by Valesius, Paris, 1634, 4to. The titles of some of the others are known; *e. g.* on the proclamations of kings; on heroic deeds; on festivals; on public addresses; on manners; on ecclesiastical persons and things; on epistles; on the

chase; on war; on the establishment of colonies; on strange occurrences; &c. Among the emperor's own compositions were, a biography of his grandfather, Basil; two books on the military stations and garrisons of the empire; instructions to his son, respecting the state and the foreign relations of the empire, and the course it would be wise for him to pursue; narrative respecting the image of Christ found at Edessa; on naval and military tactics; on the mode of warfare by different nations; and some compilations on farricry, agriculture, breeding cattle, physic, &c., together with a large work, entitled the *Ceremonial of the Court of Constantinople*, describing minutely all the etiquette there practised. It was published by Reiske, Lips. 1751—54, 2 vols. fol. — See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 129, &c. *Tr.*]

³ This is expressly asserted by Jo. Zonaras, *Annal.* tom. iii. p. 155, ed. Paris.

on whom a wise and judicious man will place a high value; and in a short time the literary seed sown, which seemed to promise a rich harvest, was found to be dead. The philosophers, if such characters flourished among them, produced no immortal works, and worthy of remembrance by posterity. The body of learned Greeks was almost wholly composed of a few rhetoricians, some grammarians, here and there a poet who was above contempt, and a number of historians, who, though not of the first order, were not destitute of all merit: for the Greeks seemed to find pleasure almost exclusively in those species of literature in which the imagination, the memory, and industry, have most concern.

§ 3. Egypt, though groaning under an oppressive yoke, produced some learned men, who might contend with the Greeks for the palm of superiority. The example of *Eutychius*, to mention no others, is evidence of this; for that bishop of Alexandria did honour to the sciences of medicine and theology by his various productions. Among the other Arabians, that noble ardour for useful knowledge, which was awakened in the preceding age, continued unabated through this whole century; so that there was among them a large number of eminent physicians, philosophers, and mathematicians, whose names and literary labours are celebrated by *Jo. Leo Africanus* and by others.

§ 4. All the Latins were sunk in great barbarism. Most writers are agreed, that this century deserves the name of the *iron age*, so far as respects literature and science; and that the Latin nations never saw an age more dark and cheerless.⁴ And though some excellent men have questioned this fact, it is too firmly established to be wholly disproved.⁵ Schools existed,

⁴ Proofs of the ignorance of the age have been collected by Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 288, &c. Ludov. Ant. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 831, &c.; and tom. ii. p. 141; and by others. [Among collectors of such proofs may be mentioned Abp. Ussher, in his work *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, p. 31. The learned primate's principal object in arraying these testimonies, is to show this age as a fit preparative for the *loosing of Satan*, as he speaks, meaning the triumph of Popery; which he places in the next century. It certainly is remarkable, that, in the

eleventh century, Rome first formally committed herself, in the condemnation of Berenger, to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and in the person of Gregory VII. put forth some of those assertions of papal supremacy, which eventually made so much noise. The doctrine of transubstantiation is, undoubtedly, the main pillar of Romish peculiarities; and it rests upon that alleged infallibility of which the papal see is either the depository or the centre. *Ed.*]

⁵ Godfr. Wm. Leibnitz, *Præf. ad Codicem Juris Naturæ et gentium Diplom.*, maintains, that this tenth century was not so dark as the following centuries,

indeed, in most countries of Europe, either in the monasteries or in the cities which were the sees of bishops; and there likewise shone forth, in various places, especially at the close of the century, some distinguished geniuses, who attempted to soar above the vulgar. But these can easily be all counted up; and the smallness of their number is itself a witness to the infelicity of the times. In the schools nothing was taught but the seven liberal arts, as they were called; and the teachers were monks, who estimated the value of learning and science solely by their use in matters of religion.

§ 5. The best among the monks, who were disposed to employ a portion of their leisure to some advantage, applied themselves to writing annals and history of a coarse texture. For instance, *Abo*⁶, *Luitprand*⁷, *Wittekind*⁸, *Fulcuin*⁹, *John* of

and, particularly, not so dark as the twelfth and thirteenth. But he certainly is extravagant, and labours in vain. More deserving of a hearing are, Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. v. Præf. p. ii. &c.*—the authors of the *Literary History of France*, vol. vi. p. 18, &c. Jac. le Beuf, *Diss. de Statu Litterar. in Francia, a Carolo M. ad Regem Robert.*; and some others; who, while they admit that the ignorance of this age was great, contend that its barbarism was not altogether so great as it is commonly supposed. In the proofs which they allege, there is considerable deficiency; but still we may admit, that all science was not entirely extinct in Europe; and that there was a number of persons who were wise above the mass of people; but that the number was a very moderate one, nay, really small, may be gathered from the monuments of the age.—[The opinion of Leibnitz was embraced by Dr. Semler. (Continuation of Baumgarten's *Kirchenesch.* vol. iv. p. 453, &c.; and *Histor. Eccles. Selecta Capita*, tom. ii. p. 526, &c.) His arguments seem not easily answered. The tenth century afforded more writers, in whom sound reasoning was combined with some learning, than the twelfth and thirteenth. It had greater and better princes; and in the years and the countries in which the Normans and Huns spread no general desolation, there were more numerous episcopal and monastic schools, in which the young received some instruction, though rude and meagre. The most noted episcopal schools were those of

Mentz, Treves, Cologne, Magdeburg, Würzburg, Paris, Tours, Rheims, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and among the monastic schools were those of Fleury, Clugni, Laubes, Gortz, Corbey, Fulda, St. Emmeran, Epternach, St. Gall, &c. —Every teacher, and nearly every cloister, procured a stock of the classical writers.—The Greek language was not wholly unknown; although the individuals were becoming more and more rare who could understand the ancients in the originals. *Schl.*]

⁶ [Abbo, born at Orleans, educated at Fleury, Paris, Rheims, and Orleans, was called to England by the archbishop of York, to preside over a monastic school, before A.D. 960. After two years, he returned to Fleury, became abbot, and resided there till his death in 1004. He wrote an Epitome of the lives of the popes, compiled from Anastasius; a life of St. Edmund, king of the East Angles; Collection or Epitome of canons; several Epistles and short Tracts. See Cave, *Histor. Litterar.* tom. ii. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Luitprand was born at Pavia, or in Spain: was envoy of Berengarius, king of Italy, to Constantinople, A.D. 946; created bishop of Cremona, he became odious to Berengarius, and was deposed, A.D. 963, or earlier, and retired to Frankfort in Germany. The emperor Otho sent him again to Constantinople, A.D. 968. He was alive A.D. 970. He was a man of genius, and of considerable learning. He understood and wrote in Greek as well as Latin. His works are, a History of Europe during his own times, in six books; and an Account of

Capua¹, *Ratherius*², *Flodoard*³, *Notkerus*⁴, *Ethelbert*⁵, and others; of whom some are indeed better than others, but they all wander very far from the true method of composing history. Of their poets, one and another shows himself to be not void of genius; but all are rude, on account of the infelicity of the times, which could relish nothing elegant or exquisite. The grammarians and rhetoricians of those times are scarcely worthy to be mentioned; for they either give out absolute nonsense, or inculcate precepts which are jejune and injudicious. Of their geometry, arithmetic, *Computus*⁶, astronomy, and music, which had a place in their schools, it is unnecessary to give any description.

his embassy to Constantinople in 968. To him also are falsely attributed, a tract on the lives of the popes, from St. Peter to Formosus, and a *Chronicon*. All these, together with his *Adversaria*, or Note-Book, were printed, Antwerp, 1640, fol.—See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

² [Witkind, or Winduchind, was a Saxon, and a monk of Corbey in Germany, who flourished A.D. 940, and onwards. He wrote a History of the Saxons, or the reigns of Henry the Fowler, and Otto I., in three books; published Basil. 1532, Frankf. 1577, and among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; likewise some poetic effusions. See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

³ [Fulcuin, or Folguin, abbot of Laubes, (Laubiensis,) from A.D. 965 to 990. He wrote a *Chronicon de Rebus gestis Abbatum Laubiensis Cœnobii; de Miraculis Sti Ursuari; and Vita Folcuini Ep. Tarvanensis*. *Tr.*

¹ [John Capuanus, abbot of Monte Cassino, flourished from A.D. 915 to 934. He wrote de *Persecutionibus Cœnobii Cassinensis*, [*a Saracenorum irruptione*,] et de *Miraculis inibi factis*, *Chronicon succinctum*: also, *Chronicon postremorum Comitum Capuæ*. See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

² [Ratherius, a monk of stern manners, and prone to give offence, was bishop of Verona A.D. 928; displaced in 954, and made bishop of Liege; resigned, and was again bishop of Verona; was again removed, and retired to his monastery of Laubes, where he died, A.D. 973. His works, as published by L. D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. ii., comprise various epistles, apologies, polemic tracts, a few sermons, and a life of St. Ursmar of Laubes. His *Chronographia* is said

to have existed in MS. in the monastery of Gemblours. See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

³ [Flodoard, or Frodoard, a canon of Rheims, who died A.D. 966, aged seventy-three years. His *Chronicon Rerum inter Francos gestarum*, ab anno 919, ad ann. usque 996, was published, Paris, 1588, 8vo, and Frankf. 1594, 8vo. His *Historia Ecclesiæ Remensis libri iv.* was edited by Sirmond, Paris, 1611, 8vo; Duaci, 1617, 8vo; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 500. His poetic lives of various ancient saints, in about twenty books, were never published. See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

⁴ [Notker, or Notger, bishop of Liege, A.D. 971—1007. He wrote *Historia Episcoporum Trajectensium*, (seu *Leodicensium*,) but whether it is the same that was published by Jo. Cheapeville, Liege, 1612, is doubted. He also wrote the life of St. Landoald, a Romish presbyter; a life of St. Remaclus, bishop of Utrecht, and on the miracles of St. Remaclus, two books. It was another Notger, of the preceding century, who died A.D. 912, and who was a monk of St. Gaul, whose Martyrology was published by Canisius, tom. iv. p. 761. See Cave, l. c. *Tr.*

⁵ [Ethelbert, or rather Ethelwerd, or Elsward, was of royal English blood, and flourished A.D. 980. He wrote *Historia brevis*, libris iv.; which is a concise Chronology, from the creation to the Saxon invasion of England; and then a more full and a bombastic history of England, down to A.D. 974. It was published by Saville, with the *Scriptores Anglici*, London, 1596, fol. p. 472. *Tr.*

⁶ [Calculation of the feast-days. *Tr.*

§ 6. The philosophy of the Latins was confined wholly to logic; which was supposed to contain the marrow of all wisdom. Moreover, this logic, which was so highly extolled, was usually taught without method and without clearness, according to the book on the *Categories*, falsely ascribed to *Augustine*, and the writings of *Porphyry*. It is true, that *Plato's* *Timæus*, *Aristotle's* tract *de Interpretatione*, and his as well as *Cicero's* *Topics*, and perhaps some other treatises of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of some persons; but they who inform us of the fact, add that there were none who could understand these books.⁷ And yet, strange as it may appear, it was in the midst of this darkness, that the subtle question was raised, respecting the nature of *universals*⁸, as they are called; namely, *whether they belong to the class of real existences, or are mere names*. This would not seem the time for starting a controversy, which in after days distracted so vehemently the minds of Latin scholars, and divided them into the sects of *Nominalists* and *Realists*. But undoubtedly, the first traces of this long and thorny strife are discoverable every where in the books of learned men, as early as this century.⁹

§ 7. Towards its close, the cause of learning in Europe obtained a great and energetic patron, in *Gerbert*, a Frenchman; known among the Roman pontiffs, as bearing the name of *Sylvester II*. This great and exalted genius pursued successfully all branches of learning, but especially mathematics, mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and the kindred sciences; and both wrote upon them himself, and roused others to cultivate and advance them, to the utmost of his power. The effects of his efforts, among the Germans, French, and Italians, were manifest in this century and the next; for many individuals of those nations were stimulated, by the writings, the example, and the exhortations of *Gerbert*, to the zealous pursuit of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of human science. *Gerbert* cannot indeed be compared with our geometricians and mathematicians; as is manifest from his

⁷ Gunzo, *Epist. ad Monachos Angienses*, in Martene's *Collectio ampliss. Monumentorum Veter.* tom. iii. p. 304.

⁸ [General ideas. *Tr.*]

⁹ Gunzo, a learned monk, l. c. p. 304. says: "Aristoteles genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accedens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platoni subsistentia persuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis

credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque autoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre." This is a clear exhibition of the apple of discord among the Latins. Gunzo did not venture to offer a solution of the difficult question; but others attempted it afterwards.

Geometry, which is a plain and perspicuous treatise, but, at the same time, imperfect and superficial.¹ And yet his knowledge was too profound for the comprehension of that barbarous age. For the ignorant monks supposed his geometrical diagrams to be magical figures; and therefore set down this learned man among magicians and disciples of the evil one.²

§ 8. For a part of his knowledge, especially of philosophy, medicine, and mathematics, *Gerbert* was indebted to the books and schools of the Arabians in Spain. He went himself into that country as a student, and attended lectures of the Arab doctors at Cordova and Seville.³ Perhaps his example, in this respect, had an influence upon the Europeans. This at least is most certain, that from this time onward, such of the Europeans as were eager for instruction, especially in medicine, arithmetic, geometry, and philosophy, had a strong desire to read and hear the Arabians, who lived in Spain, and in a part of Italy. Many of their books, accordingly, were translated into Latin, and much of their contents was brought forward in the European schools; nor was the number small of those who actually went into Spain, to get oral instructions from the Arabian professors themselves. And truth requires us to say, that from the Saracens, or Arabs, particularly of Spain, chiefly came whatever knowledge of medicine, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics, flourished in Europe, from the tenth century onward.

¹ It was published by Bernh. Pez, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 7, &c.

² See the *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. vi. p. 558. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 314, 319, &c. Gab. Naud, *Apologie pour les grands hommes fausement accusez de la Magie*, cap. xix. § 4. [Gerbert was a monk of Auvergne, and early devoted himself to study. After much proficiency in France, he attended the schools of the Saracens in Spain; and returned the most scientific man in the Latin church. In the year 968, the emperor, Otto I. met with him in Italy, and made him abbot of Bobio; but he soon left that station to become secretary to Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims. He now taught the archiepiscopal school, which flourished greatly under him. In 991 he was made archbishop of Rheims; but was deposed by pope John XV. in 995; and soon after made archbishop of Ravenna. On the death of Gregory V., A.D. 999, he was,

by Otto's influence, created pope, and assumed the title of Sylvester II. He died A.D. 1003.—While at Rheims he wrote 160 Letters; which were published by Masson, Paris, 1611, 4to, and then in Duchesne's *Scriptores Francie.* tom. ii. and in *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. While pope, he wrote three Epistles, one of which, in the name of Jerusalem, calls upon Christians to rescue that city from the hands of infidels. He also wrote *de Geometria Liber; de Sphæra Liber; de Informatione Episcoporum Sermo*; and an Epigram; besides several pieces never published. The life of St. Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, formerly ascribed to him, is supposed not to be his. But the *Tract de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, formerly ascribed to Heriger, abbot of Laubes, is supposed to have been the production of Gerbert. *Tr.*]

³ See Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 314.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. The clergy corrupt.—§ 2. History of the Roman pontiffs.—§ 3. John X. pope.—§ 4. John XI. and John XII.—§ 5. Fate of the latter.—§ 6. John XIII. and Benedict VII.—§ 7. John XIV. and John XV.—§ 8. Aggrandizement of the popes.—§ 9. The bishops and abbots increase in power.—§ 10. Principal vices of the clergy.—§ 11. Low state of discipline in the monasteries.—§ 12. Principal writers in the Greek church.—§ 13. Writers in the Latin church.

§ 1. NOTHING is more incontrovertible, than that the sacred order, both in the East and in the West, was composed principally of men who were illiterate, stupid, ignorant of every thing pertaining to religion, libidinous, superstitious, and flagitious.¹ Nor can any one doubt, that those who wished to be regarded as the fathers and guardians of the universal church, were the principal causes of these evils. Nothing certainly can be thought of, so filthy, criminal, and wicked, as to be deemed incompatible with their characters by the supreme directors of religion and its rites; nor was any government ever so loaded with vices of every kind, as that which passed for the most holy.² What the Greek pontiffs were, the single example of *Theophylact* shows; who, as credible historians testify, made traffic of every thing

¹ [Whoever would be convinced of this, need only look through the pages of Rutherus. In his *Volumen Perpendicularum, sive de contemptu canonum*, for instance, he speaks of a clergyman, "Qui cum omnes mulieres diocesis suæ sint ipsius filia spirituales, cujuslibet forte illarum corruptione pollutus est." He tells us, that the nobility were more anxious to become bishops, than to serve the Lord; and that the example of the light-minded bishops, who would recite passages of the Bible, such as John x. 1, with laughter, led others to indulge in

similar levity. See Semler's Continuation of Baumgarten's *Kirchenhistorie*, vol. iv. p. 507. *Schl.*]

² [The reader is referred to the testimony of an upright Italian, Lewis Ant. Muratori, in his *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, lib. v. p. 82. "In the tenth century, especially, alas! what unheard of monsters filled not only many of the chairs of bishops and abbots, but likewise that of St. Peter! Every where might be seen the profligate morals of the clergy and monks; and not a few of the rulers of churches were more worthy of the

sacred, and cared for nothing but his hounds and his horses.³ But though the Greek patriarchs were very unworthy men, yet they possessed more dignity and virtue than the Roman pontiffs.

§ 2. That the history of the Roman bishops in this century, is a history not of men, but of monsters, a history of the most atrocious villanies and crimes, is acknowledged by all the best writers, those not excepted even who plead for pontifical authority.⁴ The principal cause of these enormities, is to be sought for in the calamities of the times, which ensued upon the extinction of the family of *Charlemagne*, in the greater part of Europe, but especially in Italy. Upon the death of *Benedict IV.*, A.D. 903, *Leo V.* was elected his successor. But he reigned only forty days; when *Christophanus*⁵, cardinal of St. Laurence, dethroned him, and cast him into prison. In the following year, *Sergius III.*, a Roman presbyter, stripped *Christophanus* of the pontifical dignity, by the aid of *Adalbert*, the very powerful marquess of Tuscany, who controlled every thing at Rome according to his pleasure. *Sergius* died in 911; and

appellation of wolves than of pastors.”—“Good theologians were then not to be found.” *Schl.*]

³ [This prelate, who was of royal blood, was possessor of the see of Constantinople at the age of sixteen. While under his tutors, he appeared grave and decent; but when arrived at maturity, he became luxurious and extravagant. He sold ecclesiastical offices; and he was so attached to horses and to hunting, that he kept more than 2000 horses, which he fed on nuts and fruits steeped in odorous wine. Once, while celebrating mass, his groom brought him intelligence that his favourite mare had foaled. His joy was so great, that, suspending the service, he ran to the stable, and, after viewing the foal, returned to the great temple, and completed the sacred services. His death, which happened A.D. 956, after he had been bishop twenty-three years, was occasioned by his being thrown from his horse against a wall. This brought on an hæmoptysis; he languished two years, but without becoming more devout, and then died of a dropsy. Thus Fleury, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, lib. lv. sec. 51. Tr.]

⁴ [Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 900,

says of this century, “It is usual to denominate it the *iron age*, on account of its barbarism and barrenness of all good; also the *leadén age*, on account of the abounding wickedness by which it was deformed; and the *dark age*, on account of the scarcity of writers.”—“One can scarcely believe, nay, absolutely cannot credit, without ocular demonstration, what unworthy conduct, what base and enormous deeds, what execrable and abominable transactions, disgraced the holy catholic see, which is the pivot on which the whole catholic church revolves; when temporal princes, who, though called Christians, were most cruel tyrants, arrogated to themselves the election of the Roman pontiffs. Alas, the shame! Alas, the mischief! What monsters, horrible to behold, were then raised to the holy see, which angels revere! What evils did they perpetrate; what horrible tragedies ensued! With what pollutions was this see, though itself without spot or wrinkle, then stained; what corruptions infected it; what filthiness defiled it; and hence what marks of perpetual infamy are visible upon it!”

Tr.]

⁵ [Or *Christopher*. Tr.]

his successors, *Anastasius III.* and *Lando*, filled the holy office only for a short time, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

§ 3. After the death of *Lando*, A. D. 914, *Alberic*, the very rich and powerful marquess or count of Tusculum, found a successor for him, by the instigation of his mother-in-law, *Theodora*, a very lewd woman who ruled every thing at Rome, in *John X.*, then archbishop of Ravenna. For at this time, nothing was conducted regularly at Rome, but every thing was carried by bribery, or violence.⁶ This *John*, though otherwise a very bad man, is commended for one deed: he successfully attacked and vanquished the Saracens, who occupied a fortified mountain [on the banks of the] *Gariliano*. But *Marozia*, the daughter of *Theodora* and wife of *Alberic*, was inimical to him. Therefore when she, on the death of her husband *Alberic*, had married *Wido*, [or *Guido*,] marquess of Tuscany, she persuaded her new husband to seize her mother's lover, A. D. 928, and to imprison and kill him. *Leo VI.* now succeeded; and he dying six months after, was followed by *Stephen VII.* After two years, or A. D. 931, *Stephen* died, and *Marozia* bade her very youthful son, *John XI.* (whom she had by the Roman pontiff, *Sergius III.*) mount Peter's chair, and govern the church.⁷

⁶ [At that time the noted *Theodora*, with her two daughters, *Marozia* and *Theodora*, resided at Rome. They were wholly devoted to what was called the Tuscan party, of which the marquess *Adelbert* (not *Alberic*, as in the text of *Mosheim*) was the head. These women not only lived in habits of the most abominable unchastity, with the chief men of Rome, but they had boundless influence in the government there. *Luitprand* is, in this matter, the principal historian. *Eccard* and *Muratori* have indeed questioned his authority, and endeavoured to make his testimony suspicious. But *Sigebert* of Gemblours, and *Alberic*, the author of the chronicle of *Ferfe*, (who could not have transcribed from *Luitprand*), confirm his account of the profligate lives of these base females. *Schl.*—*Luitprand's* narrative of the elevation of *John X.*, as translated by *Bower*, (*Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 90.) is as follows: "In those days, Peter, archbishop of Ravenna, (esteemed the first archiepiscopal see after that of Rome,) used frequently to send to Rome a

deacon named *John*, to pay his obeisance to his holiness. As the deacon was a very comely and personable man, *Theodora*, falling passionately in love with him, engaged him in a criminal intrigue with her. While they lived thus together, the bishop of Bologna died, and *John* had interest enough to get himself elected in his room. But the archbishop of Ravenna dying before he was consecrated, *Theodora* persuaded him to exchange the see of Bologna for that of Ravenna; and he was accordingly, at her request, ordained, by pope *Lando*, archbishop of that city. *Lando* died soon after, and upon his death, *Theodora*, exerting all her interest, as she could not live at the distance of two hundred miles from her lover, got him preferred to the pontifical chair."—*Luitprand*, lib. ii. cap. 13. See also *Fleury*, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livre liv. § 49. *Tr.*]

⁷ *Marozia* is a woman infamous in the view of all historians, ancient and modern; who tell us, that the pontiff *John XI.* was her son, and the fruit of an illicit intercourse with *Sergius III.* Yet

§ 4. *John XI.*, who was raised to supreme power in the church by the aid of his mother, lost it again, in the year 933, through the enmity of *Alberic*, his uterine brother. For *Alberic*, being offended with his step-father, *Hugo*, king of Italy, to whom *Marozia* was married after the death of *Wido*, expelled *Hugo* from Rome, and confined both his mother, and his brother the pontiff, in a prison, where *John* died A. D. 936. The four pontiffs, who succeeded him in the government of the church, till the year 956, namely *Leo VII.*, *Stephen VIII.*, *Marinus II.*, and *Agapetus*, are represented as better men than *John*: and it is certain, that they reigned rather more tranquilly. But on the death of *Agapetus*, A. D. 956, *Alberic II.*, the consul of Rome, who controlled every thing there by his influence and wealth, raised his own son *Octavius*, yet a youth, to the pontificate. He was quite unworthy of so great an office, which was filled by him under the name of *John XII.* Thereupon was introduced the custom of assuming a different name, which the Roman prelates, on their election, keep up to our times.⁸

§ 5. The end of *John XII.* was as unfortunate, as his promotion had been scandalous. Being very uneasy under the haughty government of *Berengarius II.*, king of Italy, he sent ambassadors to *Otto* the Great, king of Germany, A. D. 960, inviting him to march an army into Italy, and rescue the church and the commonwealth from cruel tyranny; and promised, if he would do this, to invest him with the insignia, and confer on him the title of emperor of the Romans. *Otto* came accordingly, with his forces, and was declared emperor of Rome, by *John*, in the year 962. But the pontiff soon after repented of his act; and although bound by a solemn oath to the em-

one writer, Jo. Geo. Eccard, in his *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131, dares to vindicate her character, and to represent *Sergius* as being her first husband. I say *dares*, for it is audacious to acquit, without proof or reason, a woman whose actions condemn her, and show her to be destitute of all integrity and virtue.

⁸ [Dr. Mosheim is incorrect in asserting that *Alberic* himself raised his son to the pontificate. This patrician and prince of Rome was in fact a tyrant, who had irregularly usurped the supremacy at Rome; but he died in the year 954, and while *Agapetus* was still living;

so that he transmitted to his son only what he himself possessed,—the civil dominion of the city. On the death of *Agapetus*, in the year 956, *Octavius* was advised by his friends to place himself in St. Peter's chair; and this he found not difficult to accomplish, although his age rendered him unfit for the place: for he was, perhaps, not then nineteen years old. He was the first pope, so far as is known, that changed his name. Yet it was only in spiritual affairs that he assumed the name of *John*; in all worldly matters he still retained his former name. See *Muratori*, ad ann. 954 and 956. *Schl.*]

peror, he formed a coalition against him with *Adalbert*, the son of *Berengarius*. The emperor therefore returned to Rome the next year, and assembled a council, in which *John* was accused of numerous crimes, perhaps also proved guilty, and formally deposed; *Leo VIII.* being appointed to his place.⁹ When *Otto* had left the city, *John* came to Rome, A. D. 964, assembled another council, and condemned the emperor's pontiff; but he soon after died a miserable death.¹ After his decease, the Romans elected *Benedict V.*: but the emperor carried him away into Germany, and he died at Hamburg.²

§ 6. The Roman pontiffs after *Leo VIII.*, who died A. D. 965, down to *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II.*, at the end of the century, were in different degrees meritorious and successful; but no one of them deserved high commendation. *John XIII.* was placed in the chair of St. Peter, by the influence of *Otto* the Great, A. D. 965. But when just entered upon his functions, he was driven from Rome. In the next year, however, the emperor came into Italy, and restored him to his chair, which he held peaceably till his death, in 972. His successor, *Benedict VI.*, was miserably strangled in a prison, into which he had been thrown, in the year 974, by *Crescentius*, the son of the very noted *Theodora*. For upon the death of *Otto* the Great, A. D. 973, the Romans, who had been awed by his power and severity, relapsed into

⁹ [The charges against *John XII.* were, that he had said mass without communicating; that he had ordained a deacon in a stable; that he had taken money for ordinations; and had ordained, as a bishop, a child only ten years old; that he carried on amours with various females, one of whom had been his father's concubine; that he turned the holy palace into a brothel; that he was given to hunting; that he had put out the eyes of his god-father, and had castrated one of the cardinals; that he had set several houses on fire, and had frequently been seen clad in armour, with a sword by his side; that he had drunken to the health of the devil; that in playing at dice, he had invoked Jupiter, Venus, and other pagan deities; that he never said matins, or any other canonical hours, and never signed himself with the sign of the cross. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 108, 109. *Tr.*]

¹ [On a certain evening he retired

out of the city to spend the night in criminal converse with a married woman. There he received a wound, perhaps from the injured husband, of which he died eight days after. Fleury, *Histoire Ecclés.* liv. lvi. § 10, on the authority of Luitprand. *Tr.*]

² In this history of the pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the original authorities, most of which are given by Muratori, in his *Scriptores Rerum Italianar.*; and I have also examined the writings of others, who have consulted the sources of information, namely, Baronius, Peter de Marca, Sigonius, de *Regno Italia*, with the learned notes of Jos. Anton. Saxius, Muratori's *Annales Italia*, Pagi, and others. The general correctness of these statements no one can doubt; yet many parts of this history undoubtedly need more light; and that it may have been corrupted by the partialities of the writers on whom we have to depend, cannot be denied.

their former licentiousness and disorderly violence. After *Benedict, Franco* a Roman, who assumed the name of *Boniface VII.*, held the pontifical chair, though but a short time only; for at the end of a month, he was driven from Rome, and *Donus II.*, of whom nothing is known but his name, succeeded to the chair. *Donus* died in 975, and *Benedict VII.* governed the Romish church very quietly during nine years, or till A. D. 984. His prosperous reign was, probably, to be ascribed wholly to the wealth and influence of the family from which he originated. For he was the grandson of that *Alberic*, who had been so powerful a prince, or tyrant rather, at Rome.

§ 7. His successor, *John XIV.*, previously bishop of Pavia, was destitute of the support derived from family, and was abandoned by *Otto III.*, by whose influence he had been elected. Hence, his end was tragical; for *Boniface VII.*, who had thrust himself into the see of Rome in the year 974, and being soon after expelled, had retired to Constantinople, now returned to Rome, cast *John* into prison, and there despatched him. Yet *Boniface's* prosperity was of short duration; for he died but six months after. He was succeeded by *John XV.*, who by many is denominated *John XVI.*, on account of another *John*, whom they will have to have reigned at Rome four months. This *John XV.* or *XVI.* governed the church, during almost eleven years, from A. D. 985 to 996, with as much prosperity as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit; which was owing, not so much to his personal virtues and prudence, as to his Roman birth, and to the family from which he sprang. Of course, his German successor, *Gregory V.*, whom the emperor *Otto III.* commanded the Romans to elect, A. D. 996, was not equally prosperous. For the Roman consul *Crescens* expelled him the city; and placed *John XVI.*, who before was called *Philagathus*, at the head of the church. But *Otto III.*, returning to Italy, A. D. 998, with an army, deprived *John* of his eyes, his nose, and his ears; and committing him to prison, restored *Gregory* to the chair. And *Gregory* dying soon after, the emperor raised his preceptor and friend, the celebrated *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II.*, to the chair of St. Peter, with the approbation of the Romans.³

³ The history of the Roman pontiffs of this period is very barren and uninteresting; and besides, is involved in

considerable uncertainty. I have followed, for the most part, Ludov. Ant. Muratori's *Annales Italiae*, and Daniel Pape-

§ 8. Still amidst these perpetual commotions, and the reiterated crimes and contests of those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents on earth, so great was the force of ignorance and superstition in those times, the power and influence of the Roman pontiffs were gradually and imperceptibly advanced.⁴ Otto the Great, indeed, introduced a law, that no Roman pontiff should be created, without the knowledge and consent of the emperor: and this regulation continued, as all admit, from his time to the end of the century. And this emperor, as well as his son and grandson of the same name, held uniformly their right of supremacy over the city of Rome and its territory, as well as over the Roman pontiff; as is demonstrable by many examples. And the more intelligent bishops likewise, of France, Germany, and Italy, throughout the century, were on their guard, to prevent the Romish bishop from arrogating to himself alone legislative power in the church. But nevertheless, the pontiffs, sometimes openly and directly, and sometimes by stratagems, invaded the rights both of emperors and kings, and also of the bishops⁵; nor were there wanting among the bishops, those who flattered them and favoured their designs. It has been observed by learned men, that there were bishops in this century,

broch's *Conatus Chronologico-Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which is prefixed to his *Acta Sanctor. Maii*.

⁴ [Yet no traces of any dominion of the popes over the monasteries are as yet discoverable. In the year 968, the monastery of St. Gall was visited by imperial commissioners. The abbot of Richenau had complained of the monks there, to Hedwig, the widowed duchess of Suabia; and through her the complaint reached the imperial court. The emperor appointed for this visitation eight bishops, of whom Henry of Treves was the first commissioner, together with eight abbots; and he commanded the commissioner to proceed mildly with the abbot of St. Gall, who was his kinsman. Here is no shadow of papal jurisdiction. (See Ekkebart, *de Casibus S. Galli*, cap. xi.) Yet the popes laid hold of various occasions to extend their power over monasteries. Thus we read of Sylvester II., that he arbitrarily declared the monastery of Lorschheim free from other jurisdiction; and ordered, that whenever the monks deviated from their rule, they should be corrected by the Roman pontiff, and if this was not

effectual, the emperor should be called upon (regie potestati deputarentur). See Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* sæcul. v. p. 43.—So also, in the year 973, the pope called the monastery of Corvey, whose privileges had been established by the emperor Otto, a daughter of the apostolic see, and subject only to it. The great lords, in the mean time, exercised sovereign power in ecclesiastical things, unrestrained, in Spain, in Germany, in England, in Italy, in Hungary, &c. The German churches possessed also the right of electing their own bishops; and the popes acknowledged the right of the German kings to give investiture to the bishops. See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 153, &c. where pope John X. says explicitly, "Cum prisca consuetudo vigeat, ut nullus alicui clerico episcopatum conferre debeat, nisi rex, cui divinitus sceptrum collatum est—hoc nullo modo esse potest, ut absque regali preceptione in qualibet parochia Episcopus sit consecratus." *Schell.*]

⁵ Examples are adduced in the *Histoire du Droit Ecclésiastique François*, tom. i. p. 217, ed. in 8vo.

though never before, who called the pontiffs *bishops of the world* instead of bishops of Rome⁶; and that some even among the French clergy conceded, what had never been heard of, that *bishops receive indeed all their power from God, but through St. Peter.*⁷

§ 9. The inferior bishops eagerly took example from the principal bishop, in labouring to extend their authority. From the times of Charlemagne and his sons, many bishops and abbots had obtained, for their tenants and estates, exemption from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, and also from all imposts and taxes. But in this century they sought also to obtain civil jurisdiction over the cities and districts subject to them, and coveted the functions of dukes, marquesses, and counts.⁸ For whereas violent contests, respecting jurisdiction and other things, frequently sprang up between the dukes, the governors of cities, or the counts and marquesses on the one hand, and the bishops on the other, these latter, taking advantage of favourable occasions, left no means unattempted to secure to themselves those high offices, and the kings and emperors not unfrequently granted their petitions; sometimes in order to put an end to the contentions and broils among the civil and military magistrates, sometimes from their reverence for religion, and sometimes with a view to augment their own power by means of the bishops. And hence it was, that from this time onward so many bishops and abbots were to be seen sustaining also characters entirely foreign from their

⁶ Non *urbis*, sed *orbis* episcopos.

⁷ The Benedictine monks, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 78, 79. 98. 186, &c.

⁸ [Among these, may be reckoned the regulation of tolls and coinage, which some of them obtained. Thus, for example, the archbishopric of Treves obtained these rights from king Lewis, A. D. 902. See Brower's *Annal. Trevir.* lib. ix. and Köhler's *Reichshistorie*, p. 54.—And in the year 946, the emperor Otto bestowed on the monastery of Gemblours the control of the market and of coinage, the free election of their own abbots and advocates, and the right of erecting fortifications. See Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. S. Bened.* iii. p. 485, 486. In like manner Otto II. conferred on Milo bishop of Minden, the right of coining money. *Chron. Episcop. Mindens.* p. 166, 167. in

Leibnitz's *Scriptores Brunsw.* tom. ii. And likewise Adalgag, archbishop of Hamburg, received from the munificence of Otto great power, and direct civil dominion, namely, the judicial power, the right to levy tolls and to coin money, and, in short, whatever related to the royal finance, to the exclusion of all royal functionaries from these affairs. See Lambecius, *Orig. Hamburg.* p. 10, 11. Pagi, *Crit. ad Baron. Annal.* ann. 988, § 1, 2. *Schl.*—Pagi also tells us, (from Witichind, lib. i. and the *Chron. Belgic. Magn.*) that similar powers were granted by Otto I. to the archbishopric of Cologne and Mentz, and to the bishopric of Spire and Minden. He adds, however, that it was not lawful for bishops to preside *personally* in the temporal courts; but only by their deputies. *Tr.*]

sacred functions, and enjoying the rank of dukes, marquesses, counts, and viscounts.⁹

§ 10. Besides their ignorance, which was extreme¹, the body of the Latin clergy were chargeable with two great vices, which are deplored by most of the writers of those times; namely, *concubinage* and *simony*. In the first place, very generally, not only the priests, but the monks also, connected themselves with women, some indeed in a lawful way, but others in an unlawful one; and with these wives and concubines, and the children born of them, they squandered the property of the church.² In the next place, there was scarcely any such thing as the regular and canonical *election* of bishops and abbots; but the kings, princes, and nobles, either conferred the sacred offices on their friends and ministers, for whom they had partiality, or *sold* them to the highest bidders.³ And hence, frequently, men the most unfit and flagitious, sometimes soldiers, civil magistrates, and counts, were invested with spiritual offices, of the highest dignity and influence. In the following century *Gregory VII.* endeavoured to cure both of these evils.

§ 11. Among the Greek and Oriental monks, there was more appearance of religion and decorum; but among the Latin monks, at the beginning of this century, discipline was so low, that most of them did not know the very name of St. Benedict's rule, although they were under an obligation to live by it. To this evil a remedy, not altogether unsuccessful, was applied by *Odo*, a French nobleman, who was a learned and devout man, according to the standard of that age. Being made abbot of

⁹ Ludov. Thomassin, in his *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vetus et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. 28, p. 89, has collected much matter in order to evince that the functions of dukes and counts were sustained by bishops as early as the *ninth* century. And some of the bishops pretend to trace the origin of their secular power back to the *eighth* century. But I greatly mistake, if any indubitable instance can be produced of earlier date than the *tenth* century.

¹ Ratherius, in his *Itinerarium*, (published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. i. p. 381,) says of the priests of Verona, *seiscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum*.

² That this custom commenced in

the beginning of this century, appears from Orderic Vitalis and others, and particularly from an epistle of Mancio, bishop of Châlons, published by Jo. Mabillon, *Analecta Veter.* p. 429, ed. nova. Of the Italian monks, who supported wives and concubines, and thus misused the church property, see Hugo, *de Monasterii Farfensis Destructione*; in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 278. &c.

³ Very noticeable examples and testimonies may be seen in the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23. 37, tom. ii. p. 173. 179. See also Abbo's *Apologeticum*; subjoined to the *Codex Canon.* Pithæi, p. 398, and Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. v. and others.

Cluny in Burgundy, a province of France, after the death of *Berno*, A. D. 927, he not only obliged his monks to live according to their rule, but likewise bound them to observe additional rites and regulations, which had an air of sanctity, but were in reality trivial, though onerous and inconvenient.⁴ This new form of monastic life procured for its author great fame and honour; and in a short time it was propagated over all Europe. For very many of the ancient monasteries in France, Germany, Italy, Britain, and Spain, adopted the discipline of Cluny; and the new monasteries that were erected, were, by their founders, subjected to the same discipline. Thus was formed, in the next century, the venerable *order of Cluny*, or that body of associated Cluniacs which was very widely extended and renowned for its wealth and power.⁵

§ 12. The more distinguished writers of this century are easily enumerated. Among the Greeks was *Simeon Magister*, chancellor of Constantinople. He transcribed the earlier written *lives of the Saints*, for the sake of giving them a better form, and clothing them in a better style; for which he obtained the surname of *Metaphrastes*.⁶ But in digesting, polishing, and

⁴ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iii. p. 386, &c. and *Præfatio ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. v. p. xxvi. &c. Mabillon treats largely of *Berno*, the first abbot of Cluny, and the founder of the order of Cluny, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæc. v. p. 66, and of *Odo*, *ibid.* p. 122, &c. The general history of the order of Cluny is neatly written by Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. vi. p. 184, &c. The present state of Cluny is described by Martene, *Voyage Littér. de deux Bénédictins.* pt. i. p. 227, &c.

⁵ I am mistaken if most of the writers on ecclesiastical history have not misapprehended the import of the word *order*, as applied to the Cluniacensians, Cistercians, and others. For they take it to mean a new monastic *institute*, or a new *sect* of monks; in which they mistake by confounding the modern use of the term with its ancient meaning. The term *order*, as used by the writers of that age, at first signified merely some particular *form of monastic discipline*. But from this use of the word, another gradually arose, for the word *order* denoted a *society* or association of many monasteries, acknowledging one head, and following the same rules of life. The *order*

of *Cluny* was not a new monastic *sect*, like the orders of *Carthusians*, *Dominicans*, and *Franciscans*; but it denoted first, that mode of living which *Odo* prescribed to the Benedictine monks of Cluny; and then the whole number of monasteries in different parts of Europe, which embraced the regulations of Cluny, and united in a kind of association, of which the abbot of Cluny in France was the head.

⁶ See Leo Allatius, *de Symeonum Scriptis*, p. 24, &c. Jo. Bolland, *Præfatio ad Acta Sanctorum*, Antw. § iii. p. vi. &c. [*Simeon Metaphrastes* was of noble birth, and a man of both genius and learning. The emperor *Leo* made him his principal secretary, patrician logothetes or high chancellor, and master of the palace. He flourished about A. D. 901; and devoted his time, when the business of his offices did not prevent, to the rewriting of the lives of the saints. How many narratives he revised, or composed anew, it is difficult to state; because the religious biographies of subsequent writers have been ascribed to him. Of the 661 narratives, long and short, which have been attributed to him, *Leo Allatius* supposes 122 are actually of his revision; 444 he attributes

embellishing these lives of Saints, he is said to have enlarged the original narratives by the addition of many of his own fictions and silly tales. *Nicon*, an Armenian monk, has left us a tract on the religion of the Armenians, which is not contemptible.⁷ The two authors of *Catenæ*, *Olympiodorus* and *Œcumenius*⁸, are placed by some in this century; but it is wholly on conjectural grounds. With better reasons *Suidas*, the famous lexicographer, is placed among the writers of this century.⁹ The most distinguished author among the Arabian Christians was *Eutychius*, bishop of Alexandria; whose *Annales*, with other writings, are still extant.¹

to other authors, whom he names; and 95, he thinks, are not Simeon's, but he cannot ascertain to whom they should be attributed.—Many of the genuine narratives of Simeon have found their way into the large collections of Surius and Bolland; but the greater part of the whole were never printed.—Besides these revised biographies, a number of orations, epistles, and short poems, hymns, &c. are extant as the productions of Simeon. See Cave's *Historia Litterar.* tom. ii. and Fleury, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, liv. lv. § 31. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Nicon was born in Pontus, and educated in a monastery on the confines of Pontus and Paphlagonia. About the year 961, his abbot sent him out as a Christian missionary; and he travelled in Armenia, and various countries of the East, and in Greece. He was accounted a saint; and miracles are related of him. His book de *pessima Religione Armenorum*, in a Latin translation, is extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *Tr.*]

⁸ For an account of Œcumenius of Tricca, see especially Bernh. de Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coislin.* p. 274. [Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, is placed in this century, because he quotes Photius who lived in the ninth century, but mentions no later writer. His brief Scholia on the Acts of the Apostles and on the canonical Epistles, are all borrowed from the fathers, and especially from Chrysostom. His works were printed at Paris, Gr. and Lat. 1631, two tom. fol.—Olympiodorus, a Greek monk, and a deacon of Alexandria, of uncertain age, is author of an exposition of the book of Ecclesiastes; printed, Gr. and Lat. in the *Auctuarium Patr. Duceanum*, tom. ii. p. 602. The *Catena* on Job, ascribed to him, is more probably

the work of Nicetas, in the middle of the next century. It was published, Gr. and Lat. by Fr. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol. *Tr.*]

⁹ [That Suidas lived in the latter part of this century, is inferred from his computations in the article 'Αδὰμ, which all terminate with the reign of the emperor John Zimisceus, who died of poison, A. D. 975. His Dictionary, which is a kind of historical and literary *Encyclopædia*, was best published by Kuster, Cambridge, 1705, 3 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

¹ See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, p. 179; and Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347. [Eutychius was a native of Egypt, and the melchite or orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, from A. D. 933 to 950. His Arabic name was Said Ibn Batrik, that is, Said the son of Batrik. Said signifies *Blessed*; which in Greek is Εὐτυχὴς or *Eutychius*. He lived unhappily with his flock, and died at the age of 75. His principal work is his *Annals*, from the creation to A. D. 937; edited by E. Pocock, Arab. and Lat. Oxford, 1658, 4to. He also wrote a history of Sicily, after its conquest by the Saracens; a disputation between the heterodox and Christians, in opposition to the Jacobites, and some medical tracts; all of which still exist in manuscript.

The *Greek writers* of this century, omitted by Dr. Mosheim, are the following.

John Cameniata, a reader in the church of Thessalonica. When that city was taken and plundered by the Saracens, A. D. 904, John was made prisoner, and carried to Tarsus, where he composed a full and interesting *History of the*

§ 13. The best among the Latin writers was *Gerbert*, or *Sylvester II.*, the Roman pontiff; of whom we have spoken before.² The rest deserve no higher character than that of indifferent writers. *Odo*, who laid the foundation of the Cluniac association or order, has left some writings, which have few marks of genius and discernment, but many of superstition.³ Some tracts of *Ratherius* of Verona are extant; which indicate a mind of good powers, and imbued with the love of justice and integrity.⁴ *Atto* of Vercelli composed a tract *on ecclesiastical grievances*; which throws light on the state of those times.⁵ *Dunstan*, an Englishman, compiled for the benefit of monks, a *Harmony of monastic rules*.⁶ *Ælfrie* of Canterbury deserved

destruction of Thessalonica, and of his own sufferings. It was published, Gr. and Lat., by Leo Allatius, *Symmict.* pt. ii. p. 180.

Hippolytus of Thebes, who has been confounded with Hyppolytus Portuensis, of the third century. He flourished about A. D. 933. A *Chronicon*, or a part of one, composed by him, was published, Greek and Latin, by H. Canisius, *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 35. He also, it is probable, composed the brief notices of the twelve apostles, which have gone under the name of the earlier Hippolytus.

Moses Bar-Cepha, bishop of Beth-Raman, and supervisor of the churches in the regions of Babylonia. He lived in this century, but in what part of it is uncertain. He composed, in Syriac, three books *de Paradiso*; which Andr. Masius translated into Latin, and then published his translation, Antw. 1568, 8vo. It is also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. p. 456.

Sisinnius, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 994—997, composed a tract *de Nuptiis Consobrinorum*; which is in Leunclavius, *Jus Gr. et Rom.* lib. iii. p. 197. *Tr.*

² [See the preceding chapter, § 7, 8, and Note⁹, p. 258.]

³ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 229. [His life, written by John, one of his intimate friends, in three books, and the same revised by Nalgod, two centuries after, are in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.*, tom. vii. or Sæcul. vi. p. 150—199; to which Mabillon prefixes a full account, composed by himself; *ibid.* p. 124, &c. He was a Frenchman, brought up in the court of William duke of Aquitaine, and

educated at Tours and Paris. He early became a monk, and a great admirer of St. Martin of Tours. From the year 912, till his death in 942, he was engaged in teaching schools, presiding in monasteries, making journeys to Rome and Paris, &c., on public business. His works are several legends, concerning St. Martin, St. Mary Magdalen, &c.; a life of St. Gerald, count of Orleans; an abridgment of Gregory's *Morals on Job*, in twenty-five books; and devotional pieces. They are all published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. *Tr.*]

⁴ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 339. [See note² on the preceding chapter, p. 256. *Tr.*]

⁵ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 281. [Atto Secundus was a native of Lombardy, a man of learning and virtue, according to the standard of the age. Augustine was his favourite author. He presided over the church of Vercelli, from A. D. 945, till his death in 960. His works were republished, more complete, in 2 vols. fol. Vercelli, 1769. They comprise a collection of canons and ecclesiastical statutes, for the use of his church; *de Pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, in three parts; (on the bishop's courts, their ordinations; and *de Facultatibus Ecclesiarum*; several Homilies; and a verbal Commentary on the Epistles of Paul. *Tr.*]

⁶ St. Dunstan was born in Somerset, educated at Glastonbury, where he became a monk, and afterwards abbot. He served several years at court, was bishop of Worcester A. D. 956, bishop of London in 958, and archbishop of Canterbury from 961 to 988. He was a most zealous promoter of monkery and celibacy, and is reported to have wrought many

well of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain by a variety of tracts.⁷ *Burchard*, bishop of Worms, aided the study of canon law by a volume of *Decreta*, in twenty books. But he was not the sole compiler; for he was aided by *Olbert*.⁸ *Odilo* of Lyons has left us some frigid sermons, and other things not much better.⁹

miracles. His *Harmony* of monastic rules, in twelve chapters, was published by Reiner, as an Appendix to his work on the antiquity of the Benedictine order in England, Duaci, 1626, fol. See Hume's *History of England*, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 94, &c. His life and miracles composed by Osbern, a monk of Canterbury in the eleventh century, with extracts from others, may be seen in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. or *Sæcul.* v. p. 654—715. *Tr.*—Dunstan's promotion to Worcester is placed in 957, to Canterbury in 915, by Richardson, the annotator upon Bp. Godwin, *De Præsul.* pp. 451. 51. *Ed.*]

⁷ [Ælfric, or Elfric, or Alfric, archbishop of Canterbury, from A.D. 996 to 1006, was a monk of Abingdon, and (as Ussher supposes) filled several other offices in the church, during forty years, before he was made archbishop of Canterbury. Most of the writings generally ascribed to him, are by some ascribed to another monk of the same name, who was made archbishop of York, and died A.D. 1051. See Henry Wharton's *Dissert. de Duobus Elfricis* in his *Anglia Sacra*; and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 61, &c. The works ascribed to Ælfric of Canterbury, are a Biblical History; a Homily on the body and blood of Christ; (in which he disproves transubstantiation;) an Epistle to Wulf-sine, bishop of Sherborne, another to Wulfstan, archbishop of York; a Penitentiary; and an Epistle to Wulfin, on the ecclesiastical canons. These have been published; and most of them in Saxon and Latin. Besides these, there exist in MSS. a collection of eighty Sermons; a Saxon Chronicle, a translation of the canons of the Nicene council, a translation of St. Gregory's Dialogue, with several lives of monkish saints, all in the Saxon language; also a Latin-Saxon dictionary, a grammar of the Saxon language; Extracts from Priscian, &c. See Cave's *Historia Litterar.* vol. ii. *Tr.*—There is little probability that any of the works under the name of Elfric were written by the archbishop of Canterbury of that name. Wharton, there-

fore, had great reason to ascribe them to Elfric of York. They are, in fact, a very important mass of writings both on account of the language and the doctrine. Upon the pen to which we owe them there is great room for controversy, as may be seen in the Editor's *Anglo-Saxon Church*. All Elfric's remains are now likely to be published by means of a society, named after him, which has very successfully commenced operations. *Ed.*]

⁸ See the *Chronicon Wormatiense*, in Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 43; and the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 595, &c. [Burchard, a Hessian, was first a monk of Laubes, and then bishop of Worms, from A.D. 996 to 1026. He commenced his great work on canon law, while in his monastery, and with the aid of his instructor Olbert; but completed it during his episcopate. It was first published at Cologne, 1548, fol. and afterwards in 8vo. Though still in twenty books, it contains not a sixth part of the original work. Its authority is very small, being compiled without due care, and often from spurious works. The full title of the book is, *Magnum Decretorum (or Canonum) Volumen*; but it is often cited by the title *Decretum*; and also by that of *Brocardica*, or *Brocardicorum Opus*, from the French and Italian *Brocard*, i.e. *Burchard*. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 414, &c. *Tr.*]

⁹ [St. Odilo was a native of Auvergne, educated at Cluny, where he became the abbot A.D. 994. He afterwards refused the archbishopric of Lyons; and died abbot of Cluny A.D. 1049, aged eighty-seven years. His works, as published by Du Chesne, in his *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, and thence in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. consist of fourteen sermons on the festal days; a life of St. Maiolus; a life of St. Adeleidis; four hymns; and some letters. His own life, written by his pupil Jotsald, in two books, is given us by Mabillon, together with a long biographical preface, in the *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 631—710. *Tr.*]

Of those who wrote histories and annals, this is not the place to treat.¹

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The state of religion.—§ 2. Contests respecting predestination and the Lord's supper.—§ 3. Belief that the day of judgment was at hand.—§ 4. Multitude of the saints.—§ 5, 6. The different branches of theology neglected.—§ 7. Controversy between the Greeks and Latins.

§ 1. THAT the most important doctrines of Christianity were misunderstood and perverted, and that such doctrines as remained in their integrity and uncorrupted, were obscured by most unfounded opinions, is manifest from every writer of this period. The essence of religion was thought both by Greek and Latin, to consist in the worship of images, in honouring departed saints, in searching for and preserving relics, and in enriching priests and monks. Scarcely an individual ventured to approach God until interest had been duly sought with images and saints. In getting relics together, and seeking after them,

¹ [The *Latin writers* omitted by Dr. Mosheim, were some of them mere authors of the lives of certain monks and saints. Such were Stephen, abbot of Laubes, and A.D. 903, bishop of Liege; Hubald, or Hucbald, a French monk, who flourished under Charles the Bald, A.D. 916; Gerard, deacon of the cloister of St. Medard, A.D. 932;—Fridegodus, a monk of Canterbury, A.D. 960;—and Adso, abbot of Montier en Der, in France, A.D. 980. Most of the others were popes or bishops, who have left us only some epistles. Such were John X. pope A.D. 915—928;—Agapetus II. pope, A.D. 946—956;—John XII. pope, A.D. 956—963;—John XIII. pope, A.D. 965—972;—Pilgrim, or Peregrine, archbishop of Lorch, A.D. 971—992;—Benedict VI. pope, A.D. 972—974;—Benedict VII. pope, A.D. 975—984;—John XV. pope, A.D. 986—996;—and Gregory V. pope, A.D. 996—999. To

these classes of writers may be subjoined the two following individuals.

Roswida, or Roswitha, a learned and devout nun, of Gandersheim in Germany, who flourished about A.D. 980. She understood Greek, as well as the Latin, in which she wrote. Her compositions are all in verse; namely, a panegyric on Otto the Great; eight Martyrdoms of early Saints; six sacred Comedies, on various subjects, but chiefly in praise of the saints; and a poem on the establishment of her monastery. These were best edited by H. L. Schurzfleisch, Wittenb. 1707, 4to. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxi. p. 177. 256.

Heriger, or Hariger, abbot of Laubes, A.D. 990—1007. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege; a tract on the body and blood of Christ; and the lives of St. Ursmar, St. Berlendis, and St. Landoald. *Tr.*]

all the world was busy even to insanity. Nor, if we may believe the monks, was any thing scarcely more an object of God's care in that age, than showing the places, to snoring old women, and shaven friars, in which the corpses of holy men were deposited. A fire that burns out stains left on souls freed from the body, all desperately feared; in fact, more vehemently than the very punishments of hell. For the latter, it was supposed, might be easily escaped, if people only died rich in the prayers and merits of the sacred order, or had some saint to intercede for them; but not so the former. This dread was found so very advantageous to the priests, that they took care by their discourses, fables, and fictitious miracles, to raise it continually higher and higher.

§ 2. The controversies respecting grace and the Lord's supper, which disquieted the preceding century, were at rest in this. For each party, as appears from various testimonies, left the other at liberty, either to retain the sentiments which it had embraced, or to change them. Nor was it an object of much inquiry in this illiterate and thoughtless age, what the theologians believed on these and other subjects. Hence, among those who flourished in this age, we find both followers of *Augustine* and followers of *Pelagius*; and perhaps as many can be discovered who supposed the body and blood of Christ to be truly and naturally presented in the Holy Supper, as of those who either had no definite and fixed opinion on the subject, or judged the Lord's body to be absent materially, and to be received in the eucharist only by some holy movement of the soul.¹ Let no one, however, ascribe this moderation and forbearance to the wisdom and virtue of the age: it was rather the want of intelligence and knowledge which rendered men both indisposed and unable to contend on these subjects.

§ 3. That an immense superstition had every where gained a vigorous hold over all the Christian world, appears from num-

¹ That the Latin doctors of this century held different opinions respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred Supper, is very clearly attested; nor do the learned men among the Roman Catholics, who follow truth rather than party feelings, disavow the fact. That the doctrine of *transubstantiation* was at this time unknown to the English, has been shown from their public *homilies*,

by Rapin de Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. i. p. 463. Yet that this doctrine was then received by some of the French and German divines, may be as easily demonstrated. [“ For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon English church concerning the eucharist, see Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204. 266.” *Macl.*]

berless testimonies and examples. To this were added many futile and groundless opinions, fostered by the priests for their own advantage. Among the opinions which dishonoured and disquieted the Latin churches in this century, none produced more excitement than the belief that the day of final consummation was at hand. This belief was derived, in the preceding century, from the Apocalypse of *John* xx. 2 — 4.², and being advanced by many in this century, it spread over all Europe, and excited incredible alarm among the people. For they supposed, *St. John* to have explicitly foretold, that after a thousand years from the birth of *Christ*, Satan would be let loose, Anti-christ would appear, and the end of the world would come. Hence immense numbers, transferring their property to the churches and monasteries, left all, and proceeded to Palestine, where they supposed *Christ* would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others, by a solemn vow consecrated themselves and all they possessed to the churches, the monasteries, and the priests; serving them in the character of slaves, and performing the daily tasks assigned them: for they hoped, that the supreme Judge would be more favourable to them, if they made themselves servants to *his* servants. Hence also, whenever an eclipse of the sun or moon took place, most people betook themselves to caverns, and rocks, and caves. Very many also gave a large part of their estates to God and the saints; that is, to the priests and monks. And in many places, edifices, both sacred and secular, were suffered to go to decay, and, in some instances, actually pulled down, from the expectation that they would no longer be needed. This general delusion was opposed, indeed, by a few wiser individuals; but nothing could overcome it, till the century had closed. But when the century ended without any great calamity, the greater part began to understand that *John* had not really predicted what they so much feared.³

² ["And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan, and bound him a *thousand years*," &c. They understood this to refer to the times of the Christian dispensation. And as Satan was to be loosed after the thousand years, and as the vision proceeds immediately to describe the general judgment, they concluded the world would come to an end about A. D. 1000. *Tr.*]

³ Almost all the donations of this century afford evidence of this general delu-

sion in Europe. For the reason assigned for the gift, is generally thus expressed: *Appropinquante mundi termino*, &c. [i. e. *the end of the world being now at hand.*] Of the many other proofs of the prevalence of this opinion, (which was so profitable to the clergy,) I will adduce only one striking passage, from Abbo of Fleury, in his *Apologeticum adversus Arnulphum*, which Fr. Pitheus has subjoined to the *Codex Canonum Ecclesie Romanæ*, p. 401. "When quite a youth,

§ 4. A great multitude of saints, *i. e.* of nobles⁴ of the heavenly court, and ministers of the heavenly commonwealth, sprouted up every where.⁵ For this extremely inconsiderate and superstitious age required a host of patrons. Besides, so great was the wickedness and madness of most people, that the reputation of saintship could be gained without much effort. Whoever was rather austere and of uncompromising manners, or had any thing remarkable in his imaginative powers, he passed among the guilty multitude for God's especial friend. The Roman pontiff, who had before begun to assume to himself the right of making new saints, gave the first specimen of the actual exercise of this power, in this century; at least, no example of an earlier date is extant. *John XV.*, in the year 993, by a solemn act, enrolled *Udalrich*, bishop of Augsburg, among those to whom Christians might lawfully address prayers and worship.⁶ Yet this act must not be understood to imply, that from this time onward, none but the Roman pontiff might enroll a saint.⁷ For there are examples which show, that down to the twelfth century, the bishops of the higher ranks, and provincial councils, without even consulting the pontiff, did place

(in the tenth century,) I heard a public discourse delivered in the church of Paris, concerning the end of the world; that immediately after the thousand years terminated, Antichrist would come, and not long after that, the universal judgment would follow. This doctrine I resisted, as far as I was able, from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel. At last, my abbot, of blessed memory, Richard, very skilfully eradicated the inveterate error respecting the end of the world, after receiving the letter from the Lorrainers which I was to answer. For the rumour had filled nearly the whole world, that when our Lord's Annunciation should fall on Good Friday, then, beyond all doubt, the end of the world would take place."

⁴ *Purpuratorum.*

⁵ [Yet it should be remarked, that before the year 994, prayers to the saints, and to the virgin Mary, are not mentioned in the canons of the English churches. They are first enjoined in a collection of canons of this date; which is in Wilkins's *Concil.* tom. i. p. 265. We read, however, in a circular Epistle of John XV., in the year 993: *Sic adoramus et colimus reliquias martyrum et confessorum, ut eum, (Christum,) cujus mar-*

tyres sunt, adoremus — si quis contradicat, Anathema. Harduin's *Concil.* tom. vi. pt. i. p. 726. *Schl.* — Invocation of the sainted dead crept into the church from an anterior habit of praying to God, that the suppliant might have the benefit of the prayers of these departed spirits. It is obvious, both, that we have no scriptural authority for invoking the dead, but rather the reverse, and also, that we have no means of knowing whether they can hear our invocation. Thus, this usage required the preparation which it found, in an excessive veneration for certain eminent Christians, or ascetics, and a corresponding anxiety for the benefit of their prayers. At first, this anxiety was to be allayed by means of Omniscience itself; and a frame of mind was thus formed which naturally glided into some sort of notion that the departed spirit might have its own powers of hearing the suppliant, and that this latter was piously employed in making use of them. *Ed.*]

⁶ Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259, &c.

⁷ This opinion was held by the friends of the Romish court; and in particular, by Phil. Bonannus, *Numismat. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. i. p. 41, &c.

in the list of saints, such as they deemed to be worthy of it.⁸ But in the twelfth century, *Alexander III.* annulled this right of councils and bishops; and made *canonization*, as it is called, to rank among *the greater causes*, or such as belong only to the pontifical court.

§ 5. Upon the labours of theologians in sacred knowledge, and its different branches, little can be said. The Holy Scriptures no one explained in a manner that would place him high among even the lowest class of interpreters. For it is uncertain, whether *Olympiodorus* and *Æcumenius* of Tricca belong to this century. Among the Latins, *Remigius* of Auxerre continued his exposition of the Scriptures, which he commenced in the preceding century. He is very concise on the literal signification, but very copious and prolix on the mystical sense; which he prefers greatly to the literal meaning. Besides, he exhibits not so much his own thoughts, as those of others, deriving his explanations from the early interpreters. *Odo's Moralia* on Job are transcribed from the work of the same title by *Gregory* the Great. Who were esteemed the best expositors of Scripture in that age, may be learned from *Notkerus Balbulus*⁹, who wrote professedly an account of them.¹

§ 6. Systematic theology had not a single writer, Greek or Latin. The Greeks were satisfied with *Damascenus*; the Latins

⁸ See the remarks of Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 260. tom. iii. p. 30, and of Arm. De la Chapelle, *Bibliothèque Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105, and Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul.* v. *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* p. liii. [The word *canon*, in the middle ages, denoted in general, a *register* or a matriculation roll; and in a more limited sense, a *list of the saints*; and to *canonize* a person, was to enroll his name in this book or register of the saints. In the earlier times, none were recognized as saints, except martyrs and confessors. But in the times of ignorance, the stupid people often selected and made for themselves saints, who did not deserve the name. To remedy the evil, it was ordained, that no one should be recognized as a saint, till the bishop of the place, after investigation made, should declare him such. This was the practice in Europe, from the seventh century, onward. The popes canonized, as well as others; but only in their own diocese. But at this time,

the chapter of Augsburg saw fit, to request the pope to pronounce their bishop Ulrich, a saint for all the churches. The bishop of Augsburg who succeeded Ulrich, might have canonized this worthy man, for the church of Augsburg: but in that case, he would have been honoured only in his own diocese, and not throughout the whole church. The pope complied with the request, without much inquiry. *Schl.*]

⁹ [Or the Stammerer. *Tr.*]

¹ [His book is entitled, *de Interpretibus Divinarum Litterarum*; and may be found in Pez's *Thesaur. Anecd. Noviss.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 1. It was addressed to Solomon, afterwards bishop of Constance, whom it excited to the study, not only of the biblical interpreters, but also of the ecclesiastical historians, and the writers of biographies of the saints; so that it may be viewed as a guide to the best method of studying theology, agreeably to the taste of those times. *Schl.*]

with *Augustine* and *Gregory* the Great, who were in that age regarded as the greatest of theologians. Yet some also read *Bede*, and *Rabanus Maurus*. Moral and practical theology received less attention than in almost any age. If we except some discourses, which are extremely meagre and dry, and the lives of saints, which were composed among the Greeks by *Simeon* Metaphrastes, and among the Latins by *Hubald*, *Odo*, *Stephen* of Liege, and others, without fidelity, and in very bad taste; there remains nothing more in this century, that can be placed under the head of practical theology. Nor do we find, that any one sought renown by polemic writings or confutations of the enemies of truth.

§ 7. The controversies between the Greeks and Latins, in consequence of the troubles and calamities of the times, were carried on with much less noise than before; but they were not wholly at rest.² And those certainly err very much, who maintain, that this pernicious discord was healed, and that the Greeks for a time came over to the Latins³: although it is true, that the state of the times obliged them occasionally, to form a truce, though a deceptive one. The Greeks contended violently, among themselves, respecting repeated marriages. The emperor *Leo*, surnamed the *Wise*, or the *Philosopher*, having had no male issue by three successive wives, married a fourth, born in humble condition, *Zoë Carbinopsina*. As such marriages, by the canon law of the Greeks, were incestuous, the patriarch *Nicolaus* excluded the emperor from sacred rites. *Leo*, indignant at this, deprived *Nicolaus* of his office; and put *Euthymius* into his place, who admitted the emperor, indeed, to religious privileges, but resisted the law which he wished to enact, allowing fourth marriages. Hence a schism and great animosity arose among the clergy; some siding with *Nicolaus*, and others with *Euthymius*. *Leo* died soon after, and *Alexander* deposed *Euthymius*, and restored *Nicolaus* to his office; who now assailed the character of the deceased emperor with the severest maledictions and execrations; and defended his opinion upon the unlawfulness of fourth marriages, in the most contentious manner. To put an end to these commotions, so dangerous to

² Mich. Le Quien, *Diss. i. Damascenica, de Processione Spiritus S.* § 13, p. 12. Fred. Spanheim, *de Perpetua Dissensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* pt.

iv. § vii. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 529.

³ Leo Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 600, &c.

the Greeks, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, the son of *Leo*, assembled an ecclesiastical council, at Constantinople, in the year 920. This council prohibited fourth marriages altogether, but allowed third, under certain restrictions. The publication of this law restored the public tranquillity.⁴ Some other small contests, of similar importance, arose among the Greeks; which show their want of discernment, their ignorance of true religion, and how much the authority of those who lived in former times hindered them from exercising their own reason.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF CEREMONIES AND RITES.

§ 1. The multitude of ceremonies.—§ 2. Feast days.—§ 3. Office of St. Mary; the Rosary.

§ 1. How great a load of rites and ceremonies weighed religion down in this century, appears abundantly from the acts of councils holden in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The many new citizens, who were daily received, like supernumeraries, into heaven, required new festal days, new forms of worship, and new religious rites. And in excogitating these, the priests, though dull and slow in every thing besides, were wonderfully ingenious. Some of their arrangements flowed from the erroneous opinions on sacred and secular subjects, which the barbarous nations derived from their ancestors, and incorporated with Christianity. Nor did such as directed sacred things oppose these customs, but thought all their duty fully done, when they had either honoured with some Christian forms what was in itself base and worthless, or had found for it some allegorical and far-fetched meaning. Several customs, which notwithstanding passed as eminently sacred, came from men's foolish notions of God, and of heavenly spirits.

⁴ These facts are faithfully collected from Cedrenus, Leunclavius (*de Jure Græco-Rom.* tom. i. p. 104, &c.) Leo

Grammaticus, Simon Logothetes, and other writers of Byzantine history.

For people fancied that God and his friends must feel, just as earthly kings and nobles do; whose favour may be gained by gifts and presents, and who delight in frequent salutations and external marks of honour.

§ 2. Near the end of this century, in the year 998, by the influence of *Odilo*, abbot of Cluny, the number of festal days among the Latins was augmented, by the dedication of one annually to commemorate *all departed souls*. Before this time, it had been the custom in many places to offer prayers, on certain days, for the souls in purgatory: but these prayers were offered only for the friends and patrons of a particular religious order or society. *Odilo's* piety was not to be thus limited; he wished to extend this kindness to all the departed souls that were suffering in the invisible world.¹ The author of the suggestion was a Sicilian recluse, or hermit, who caused it to be stated to *Odilo*, that he had learned from a divine revelation, that the souls in purgatory might be released by the prayers of the *Cluniac monks*.² At first, therefore, this was only a private

¹ See Jo. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* [tom. viii. or] sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 584; where he gives the life of *Odilo*, and his decree instituting this new festival. [The story of the hermit is differently related. One says, the hermit stated, that wandering near mount Etna, he overheard the souls burning in that volcano, relate the benefits they received from the prayers of *Odilo*. Another represents the hermit, as saying, simply, it was divinely revealed to him. One likewise represents the hermit as stating, that all the souls in purgatory enjoyed *respite*, two days each week, namely, Mondays and Tuesdays. Another says, he represented, that several souls had been *released* entirely from purgatory, by his prayers. And another, that many souls *might be released*, &c. See Mabillon, l. c. p. 666. 701, (ed. Paris, 1701,) and Fleury, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. lix. § 57. All agree, that the hermit made his representation to a French monk, then on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and bade him acquaint *Odilo* with it; which was accordingly done. *Tr.*—"Sigebertus auctor est, Odilonem hoc anno (998) commemorationem omnium defunctorum secunda die Novembris instituisse in suo monasterio, cujus exemplo ad ceteras ecclesias hæc institutio permanavit, tametsi jam in nonnullis monasteriis Ordinis nostri, sed alia die, recepta erat.

Id ab Odilone factum dicitur hortatu ejusdam in Sicilia reclusi, qui defunctorum animas a piacularibus flammis Cluniacensium elemosinis et precibus eripi contestatus est cuidam viro religioso Ierosolymis revertenti, idque Odiloni abbati renuntiari curavit." (Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* iv. 125.) *Odilo*, who was of knightly origin in Auvergne, was pretty nearly at the head of superstition, in his age, so deeply smitten with it. He was complimented *as the brightest mirror placed by God in the world*, "quem Deus clarissimum speculum in mundo posuit," and *the standard-bearer of all religion*, "ille totius religionis signifer *Odilo*." When at Rome, he was the great mark of admiration, seeming really to be, as he was occasionally called, *the archangel of monks*, "re vera putares esse archangelum monachorum." He died in 1049. (*Ibid.* 352. 109. 239. 499.) The tenth and eleventh centuries hardly wanted such a man for riveting the Platonic belief in purgatory. *Ed.*]

² The pontiff Benedict XIV., or Prosper Lambertini, in his treatise *de Festis Jesu Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. c. 22. *Opp.* tom. x. p. 671, very wisely observes silence respecting this obscure and disreputable origin of that anniversary; and thus shows us, what *he* thought of it. And in this work of Benedict XIV. are

regulation of the *society at Cluny*: but a Roman pontiff,—who he was is unknown,—approved the institution, and ordered it to be every where observed.

§ 3. The worship of the virgin *Mary*, which previously had been extravagant, was in this century carried much further than before. Not to mention other things less certain, I observe first, that near the close of this century, the custom became prevalent among the Latins, of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, on Saturdays, in honour of *St. Mary*. In the next place, the daily *office of St. Mary*, which the Latins call the *lesser office*, was introduced; and it was afterwards confirmed by *Urban II.* in the council of Clermont. Lastly, pretty distinct traces of the *Rosary* and *Crown of St. Mary*, as they are called, or of praying according to a numerical arrangement, are to be found in this century. For they who tell us that *St. Dominic* invented the *Rosary* in the thirteenth century, do not offer satisfactory proof of their opinion.³ The *Rosary* consisted of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty salutations of *St. Mary*: and what the Latins called the *Crown of St. Mary*, consisted of six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and sixty or seventy salutations, according to the age ascribed by different authors to the holy virgin.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The more ancient heresies. — § 2. The Paulicians. — § 3. Commotions excited by Leuthard. — § 4. The Anthropomorphites.

§ 1. THE incredible stupidity of this age, which was the source of so many evils, had this one advantage, that it rendered the church tranquil, and undisturbed by new sects and discords. The Nestorians and Monophysites began to experience more

many specimens of the author's discernment.

³ This is formally demonstrated by

Jo. Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. v. p. lviii. &c.

hardships under the Arabians, than formerly : and they are said to have repeatedly suffered the greatest violence. But as many of them gained the good will of the great, by their skill in medicine, or by their abilities as stewards and men of business, the persecutions that occasionally broke out, were in some sort suppressed.¹

§ 2. The Manichæans or Paulicians, of whom mention has been made before, became considerably numerous in Thrace under the emperor *John Tzimiskes*. As early as the eighth century *Constantine Copronymus* had removed a large portion of this sect to this province, that they might no longer disturb the tranquillity of the East : yet they still remained numerous in Syria and the neighbouring countries. *Theodorus*, therefore, the bishop of Antioch, for the safety of his own flock, did not cease importuning the emperor, until he ordered a new colony of Manichæans to be transplanted to Philippopolis.² From Thrace, the sect removed into Bulgaria and Slavonia ; in which countries they afterwards had a supreme pontiff of their own ; and they made a regular home there down to the times of the council of Bâle, or to the fifteenth century. From Bulgaria, they migrated to Italy ; and thence spread into other countries of Europe, and gave much trouble to the Roman pontiffs.³

§ 3. At the close of this century, a certain man of low condition, named *Leuthard*, in the village of Vertus near Châlons, attempted some innovations in religion : and, in a short time, drew a large share of the vulgar after him. He would allow of no images ; for he is said to have broken the image of our Saviour. He maintained, that tithes ought not to be given to the priests ; and said, that in the prophecies of the Old Testament, some things were true, and some things were false. He pretended to be inspired ; but bishop *Gebwin* drove the man to extremities, and he at last threw himself into a well.⁴ I suppose, that the disciples of this man, who doubtless taught

¹ [Some Nestorians were private secretaries of the Kaliphs ; and the Nestorian patriarch had such influence with the Kaliph, that the Jacobite and Greek bishops, living among the Arabians, were obliged, in their difficulties, to put themselves under his protection. See Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iv. p. 96—100. *Schl.*]

² Jo. Zonaras, *Annal.* lib. xvii. p. 209. ed. Paris ; p. 164, ed. Venice.

³ And, as has been already observed, perhaps some remains of the sect still exist in Bulgaria.

⁴ An account of these transactions is given by Glaber Radulphus, *Hist.* lib. ii. c. xi. [Fleury, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. lviii. § 19. thus relates the whole story, on the authority of Glaber. Near the close of the year 1000, a plebeian man, by the name of Leutard, in the village of Vertus and diocese of Châlons, pretended

many other things, besides those which are stated above, joined themselves with such as were afterwards, in France, called *Albigenses*, and who are said to have leaned to the views of the Manichæans.

§ 4. Some remains of the Arians still existed in certain parts of Italy; and especially in the region about Padua.⁵ *Ratherius*, bishop of Verona, had a controversy with the *Anthropomorphites*, from the year 939, onwards. For in the neighbourhood of Vicenza, there were many persons, not only among the laity, but also among the clergy, who supposed that God possesses a human form, and sits upon a golden throne, in the manner of kings; and that his ministers, or *angels*, are winged men, clothed in white robes.⁶ These erroneous conceptions will not surprise us, if we reflect, that the people, who were extremely ignorant on all subjects, and especially on religion, saw God and the angels so painted, every where, in the churches. More irrational still was the superstition of those, whom the

to be a prophet, and deceived many. Being at a certain time in the fields, and fatigued with labour, he laid himself down to sleep; when a great swarm of bees seemed to enter the lower part of his body, and to pass out of his mouth, with a great buzzing. They next began to sting him severely; and after tormenting him awhile, they spoke to him, and commanded him to do some things which were beyond human power. He returned home exhausted; and, with a view to obey the divine admonition, dismissed his wife. Then proceeding to the church, as if for prayer, he entered it, and seized and broke the image of the crucifix. The by-standers were amazed, and supposed the man was deranged; but as they were simple rustics, he easily persuaded them, that he had performed the deed under the direction of a supernatural and divine revelation. Leutard talked much, and wished to be regarded as a great teacher. But in his discourses, there was nothing solid, and no truth. He said, that the things taught by the prophets, were to be believed, only in part; and that the rest was useless. He declared, that it was of no use to a man to pay his tithes. Fame now proclaimed him to be a man of God; and no small part of the vulgar went after him. But Geboin, the venerable and wise bishop of Châlons, sum-

moned the man before him, and interrogated him respecting all the things reported of him. He began to dissemble and conceal the poison of his wickedness, and quoted portions of the Scriptures, which he had never studied. The sagacious bishop now convicted the blockhead of falsehood and madness; and, in part, reclaimed the people whom he had seduced. The wretched Leutard, finding his reputation ruined among the people, drowned himself in a well. *Tr.*

⁵ [It appears from Ugelli's *Italia Sacra*, tom. v. p. 429 of the new edition, that in the diocese of Peter, the bishop of Padua, who died A. D. 942, there were many Arians, whom that bishop strenuously opposed. And in the same work, p. 433, it is stated, that bishop Goslin or Gauslin, who filled the see from the year 964 till into the following century, completely exterminated this sect. *Schl.*]

⁶ [We ought not to class these poor creatures among heretics. The language of *Ratherius* does not imply, that such opinions were taught in public. The erroneous views entertained by individuals, in private, do not constitute a heresy. And how many such *Anthropomorphites* should we not now find, if we were to examine the conceptions of our own common people, in regard to God and the angels? *Schl.*]

same *Ratherius* opposes; who were led, I know not how, to believe that St. *Michael* says mass, every Monday, before God in heaven; and they therefore resorted, on these days, to the churches that were dedicated to St. Michael.⁷ It is probable, that the priests, who performed service in the temples consecrated to St. Michael, instilled, from avarice, this most absurd notion, as they did other errors, into the minds of the vulgar.

⁷ *Ratherius*, *Epistola Synodica*, in ii. p. 294, &c. *Sigebert* of Genèblours, *Dacherii Spicileg. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. *Chronol.* ad ann. 939.

A 'big' thing! — A *man*

CENTURY ELEVENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Propagation of Christianity.—§ 2. Fruitless efforts of some, for the conversion of pagan nations.—§ 3. The Saracens driven from Sicily. The Sicilian monarchy.—§ 4. Expedition against the Saracens in Palestine.—§ 5. Progress of the holy war.—§ 6, 7. The history of it.—§ 8. Causes of these expeditions.—§ 9. Evils of them.—§ 10. Injurious to the church.

§ 1. THE Hungarians, Danes, Poles, Russians, and other nations, who had received, in the preceding century, some sort of knowledge of the Christian religion, could not universally be brought in a short time to prefer it to the religions of their fathers. Therefore, during the greatest part of this century, their kings, with the teachers whom they drew around them, were occupied in gradually enlightening and converting these nations.¹ In Tartary² and the adjacent regions, the activity of the Nestorians continued daily to gain over more people to the side of Christianity. And such is the mass of testimony

¹ For an account of the Poles and Russians, see the life of Romualdus, in the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114; and for the Hungarians, p. 117.

² The word Tartary is here used in

its broadest sense; for I am not insensible, that the Tartars, properly so called, are widely different from the Tangutians, Calmucs, Mungals, and other tribes.

at the present day, that we cannot doubt, but that bishops of the highest order, or *Metropolitans*, with many inferior bishops subject to them, were established, at that period, in the provinces of Cashgar, Nuacheta, Turkestan, Genda, Tangut, and others.³ Whence it will be manifest that there was a vast multitude of Christians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in these countries, which are now either devoted to Mahumedism, or worshippers of imaginary gods. And that all these Christians followed the Nestorian creed, and were subject to the supreme pontiff of the Nestorians residing in Chaldea, is so certain as to be beyond all controversy.

§ 2. For the conversion of the European nations, who still lived buried in superstition and barbarism, as the Slavonians, the Obotriti, the Wends, the Prussians, and others, some pious and good men laboured indeed, but with either very little or no success. Near the close of the preceding century, *Adalbert*, bishop of Prague, visited the ferocious nation of the Prussians, with a view to instruct them in the knowledge of Christianity; and the result was, that he was murdered, in the year 996, by *Siggon*, a pagan priest.⁴ The king of Poland, *Boleslaus Chrobry*, avenged his death by a severe war; and laboured to accomplish by arms and penalties, what *Adalbert* could not effect by arguments.⁵ Yet there were not wanting some, who seconded the king's violent measures, by admonitions, instructions, and persuasions. In the first place, we are told, one *Boniface*, of illustrious birth, and a disciple of St. *Romuald*, and afterwards one *Bruno*, with eighteen companions, went from Germany into Prussia, as Christian missionaries.⁶ But all these were put to

³ Marco Paulo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38. 40. 45. 47, 48, 49. 62, 63, 64; lib. ii. c. 39. Euseb. Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 320. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 502, &c. The history of this so successful propagation of Christianity by the Nestorians, in China, Tartary, and other adjacent countries, richly deserves to be more thoroughly explored, and set forth to the world, by some man well acquainted with oriental history. But the task would be, on various accounts, very difficult of execution. It was attempted by an excellent man, Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer, who

was furnished with a large number of documents for the purpose, both printed and manuscript. But the premature death of this learned man intercepted his labours.

⁴ See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad diem 23 Aprilis, p. 174, &c. [and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. vii. p. 846, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ Solignac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

⁶ [Bruno and Boniface were, in fact, one and the same person; the first being his original and proper name, and the other his assumed name; for the monks were then accustomed to take assumed names. See Ditmar, lib. vi. p. 82.

death by the Prussians: nor could the valour of *Boleslaus* or of the subsequent kings of Poland, bring this savage nation to abandon the religion of their ancestors.⁷

§ 3. The Saracens seized upon Sicily, in the ninth century; nor could the Greeks or the Latins hitherto expel them from the country, though they made frequent attempts to do it. But in this century, A. D. 1059, *Robert Guiscard*, the Norman duke of Apulia, with his brother *Roger*, under the authority of the Roman pontiff *Nicolaus II.*, attacked them with great valour; nor did *Roger* relinquish the war, till he had gained possession of the whole island, and cleared it of the Saracens. After this great achievement, in the year 1090, *Roger* restored the Christian religion, now almost extinguished there by the Saracens, to its former dignity; and established bishops, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches, and put the clergy in possession of ample revenues and honours, which they enjoy to the present times.⁸ To this heroic man, is traced the origin of what is called *the Sicilian monarchy*, or the supreme power in matters of religion, which is claimed by the kings of Sicily:

Chronicon Quedlinburg. and^m *Sigebert Gemblacens.* ad ann. 1009. The annalist Saxo, on this year, says expressly, “*Sanctus Bruno qui et Bonifacius, Archiepiscopus gentium, primum Canonicus S. Mauritii in Magdaburh. xvi. Kal. Mart. martyr inclutus cœlos petiit.*” He was of the highest rank of Saxon nobility, a near relative of the emperor Otto III., and beloved by him. Bruno served for a time at the imperial chapel. But in the year 997, he preferred a monastic life; and connected himself with St. Romuald, whom he accompanied first to Monte Cassino, and then to Perra, near Ravenna. He obtained permission from the pope to preach to the pagans; and therefore received ordination as an archbishop. He preached to pagans till the twelfth year, and was then killed, near the confines of the Prussians and Lithuanians, [A.D. 1006.] The bodies of Bruno and his companions were purchased of the pagans, by *Boleslaus*. *Schl.*—See also Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* vol. viii. p. 79—81, and Fleury, *Histoire de l’Eglise*, livr. lviii. § 26. *Tr.*]

⁷ Anton. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad ann. 1008, p. 97, &c. Christ. Hartknoch, *History of the Prussian*

Church, written in German, book i. ch. i. p. 12, &c. [Some of the principal Poles, also, to whom Christianity was burdensome, on account of the many tithes they had to pay to the clergy, relapsed again into idolatry. See Dugless, *Hist. Polon.* ad ann. 1022. On the other hand, the Transylvanians were vanquished by the king of Hungary, in the year 1002; and were brought to embrace Christianity, after their prince Geula, with his wife and children, were thrown into prison. And the same king undertook some successful campaigns against the Bulgarians and the pagan Slavonians. See Theuroczius, in *Chron. Hungar.* c. 29, 30. *Schl.*]

⁸ See Burigny, *Histoire Générale de Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386, &c. [The character of this Roger is highly extolled by the historians of those times. Among other things, he is extolled for his tolerant disposition in regard to religion. For when he conquered Sicily, he allowed the Saracens, who chose to remain in the island, to live according to their own laws, and to follow their own religion, so long as they should continue obedient subjects. See Muratori, *Annal. Ital.* ad ann. 1090. *Schl.*]

for *Urban II.* is said to have created this Roger and his successors, hereditary legates of the apostolic see, by a special diploma, dated A. D. 1097. The Romish court contends, that this diploma is a forgery: and hence, even in our times, those severe contests, between the Roman pontiffs and the kings of Sicily, respecting the *Sicilian monarchy*. The posterity of *Roger* governed Sicily down to the twelfth century; at first, under the title of dukes, and then under that of kings.⁹

⁹ See Cæs. Baronius, *de Monarchia Sicilia Liber*; in his *Annales*, tom. xi. and Lud. Ell. du Pin, *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*. [The famous bull of the monarchy of Sicily is supposed to have been granted, at an interview of pope Urban II. with Roger duke of Sicily and Calabria, held at Salerno, A. D. 1098. The pope had appointed Robert, bishop of Frani, his legate *à latere* in Sicily. But the duke, no stranger to the authority claimed by such legates and to the disturbances they produced, entreated the pope to revoke the commission, plainly insinuating that he would suffer no legate in his dominions. As the duke had rendered signal services to the apostolic see, had driven the Saracens quite out of Sicily, and subjected all the churches of that island to the see of Rome, though claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, the pope not only recalled the commission he had given to the bishop, but to engage the duke still more in his favour, he conferred upon him all the power he had granted to his legate, declaring him, his heirs, and his successors, *hereditary legates*, and vested with the legatine power, in its full extent. The bull is dated at Salerno, July, Indiction vii., Urban's reign xi. i.e. 1098. Here is some mistake, as the eleventh year of the Indiction. And this error has been urged against the genuineness of the instrument, by Baronius, who inserts it, and endeavours to prove it a forgery, in the eleventh volume of his *Annals*. He also urges, that the bull, if genuine, related only to Roger and his immediate descendants; that it was a *family* privilege, given to reward the personal services of Roger. Though many learned men regard the bull as of very questionable origin, and especially as the Sicilian monarchs, when challenged to do it, have not produced the original writings, yet

the kings of Aragon, to whom Sicily was long subject, claimed and exercised the legatine power, as being the successors of duke Roger. And they would not suffer the eleventh volume of Baronius' *Annals* to circulate in their dominions, on account of its elaborate confutation of their claims. The same power has been likewise claimed, and sometimes exercised, by all the princes, who have been masters of that island, down to modern times. In the year 1715, Clement XI., having published two bulls, the one abolishing the *monarchy*, as it is called, and the other establishing a new plan of ecclesiastical government, the duke of Savoy, as sovereign of Sicily, banished all who received either of them, out of the country. Some compromise has since taken place, but the supreme ecclesiastical power is still in the hands of the temporal sovereign of the country: that is, he is supreme head of the church there; has power to excommunicate and absolve all persons whatever, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, and cardinals themselves, if resident in the island; he has a right to preside in all the provincial councils of the country, and to exercise all the jurisdiction of a legate *à latere*, vested with the fullest legatine power. And this power the sovereign may exercise, though a female; as in the instance of Jane of Aragon and Castile; and not only in his own person, but also by a commissioner of his appointment. For the more convenient exercise of this power, a commissioner, who is styled *the Judge of the monarchy*, is appointed by the king, whose tribunal is the supreme ecclesiastical court, for Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Tarento, Malta, and the other islands. Yet from him lies an appeal to the royal audience. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 340, and Staudlin's *Kirchl. Geographie*, vol. i. p. 476, &c. *Tr.*]

§ 4. From the times of *Sylvester II.*, the Roman pontiff's had been meditating the extension of the limits of the church in Asia, and especially the expulsion of the Mahumedans from Palestine; but the troubles of Europe prevented the execution of their designs. *Gregory VII.*, the most daring of all the pontiffs that ever sat in St. Peter's chair, excited by perpetual complaints from the Asiatic Christians, respecting the cruelty of the Mahumedans, wished to engage personally, at the very beginning of his popedom, in a holy war: and more than fifty thousand men prepared themselves for an expedition under him.¹ But his controversy with the emperor *Henry IV.*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unexpected events, obliged him to abandon the design. When the century, however, was near its close, a certain Frenchman of Amiens, *Peter*, surnamed the Hermit, gave occasion to the renewal of the design by *Urban II.* *Peter* visited Palestine in the year 1093, and there beheld, with great anguish of mind, the extreme oppressions and vexations, which the Christians, travelling to the holy places, suffered from the Mahumedans. Being, accordingly, wrought up to an enthusiasm which he took for divine, he first implored aid from *Symeon*, patriarch of Constantinople², and from *Urban II.*, the Roman pontiff, but without success. He then traversed Europe, and made Christian princes burn with a desire to wage war upon the tyrants of Palestine. More than this, he carried about an epistle to the Christian world, written from heaven upon this very thing, with a view to make the simple-minded a more easy prey.³

§ 5. Men's minds being thus heated, *Urban II.*, in the year 1095, assembled a very numerous council at Piacenza, in which he first recommended this holy war.⁴ But the dangerous enterprise was relished only by a few; although ambassadors from the Greek emperor, *Alexius Comnenus*, were present, and in the name of their master represented the necessity of

¹ Gregory VII., *Epistolarum* lib. ii. ep. 31, and in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1285.

² [The Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. *Tr.*]

³ This fact is mentioned by the abbot Dodechinus, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti*; in the *Scriptor. Germanicor.* Jo. Pistorii, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of Peter, see Car. Du Fresne,

Notæ ad Anna Comnenæ Alexiadem, p. 79, ed. Venet.

⁴ [Berthold, a contemporary writer, says, there were present in this council about four thousand clergymen, and more than thirty thousand laymen, and that its sessions were held in the open air, because no church could contain the multitude. See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1711, &c. *Tr.*]

opposing the Turks, whose power was daily increasing. The business succeeded better in the council of Clermont, which was assembled soon after; for the French, being more enterprising and ready to face dangers than the Italians, were so moved by the tumid eloquence of *Urban*, that a vast multitude, of all ranks and ages, became eager at once to engage in a military expedition to Palestine.⁵ This host seemed to be a very formidable army, and adequate to overcome almost any obstacles; but, in reality, it was extremely weak and pusillanimous: for it was composed chiefly of monks, mechanics, farmers, persons averse from their regular occupations, spendthrifts, speculators, prostitutes, boys, girls, servants, malefactors, and the lowest dregs of the idle populace, in quest of better fortune. From such troops, what steadiness could be expected? Those who followed this camp were called *Crusaders*⁶; and the enterprise itself was called a *Crusade*⁷; not only, because they professedly were going to rescue the *cross* of our Lord from the hands of its enemies, but also, because they wore upon their right shoulders, a white, red, or green *cross* made of woollen cloth, and solemnly consecrated.⁸

§ 6. Eight hundred thousand persons, therefore, as credible

⁵ Theod. Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II.* § cccxv. &c. p. 224, 229, 240, 272, 274, 282, 296, of the *Opp. Posthum.* of Jo. Mabillon, and Theodore Ruinart, tom. iii. Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1726. Caesar Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xi. ad. ann. 1095. No. xxxii. p. 648. [The number present at the council of Clermont is not definitely stated by the early writers, though they all agree that it was very great. There were thirteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, besides abbots and inferior clergy, with a multitude of laymen. The Acts of this council, with two speeches of Urban, are given by Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1718, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ Cruciatii.

⁷ Expeditio cruciata.

⁸ See Abrah. Bzovius, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, tom. xv. ad ann. 1410, § ix. p. 32, &c. ed. Colon. Jac. Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. ii. livr. v. p. 60, &c. The writers who give account of the Crusades, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti Orbis exorientis*, cap. xxx. p. 518. [Most of the original writers, living in or near the times of the Crusades, were collected

by Jac. Bongars, in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611, 2 vols. fol. Of these original writers, the most important are, Robert of Rheims, Baldric or Baudri of Dol, Raimond of Agiles, Albert of Aix, Fulcher or Fulcard of Chartres, and Guibert of Nogent; but especially William bishop of Tyre, and James de Vitry. To these may be added Marino Sanuto of the thirteenth century. The best moderns are said to be, I. Bâpt. Mailly, *Esprit des Croisades, ou Histoire politique et militaire des Guerres entreprises par les Chrétiens pour le recouvrement de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1780, 4 vols. 12mo. Maimbourg, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1673, &c. 4 vols. 12mo. J. C. Mayer, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1780, 2 vols. 8vo. F. Wilkin, *Gesch. der Kreuzz.* Lips. 1807—17, 3 vols. 8vo. I. Ch. Waken, *Gemälde der Kreuzz.* Francf. 1808—10, 3 vols. 8vo. A. H. Heeren, *Versuch e. Entwicklung d. Folg. d. Kreuzz.* (a prize essay,) Gotting. 1808, 8vo. The English reader may consult Gibbon's *Hist. of the Decline*, &c. ch. lviii. lix. Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. and vi. Mill's *History of the Crusades*, &c. *Tr.*]

writers inform us, marched from Europe, in the year 1096, pursuing different routes, and conducted by different leaders, all of whom directed their way to Constantinople, that, after receiving instructions and aid from *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greek emperor, they might pass over into Asia. The author of the war, *Peter the Hermit*, girded with a rope, first led on a band of eighty thousand, through Hungary and Thrace. But this company, after committing endless enormities, was nearly all miserably butchered by the Hungarians and Turks.⁹ Nor did better fortune attend some other armies of these Crusaders; who roamed about, like robbers, under unskilful commanders, plundering and laying waste the countries over which they travelled. Rather more happy was the journey of those who were commanded by men of illustrious birth and military skill. *Godfrey* of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, a man who may be compared with the greatest heroes of any age¹, and who was commander-in-chief of the war, conducted, with his brother *Baldwin*, a well-organized body of eighty thousand horse and foot, through Germany and Hungary. Another body, under the command of *Raymond*, earl of Toulouse, marched through Slavonia. *Robert*, earl of Flanders, *Robert*, duke of Normandy², and *Hugo*, the Great, brother to Philip, king of France, embarked with their forces at Brindisi and Tarento, and made for Durazzo. These were followed by Boamund, duke of Apulia and Calabria, at the head of a numerous and select band of Normans.

§ 7. This army, the greatest within the memory of man, when it arrived at Constantinople, though greatly diminished by various calamities, caused much alarm, and not without reason, to the Greek emperor. But his fears were dispelled, when it had passed the straits of Gallipoli, and landed in Bithynia. The crusaders first besieged Nice, the capital of Bithynia; which was taken in the year 1097. They then proceeded on, through Asia Minor into Syria; and in the year 1098, took Antioch;

⁹ [The army under Peter the Hermit vented their rage especially against the Jews; whom they either compelled to receive baptism, or put to death with horrid cruelty. The same thing was done by another division, in the countries along the Rhine, at Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Worms, and Spier; where, however, the Jews were sometimes protected by the bishops. See the *Annalist*,

Sax. ad ann. 1096, in Eccard's *Corpus Hist. Mediæ Aevi*, tom. i. p. 579, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ Of this illustrious hero, the Benedictine monks treat professedly, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 598, &c.

² [He was the eldest son of William the Conqueror, king of England. *Tr.*]

which was given, with its territory, to *Boamund*, duke of Apulia. They also captured Edessa; of which *Baldwin*, the brother of *Godfrey* of Bouillon, was made sovereign. Finally, in the year 1099, these Latins reduced the city of Jerusalem by their victorious arms. And here the seat of a new kingdom was established, and the above-named *Godfrey* was declared the first king of Jerusalem. He refused, however, the title of *king*, from motives of modesty; and, retaining a few soldiers with him, permitted the others to return back to Europe. But this great man died not long after, and left his kingdom to his brother *Baldwin*, prince of Edessa, who did not hesitate to assume the title of king.

§ 8. With the Roman pontiffs, and particularly with *Urban II.*, the principal motive for enkindling this holy war was furnished, I conceive, by the corrupted religion of that age. For, according to the prevailing views, it was a reproach upon Christians to suffer the land which had been consecrated by the footsteps and the blood of *Christ*, to remain under the power of his enemies; and moreover, a great and essential part of piety to God consisted in pilgrimages to the holy places; which were most hazardous undertakings, so long as the Mahumedans should occupy Palestine. To these religious motives, there was added an apprehension, that the Turks, who had already subdued a large part of the Greek empire, would march into Europe, and would, in particular, assail Italy. Those among the learned who suppose that the Roman pontiff recommended this terrible war, for the sake of extending his own authority, and of weakening the power of the Latin emperors and king; and that the kings and princes of Europe encouraged it, in order to get rid of their powerful and warlike vassals, and to obtain possession of their lands and estates; bring forward indeed plausible conjectures, but they are mere conjectures.³

³ The first of these motives ascribed to the pontiffs, is brought forward by many, both Protestants and Papists, as one not at all to be questioned. See Bened. Accoltus, *de Bello Sacro in Infideles*, lib. i. p. 16. Jac. Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. period v. p. 235. Ren. de Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 302. 308. lib. iv. p. 428. Andr. Baillet, *Hist. des Dénéez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel*, p. 76. *Hist. du Droit Eccles.*

François, tom. i. p. 296, 299, and many others. But that this supposition has no solid foundation, will be clear to such as consider all the circumstances. The Roman pontiffs could not certainly foresee, that so many princes, and people of every class, would march away from Europe to Palestine: neither could they discover, beforehand, that these expeditions would be so beneficial to themselves. For all the advantages accruing to the pontiffs and to the clergy from

Yet afterward, when the pontiffs as well as the kings and princes learned, by experience, how very beneficial to their interests these wars were, they felt new and additional motives for encouraging them ; among the first of which, undoubtedly, was an eagerness to increase their own power and resources.

§ 9. These wars, however, whether just or unjust ⁴, produced

these wars, both the extension of their authority and the increase of their wealth, were not apparent, at once, and at the commencement of the war ; but they gradually developed themselves, being the result rather of accidental circumstances, than of design. This single fact shows, that the pontiffs who promoted these wars, could have had no thoughts of extending their power by them. It may be added, that the general belief, and the expectation of the pontiffs, was, that the whole business would be accomplished in a single expedition, of no long continuance ; and that God himself would, by miraculous interpositions, overthrow those enemies of Christianity who were the unjust possessors of Palestine. Besides, as soon as Jerusalem was taken, most of the European princes and soldiers returned back to Europe ; which the popes surely would not have permitted, if from the continuance of this war they anticipated great accessions to their wealth and power.—But no conjecture on this subject is, in my view, more unfortunate, than that which supposes Urban II. to have eagerly pressed forward this holy war, in order to weaken the power of the emperor Henry IV., with whom he was in a violent contest respecting the investiture of bishops. The advocates of this conjecture forget, that the first armies which marched against the Mahumedans of Asia, were raised chiefly among the Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were opposed to Urban II., were at first the most averse from these wars. Other arguments are omitted, for the sake of brevity.—Nor is the other part of the conjecture, which relates to the kings and princes of Europe, better founded. It has received the approbation of Vernet, (*Histoire de Malthe*, liv. iii. p. 309.) Boulainvilliers, and other great and eminent men, who think they see further than others into the policy of the courts in those ages. But these excellent men have no other argument to adduce, but this : many kings, especially of the Franks, were rendered more rich and

powerful, by the death and the misfortunes of those who engaged in these wars ; and therefore they craftily gave, not only permission, but also a direct encouragement, to these wars. All can see the inconclusiveness of this reasoning. We are too prone to ascribe more sagacity and cunning both to the Roman pontiffs, and to the kings and princes of those times, than they really possessed ; and we too often judge of the *causes* of transactions by their *results* ; which is a defective and uncertain mode of reasoning. I apprehend, that the Roman pontiffs (of whom alone I would speak) obtained their immense aggrandisement, not so much by shrewdly forming plans for enlarging their power, as by dexterously seizing the opportunities that occurred.

⁴ The question of the *justice* of what are called the *Crusades*, I shall not take upon me to discuss : nor shall I deny, that it is, when viewed impartially, an intricate and dubious question. But I wish the reader to be apprised, that there was discussion among Christians, as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respecting the justice and injustice of those holy wars. For the *Cathari*, or the Albigenses and Waldenses, denied their justice. The arguments they used are collected and refuted by Fr. Moneta, a Dominican writer, of the thirteenth century, in his *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, (which was published a few years ago, at Rome, by Richini,) lib. v. c. xiii. p. 531, &c. But the arguments of the *Cathari* against the *transmarine expeditions* (*viam ultramarinam*), as they called these wars, had not great weight ; nor were the answers of the well-meaning Moneta very solid. An example will make this clear. The *Cathari* opposed the holy wars, by urging the words of Paul, 1 *Cor.* x. 32. *Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the gentiles, nor to the church of God.* By the *gentiles*, they said, may be understood the *Saracens*. Therefore European Christians ought not to make war upon the Saracens, lest they should *give offence to the gentiles*. Denied

immense evils of every sort, both in church and state; and their effects are visible even to the present day. Europe was deprived of more than half of its population, and immense sums of money were exported to foreign countries; and very many families, previously opulent and powerful, either became extinct, or were reduced to extreme poverty: for the heads of families either mortgaged or sold their territories, possessions, and estates, in order to defray the expense of their journey⁵; while others imposed such intolerable burdens upon their vassals and tenants, as frightened them into giving up their houses and lands, to take the cross themselves. Hence originated, quite over Europe, an immense confusion of interests of every kind. I say nothing of the murders, carnage, robberies, committed in all quarters with impunity, by these soldiers of God and Jesus Christ, as they were called; nor of the new, and often very grievous privileges and prerogatives, to which these wars gave occasion.⁶

§ 10. These wars were no less prejudicial to the church and to religion. The power and greatness of the Roman pontiff's

answer of Moneta to this singular argument, we will give in his own words. "We read, *Gen.* xii. 7, that God said to Abraham: *To thy seed will I give this land.* But we (the Christians of Europe) are the seed of Abraham; as says the apostle to the *Galat.* iii. 29. *To us* therefore has that land been given for a possession. Hence, it is the duty of the civil power to labour to put us in possession of that land; and it is the duty of the church to exhort civil rulers to do their duty."—A rare argument this, truly! But let us hear him out.—"The church does not intend to harm the Saracens, or to kill them; nor have Christian princes any such design. And yet, if they will stand in the way of the swords of the princes, they will be slain. The church of God therefore is without offence, that is, it injures no one in this matter, because it does no one any wrong, but only defends its own rights."—Who can deny that here is ingenuity?

⁵ Many and very memorable examples of this occur in ancient records. Robert duke of Normandy, mortgaged to his brother William, king of England, the duchy of Normandy, to enable him to take his departure for Palestine. See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, lib. i.

p. 24, &c. Odo, viscount of Bourges, sold his territory to the king of France. See the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictines, tom. ii. p. 45. For more examples, see Car. du Fresne, *Adnot. ad Joinvilli vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52. Boulainvilliers, *sur l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Molet's *Mémoires de Littér. et de l'Histoire*, tom. ix. pt. i. p. 68. Jo. Geo. Cramer, *de Juribus et Prærogativis Nobilitatis*, tom. i. p. 81. 409. From the time therefore of these wars, very many estates of the nobility, in all parts of Europe, became the property of the kings and more powerful princes, or of the priests and monks, or of private citizens of inferior rank.

⁶ Those who took the badge of Crusaders acquired extraordinary rights and privileges, which were injurious to other citizens. Of these the Jurists properly treat. I will only observe, that hence it became customary, whenever a person would contract a loan, or buy, or sell, or enter into any civil compact, to require of him, to renounce the privileges of a Crusader, whether already acquired, or yet future (*privilegio crucis sumptæ ac sumendæ renunciare*). See Le Beuf, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.

were wonderfully advanced by them; and the wealth of the churches and monasteries was, in many ways, much augmented.⁷ Moreover, as bishops and abbots in great numbers forsook their charges and travelled into Asia, the priests and monks lived without restraint, and addicted themselves freely to every vice. Superstition also, previously extravagant, now increased greatly among the Latins. For the long list of tutelary deities was amplified with new and often fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin, before unknown to the Europeans⁸; and an incredible number of relics, generally of a ridiculous character, was imported into our churches and chapels. Every one, in fact, who returned home from Asia, brought with him, as a glorious trophy, some sacred relics which he had bought extravagantly dear of the cheating Syrians and Greeks. These he left, as a charge requiring especial care, either to a church, or to the members of his own family.⁹

⁷ The accessions to the wealth and the power of the Roman pontiffs, arising from these wars, were too numerous and various to be conveniently enumerated here with particularity. And not only the visible head of the church, but likewise the church universal, augmented its power and resources by means of these wars. For they who assumed the cross, as they were about to place their lives in great jeopardy, conducted themselves as men do when about to die. They therefore generally made their wills; and in them they gave a part of their property to a church or monastery, in order to obtain the protection and favour of God. See Plessis, *Histoire de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76. 79. 141. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 138, 139. Le Beuf, *Mémoires pour l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. Append. p. 31. Du Fresne, *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52. Numerous examples of such pious donations are to be found in ancient records. Those who had controversies with priests or monks, very commonly would abandon their cause or lawsuit, and yield up the property in controversy. Those who had themselves seized on property of the churches or convents, or were told that their ancestors had done some wrong to the priests, freely restored what they had taken, and often with additions; and compensated for the injuries done, whether real or imaginary, by their donations. See Du Fresne, l. c. p. 52. [In general, the Crusades were a rich mine for the

popes. Whoever became a knight of the cross, became subject to the pope, and was no longer subject to the secular power of his temporal lord. Whoever had taken the vow to march to the holy land, and afterwards wished to be released from it, could purchase an exemption from the pope, who gave such dispensations, &c. *Seld.*]

⁸ The Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge, that in the time of the crusades many saints before unknown to the Latins, were brought from Greece and the East into Europe, where they were worshipped most religiously. And among these new spiritual guardians, there were some of whose lives and history there is the greatest reason to doubt. For example, St. Catharine was introduced into Europe from Syria, as is admitted by Cæs. Baronius, *ad Martirolog. Rom.* p. 728; by Geo. Cassander, *S. Julia ad Hymnos Ecclesiarum* in his Opp. Paris, 1616, fol. p. 278, 279. Yet it is very doubtful whether this Catharine, the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

⁹ The sacred treasures of relics which the French, Germans, Britons, and other nations of Europe formerly preserved with such care, and which are still exhibited with reverence, are not more ancient than the times of the crusaders, and were purchased at a great price by kings, princes, and other distinguished persons of the Greeks and Syrians. But that these avaricious and fraudulent dealers imposed upon the pious credulity

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Sufferings of Christians from the Saracens and Turks in the East.—§ 2. Also in the West.

§ 1. THE principal conflicts of the Christians, in this century, were from the Saracens, and from the Turks, who were equally the enemies of both Saracens and Christians. The Saracens, though at war among themselves, and at the same time unable to arrest the daily encroachments of the Turks upon them, persecuted their Christian subjects in a most cruel manner, putting some to death, mutilating others, and plundering others of all their property. The Turks not only pressed hard upon the Saracens, but also subjugated the fairest provinces of the Greek empire, along the Euxine sea, and exhausted the remainder by perpetual incursions. Nor were the Greeks able to oppose

of the Latins, the most candid judges will not doubt. Richard, king of England, in the year 1191, purchased of Saladin, the noted Mahumedan Sultan, all the relics at Jerusalem. See Matthew Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 138, who also tells us (p. 666) that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, on which Christ had impressed the prints of his feet. The Genoese possess, as a present from Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, the dish from which Christ ate the paschal lamb with his disciples at his last supper. And this singular monument of ancient devotion is ridiculed by Jo. Baptist. Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63. Respecting the great amount of relics brought from Palestine to France by St. Lewis the French king, see Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, edited by Du Fresne. Plessis, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 320. Lancelot, *Mémoires pour la Vie de*

l'Abbé de S. Cyran, tom. ii. p. 175. Christ's pocket-handkerchief, which is held sacred at Besançon, was brought from Palestine to Besançon by a Christian Jewess. See Jo. Jac. Chiflet, *Vesontium*, pt. ii. p. 108. and *de linteis Christi sepulcralibus*, cap. ix. p. 50. For other examples, see Anton. Mattheus, *Analecta veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 52, and especially Jo. Jac. Chiflet, *Crisis historiae de linteis Christi sepulcralibus*, cap. ix. x. p. 50, &c. Among other things, Chiflet says, p. 59, "Sciendum est, vigente immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione, et imminente Christianæ religionis in Oriente naufragio, educta e sacrariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiarum pignora. Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis Galli, sacra Αειψαυα qua vi, qua pretio a detinentibus hac illac extorserunt." And this learned writer brings many examples as proofs.

their desolating progress, being miserably distracted with intestine discords, and so crippled by want of money, that they could neither raise forces, nor find means of paying them.

§ 2. In Spain, the Saracens seduced a large portion of the Christians by rewards, by marriages, and by compacts, to embrace the Mahumedan faith.¹ And they would doubtless have gradually induced most of their subjects to apostatize from Christianity, had they not been weakened by the loss of various battles with the Christian kings of Aragon and Castile, especially with *Ferdinand I.* of Aragon, and been stripped of a large part of the territories which they held.² Among the Danes, Hungarians, and other nations, those who still adhered to their ancient superstitions (and there were many of this description among those nations) very cruelly persecuted their fellow-citizens, as well as the neighbouring nations who professed Christianity. To suppress this cruelty, the Christian princes, in various places, enacted capital punishment against such as continued to worship the gods of their ancestors. And this severity was undoubtedly more efficacious for extinguishing the inveterate idolatry than the instructions given by persons who did not understand the nature of Christianity, and who dishonoured its purity by their corrupt morals and their superstitious practices. The still unconverted European nations of this period, the Prussians, the Lithuanians, the Slavonians, the Obotriti, and others inhabiting the lower parts of Germany, continued to harass the neighbouring Christians with perpetual wars and incursions, and cruelly to destroy the lives of many.³

¹ Jo. Hen. Hottinger, *Historia Eccles. sæcul. xi. sect. ii. p. 452.* Mich. Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*; published among his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 104, &c.

² These wars between the Christian kings of Spain and the Mahumedans or Moors, are described by the Spanish historians, Jo. Mariana and Jo. Ferreras.

³ Helmold, *Chronicon Slavor. lib. i. cap. xv. p. 52, &c.* Adam Bremensis,

Histor. lib. ii. cap. xxvii. [Among these nations many persons had professed Christianity; but, on account of the numberless taxes laid upon them, particularly by the clergy, and the cruelty of the Christian magistrates, they returned to paganism again, and then persecuted the Christians without mercy. Thus Helmold (*lib. i. cap. 16. 24. 25*) and Adam Bremensis (*lib. ii. cap. 32*) inform us, particularly in regard to the Slavonians. *Schl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. State of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Their most celebrated scholars.—
 § 3. State of learning in the West.—§ 4. Schools opened in various places.—§ 5.
 The sciences taught in these schools.—§ 6, 7. Dialectics in high repute.—§ 8, 9.
 Disputes among the logicians. Nominalists and Realists.

§ 1. THE calamitous state of the Greek empire entirely subverted the prosperity of literature and science. The Turks as well as the Saracens were daily depriving it more and more of its glory and power; and what they left inviolate, the civil discords, the frequent insurrections, and the violent dethronement of emperors, gradually wasted and destroyed. Yet there was here and there an individual that cherished and encouraged the liberal arts, both among the emperors (as *Alexius Comnenus*) and among the patriarchs and bishops. Nor would the controversies of the Greeks with the Latins allow the former to spurn all cultivation of the understanding and all love of learning. Owing to these causes the Greeks of this century were not entirely destitute of men who were respectable for their learning and intellectual culture.

§ 2. I omit the names of their poets, rhetoricians, and grammarians; who, if not the best, were at least tolerable. Among their historians, *Leo the Grammarian*¹, *John Scylitzes*², *Cedrenus*³,

¹ [He was the continuator of Theophanes' Chronicle, from A. D. 813 to 1013, the time when he is supposed to have lived and written. His work was

published Gr. and Lat. subjoined to Theophanes. ed. Combefis, Paris, 1655, fol. *Tr.*]

² [John Scylitzes, a civilian, and Cu-

and some others, are not to be passed by in silence; although they adhered to the fabulous stories of their countrymen, and were not free from partiality. *Michael Psellus*, a man in high reputation, was a pattern of excellence in all the learning and science of his age. He also laboured to excite his countrymen to the study of philosophy, and particularly of Aristotelian philosophy, which he attempted to explain and recommend by various productions of his pen.⁴ Among the Arabians the love of science still flourished; as is manifest from those among them who, in this age, excelled in the knowledge of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.⁵

§ 3. In the West, learning revived, in some measure, among those who followed a solitary life, or the monks and priests. For other people, but especially the nobles and the great, despised learning and science, with the exception of such as devoted themselves to the church, or aspired to sacred offices. In Italy schools flourished here and there after the middle of this century; and a number of learned men acquired reputation as authors and as instructors. Some of these afterwards removed to France, and especially to Normandy, and there taught the youth dedicated to the service of the church.⁶ The French, while they admit that they were indebted in a degree to learned men who came from Italy, produce also a respectable

ropalates at Constantinople. He wrote a *History of Transactions in the East*, from A.D. 811 to 1057; and afterwards continued it to A.D. 1081. The whole was published in a Latin translation by J. B. Gabe, Venice, 1570, fol. and the latter part in Gr. by P. Goar, Paris, 1648, fol. *Tr.*]

³ [George Cedrenus, a Greek monk, compiled a chronicle, extending from the creation to A.D. 1057. It is a mere compilation or transcript, from George Syncellus, prior to the reign of Diocletian; then from Theophanes to A.D. 813; and lastly, from John Seylitzes, A.D. 1057. It was first published, Gr. and Lat., by Hylander, Basil, 1566, fol. and afterwards, much better and with notes, by Fabrotus and Jac. Goar, Paris, 1647, fol. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Leo Allatius, *Diatriba de Psellis*, p. 14, ed. Fabricius. [Michael Psellus, junior, was of noble birth, a senator at Constantinople, tutor to Michael Ducas, afterwards emperor. He retired to a monastery about A.D. 1077, and died

not long after. He wrote a metrical paraphrase, and a prose commentary on the Canticles, a tract on the Trinity and the person of Christ, tracts on Virtue and Vice, on Tantalus and Circe, on the Sphinx, on the Chaldaic oracles, on the faculties of the soul, on diet, on the virtues of stones, on fictitious gold, on food and regimen; notes on portions of Gregory Nazianzen, and on the eight books of Aristotle's *Physics*; a paraphrase on Aristotle *περί ἐμπειρίας*; a panegyric on Simeon Metaphrastes; some law tracts; and on the ecclesiastical canons, on the four branches of mathematics, (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy,) several philosophical tracts, &c. &c. Many of his pieces were never printed, and most of those published were published separately. *Tr.*]

⁵ Elmæin, *Historia Saracen*, p. 281. Jo. Henr. Hottinger, *Historia Eccles.* secul. xi. p. 449, &c.

⁶ See Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 871. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 148.

list of their own citizens, who cultivated and advanced learning in this age; nor do they name a few schools, which were distinguished by the fame of their teachers and the multitude of their students.⁷ And it is unquestionable, that the French paid great attention to letters and the arts, and that their country abounded in learned men, while the greatest part of Italy was still sunk in ignorance. For *Robert*, king of France, the son of *Hugh Capet*, and a pupil of *Gerbert* or *Sylvester II.*, was himself a learned man, and a great patron of learning and learned men. His reign terminated in the year 1031, and his great zeal for the advancement of the arts and learning of every kind was not unsuccessful.⁸ The Normans from France, after they obtained possession of the lower provinces of Italy, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, diffused the light of science and literature over those countries. To the same people belongs the honour of restoring learning in England. For *William the Conqueror*, duke of Normandy, a man of discernment, and the great Mæcenas of his time, when he had conquered England, in the year 1066, made commendable efforts, by inviting learned men from Normandy and elsewhere, to banish from that country barbarism and ignorance, the fruitful sources of so many evils.⁹ For these heroic Normans, who had been so ferocious and hostile to all learning, before they embraced Christianity, imbibed, after their conversion, a very high regard both for religion and for learning.

§ 4. The thirst for knowledge, which gradually spread among the more civilized nations of Europe, was attended by this consequence, that more schools were opened, and in various places better teachers were placed over them. Until the commencement of this century, the only schools in Europe were those attached to the monasteries and the cathedral churches; and

⁷ See the Benedictine monks, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. Introduction, *passim*. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 355, &c. Le Beuf, *Diss. sur l'état des Sciences en France, depuis la mort du roy Robert*, &c. which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Hist. Ecclési. et Civile de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 1, &c. [Among their monastic schools, that of Bec in Normandy, taught by Lanfranc and Anselm, was particularly celebrated; and among their episcopal schools were those

of Rheims, Liege, Orleans, Tours, Angers, and Chartres. *Schl.*]

⁸ See Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 58. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 636, et *passim*.

⁹ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 171. "The English," says Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, lib. i. p. 4, ed. Watts, "before the time of William, were so illiterate, that one who understood grammar was looked upon with astonishment."

the only teachers of secular as well as sacred learning were the Benedictine monks. But in the beginning of this century, other priests and men of learning undertook the instruction of youth in various cities of France and Italy; who besides teaching more branches of knowledge than the monks had done, adopted a happier method of inculcating some of the branches before taught. Among these new teachers, those were the most distinguished, who had either studied in the schools of the Saracens in Spain, (which was a very common thing in this age, with such as aspired after a superior education,) or at least read the books of the Arabians, many of which were translated into Latin. For such masters taught philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and the kindred sciences in a more learned and solid manner, than they were taught by the monks and by those educated under them. Of medical knowledge, by far the most celebrated school in this century was that of *Salerno*, in the kingdom of Naples, and to it students of the healing art resorted from most of the countries of Europe. But whatever of this art was known to the teachers at Salerno, it had come to them from the schools of the Saracens in Spain and Africa, and from books written by Arabians.¹ From the same schools and books, and at the same time, nearly all the nations of Europe derived those futile arts of predicting the fortunes of men by the stars, by the countenance, and by the appearance of the hands, which in the progress of time acquired such an extensive currency and influence.

§ 5. In most of the schools, what were called the *seven liberal arts* were taught. The pupil commenced with grammar, then proceeded to rhetoric, and afterwards to logic or dialectics. Having thus mastered the *Trivium*, as it was called, those who aspired to greater attainments proceeded with slow steps through the *Quadrivium*², to the honour of a perfectly learned man. But this course of study, adopted in all the schools of the West, was not a little changed after the middle of this century. For, *logic* (which included *metaphysics*, at least in part,) having been improved by the reflection and skill of certain close thinkers,

¹ Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 935, &c. Gianoune, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 151. Jo. Friend, *History of Physic from the time of Galen*, Lond. 1726, 8vo. And who does not know, that the *Schola Salernitana*, or

rules for preserving health, was written in this age, by the physicians of Salerno, at the request of the king of England?

² [The *Quadrivium* embraced *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry* and *astronomy*. *Tr.*]

and being taught more fully and acutely, acquired such an ascendancy in the minds of the majority, that they neglected grammar, rhetoric, and the other sciences, both the elegant and the abstruse, and devoted their whole lives to *dialectics*, or to logical and metaphysical discussions. For whoever was well acquainted with dialectics, or what we call logic and metaphysics, was supposed to possess learning enough, and to lose nothing by being ignorant of all other branches of erudition.³ And hence arose that contempt for the languages, for eloquence, and the other branches of polite learning, and that gross barbarism, which prevailed for several centuries in the occidental schools, and which had a corrupting influence on theology as well as philosophy.

§ 6. The philosophy of the Latins, in this age, was confined wholly to what they called *dialectics*; and the other branches of philosophy were unknown even by name.⁴ Moreover, their *dialectics* were miserably dry and barren, so long as they were

³ See the citations in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 408, 409. 511, 512. To show how true the vulgar maxim is, that *there is nothing new under the sun*, I here subjoin a passage from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury, a writer of no contemptible abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741, ed. Lugd. Bat. 1639, 8vo. "The poets and historians were held in contempt; and if any one studied the works of the ancients, he was pointed at and ridiculed by every body, as being more stupid than the ass of Arcadia, and more senseless than lead or stone. For every one devoted himself exclusively to his own discoveries, or those of his master."—"Thus men became, at once, consummate philosophers: for the illiterate novice did not usually continue longer at school, than the time it takes young birds to become fledged."—"But what were the things taught by these new doctors, who spent more sleeping hours than waking ones, in the study of philosophy? Lo, all things became new: grammar was quite another thing; dialectics assumed a new form; rhetoric was held in contempt; and a new course for the whole Quadrivium was got up, derived from the very sanctuary of philosophy, all former rules and principles being discarded. They talked only of *suitableness*, (*convenientia*), and *reason*: *proof*! (resounded from every mouth)—and, *very inept*! or *crude* and *unphilosophical*!

—To say or do any thing *suitably* and *rationally*, was thought to be impossible, without the express *statement* of the *suitableness* and *reason* of it." The author says more on the same subject, for which see his work.—[The latter part of the extract above, is very obscure in the original Latin, at least when thus deprived of light from the context. The translation here given is not offered with great confidence. *Tr.*]

⁴ In the writings of this age, we find mention indeed of many *philosophers*: e. g. Manegold the philosopher, Adalard the philosopher, and many more. But it would mislead us, to attribute to the term the meaning that it had anciently among the Greeks and Romans, and which it now has. In the style of the middle ages, a *philosopher* is a man of learning. And this title was given to the interpreters of Scripture, though ignorant of every thing which is properly called philosophy. The *Chronicon Salernitanum* (in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. ii. pt. ii. c. cxxiv. p. 265.) states, that *there were thirty-two philosophers at Benevento*, in the tenth century; at which time the light of science was scarcely glimmering in Italy. But what follows this statement, shows, that the writer intended to designate *grammarians*, and persons having some knowledge of the liberal arts.

taught either from the work on the *ten Categories*, falsely attributed to *Augustine*, or from the *Introductions to Aristotle* by *Porphyry* and *Averroes*. Yet the schools had, in the former part of this century, no other guides in this science; and the teachers had neither the courage nor the skill to expand and improve the precepts contained in these works. But after the middle of the century, dialectics assumed a new aspect, first in France. For some of the works of *Aristotle* being introduced into France, from the schools of the Saracens in Spain, certain eminent geniuses, as *Berengarius*, *Roseclin*, *Hildebert*, and afterwards *Gilbert de la Porrée*, *Abelard*, and others, following the guidance of *Aristotle*, laboured to extend and perfect the science.

§ 7. None, however, obtained greater fame by their attempts to improve the science of dialectics and render it practically useful, than *Lanfranc*, an Italian, who was promoted from the abbacy of St. Stephen's in Caen, to the archbishopric of Canterbury in England; *Anselm*, whose last office was likewise archbishop of Canterbury; and *Odo*, eventually bishop of Cambrai. The first of these men was so distinguished in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician*; and he applied the principles of the science, with acuteness, to the decision of the controversy with his rival, *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's supper. The second, *Anselm*, in his dialogue *de Grammatico*, among other efforts to dispel the darkness of the dialectics of the age, investigated particularly the ideas of *substance*, and of *qualities* or *attributes*.⁵ The third, *Odo*, both taught dialectics, with great applause, and explained the science in three subtle works, *de Sophista*, *de Complexibus*, and *de Re et Ente*; which, however, are not now extant.⁶ The same *Anselm*, a man great and renowned in many respects, and who laboured to improve the science of dialectics, was likewise the first among the Latins that rescued *metaphysics* and *natural theology* from obscurity and neglect; and explained, acutely, what reason can teach us concerning God, in two treatises, which he entitled *Monologion*

⁵ This dialogue is among his Works, published by Gabr. Gerberon, tom. i. p. 143, &c.

⁶ See Herimann, *Narratio Restaurationis Abbat'æ S. Martini Tornac*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Vete-*

rum, tom. ii. p. 889, &c. of the new edition. "Odo, though well skilled in all the liberal arts, was particularly eminent in *dialectics*; and for this, especially, his school was frequented by the clergy."

and *Proslogion*.⁷ He it was who invented that very famous argument, commonly called the *Cartesian*; which aims to prove the existence of a God, from the very conception of an all-perfect Nature, implanted in the minds of men. The conclusiveness of this argument was assailed, in this very century, by the French monk *Gaunilo*; whom *Anselm* attempted to refute in a tract expressly on the subject.⁸

§ 8. But the science of dialectics was scarcely matured, when a fierce contest broke out among its patrons respecting the *subject-matter* which it proposed. This controversy was of little importance in itself, and one that had long been agitated in the schools; but, considered in its consequences, it became great and momentous; for the parties applied their different theories to the explanation of religious doctrines; and they mutually charged each other with the most odious consequences. They were all agreed in this, that dialectics are occupied with the consideration and comparison of *general ideas*⁹; because *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, cannot become the subject-matter of fixed and invariable science. But it was debated whether these *general ideas*, with which dialectics is concerned, are to be referred to the class of *things*, or to the class of mere *words* or *names*. Some maintained that *general ideas* are *things* that have real existence: and they supported their opinion by the authority of *Plato*, *Boëthius*, and others among the ancients. On the contrary, others affirmed that these *general ideas*¹ are nothing more than *words* or *names*; and these quoted the authority of *Aristotle*, *Porphyry*, and others. The former were called *Realists*, and the latter *Nominalists*. Each of these parties became, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, according to the different ways in which they explained their peculiar doctrine.² This controversy filled all

⁷ [In the *Monologion*, a person is represented as meditating or *reasoning with himself alone*: in the *Proslogion*, the same person is represented as *addressing himself to God*. Tr.]

⁸ Gaunilo's Tract against Anselm, as well as the Answer to it, is to be found in Anselmi *Opp.* p. 35, 36.

⁹ Rebus universalibus.

¹ Universalia.

² Of the Nominalists, and likewise of the dialectic controversy, there is a full account in Jac. Brückner's *Historia Crit. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 904, &c. He also,

as his custom is, mentions the other writers concerning this sect. Among these writers, is John Salabert, a presbyter of Agen; whose *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, was published at Paris, 1651, 8vo. None of those who have treated expressly of the Nominalists, have made use of this very rare book. I have before me a manuscript copy, transcribed from one in the library of the king of France; for the printed work was not to be obtained in that country. The acute Salabert, however, is at more pains to *defend* the philosophy

the schools in Europe for many centuries; and it produced frequently mortal combats among the theologians and the philosophers. Its origin, some learned men trace back to the controversy with *Berengarius*, respecting the Lord's supper³; and although they have no authorities to adduce, the conjecture is very probable; because the opinion of the *Nominalists* might be used very conveniently, in defending the doctrine of *Berengarius* respecting the Lord's supper.

§ 9. The father of the *Nominalist* sect was one *John*, a Frenchman called the *Sophist*; of whom almost nothing is now known except the name.⁴ His principal disciples were *Robert* of Paris, *Roscelin* of Compiègne, and *Arnulph* of Laon: and from these many others learned the doctrine. Perhaps also we may reckon among the disciples of *John*, that *Raimbert*, who taught a school at Lisle in Flanders; for he is said to have read logic to his clergy, in VOCE; whereas *Odo*, of whom mention has been made, read it to his disciples, in RE.⁵ But of all the *Nominalists* of this age, no one acquired greater celebrity than *Roscelin*; whence he has been regarded, and still is regarded, by many, as the founder of this sect.

of the *Nominalists*, than to narrate its history. And yet he relates some facts, which are generally little known.

³ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443. Gerh. Du Bois, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. i. p. 770.

⁴ This is stated by the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Historie Francicæ a Roberto Rege ad Mortem Philippi I.* which is extant in Andr. Du Chesne's *Scriptores Histor. Francicæ*, tom. iv. p. 90. This writer says: "In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse diseruit," &c. Cæs. Egasse De Boulay, in his *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 443 and 612, conjectures that this John was

John of Chartres, surnamed the Deaf, an eminent physician, and first physician to Henry I., the king of France. And he tells us, p. 377, that John's instructor was Giraldus of Orleans, an extraordinary poet and rhetorician: but of this he brings no proof. Jo. Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedictini*, tom. v. lib. lxxvii. § 78, p. 261, supposes him to be that John, who made known to Anselm the error of Roscelin, concerning the three Persons in the Godhead.

⁵ Herimann, *Historia Restaurat. Monasterii S. Martini Tornac.* in D'Achery's *Spicilegium Veter. Scriptorum*, tom. ii. p. 889.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS, AND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2, 3, 4, 5. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 6. Prerogatives of the Cardinals in their election.—§ 7, 8. Their authority.—§ 9. Hildebrand a pope.—§ 10, 11. His acts.—§ 12. The decrees of Gregory VII. against simony and concubinage.—§ 13. Commotions arising from the severity of the pope against concubinage.—§ 14. The enactments against simony produce the contest about investitures.—§ 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. History of this contest.—§ 21, 22. State of monkery.—§ 23. The Cluniacensians.—§ 24. The Camaldulensians, Vallumbrosians, and Hirsangians.—§ 25. The Cistercians.—§ 26. New orders of monks; the Grandimontensians.—§ 27. The Carthusians.—§ 28. The order of St. Anthony.—§ 29. The order of Canons.—§ 30. The more distinguished Greek writers.—§ 31. The Latin writers.

§ 1. All the records of these times bear testimony to the vices of those who managed the affairs of the church; and to the consequent prostration of discipline and of all religion. The western bishops, when raised to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with territories, towns, castles, and wealth of all sorts, became devoted to their pleasures, and to magnificence, and hovered about courts, attended by splendid retinues of servants.¹ At the same time, the inferior clergy, few of whom exhibited any degree of virtue and integrity, gave themselves up, without shame, to frauds, debaucheries, and crimes of various descriptions. The Greeks practised a little more restraint; for

¹ See the examples of Adalbert, (in Adam Brem. lib. iii. cap. 23, p. 38, lib. iv. cap. 35, p. 52,) of Gunther, (in Henr. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 185,) of Manasses, (in Joh. Mabillon, *Museum Italic.* tom. i. p. 114,) and those collected by Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 72, &c. [Among the servants of bishops, in these times, we meet with the ordinary officers of courts. In Harzheims's *Concilia German.* tom. iii.

p. 17 &c. we read: "The duke of Brabant — is *carver* to the bp. of Utrecht. The count of Guelders — his *hunter*. The count of Holland is styled, and is, the bp. of Utrecht's *marshal*. The count of Cleves is the bishop's *chamberlain*. Count de Bentheim is the bishop's *janitor*. Lord de Cucke is the bishop's *butler*. Lord de Choer is the bishop's *stand-ard-bearer*." *Schl.*]

the calamities of their country would not allow them to indulge themselves extravagantly. Yet the examples of virtue among them are few and rare.

§ 2. The power and majesty of the Roman pontiffs attained their greatest height during this century; though it was by gradual advances, and through great difficulties. They exercised, indeed, at the commencement of this century, very great power in sacred and ecclesiastical affairs; for they were styled by most persons *masters of the world*², and *popes*, or *universal fathers*; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates: they performed the functions of arbiters, in the controversies that arose respecting religious doctrines or discipline; and they defended with moderation the supposed rights of the church against the encroachments of kings and princes. Their authority, in fact, had certain limits; for the sovereign princes on the one hand, and the bishops on the other, opposed such resistance, that the court of Rome could not overthrow civil governments, nor destroy the authority of councils.³ But from the time of *Leo IX.* especially⁴, the pontiffs laboured by various arts to remove these limitations. With incessant efforts, they strove to be acknowledged, not only the sovereign legislators of the church, superior to all councils, and the divinely constituted distributors of all the offices, and dispensers of all the property connected with religion; but also—what was the extreme of arrogance,—to be acknowledged as lords of the whole world, and judges of kings, or, if you please, kings of all kings.⁵ These unrighteous designs were opposed by the emperors, by the kings of France, by *William the Conqueror*, duke of Normandy, now become king of England, a most vigorous assertor of regal rights against the pontiffs⁶, and by other sove-

² Magistri mundi.

³ A very noticeable summary of the ecclesiastical law of this age, has been collected from the Epistles of Gregory VII., by Jo. Launoy, in his *Assertio contra Privilegium S. Medardi*, pt. ii. cap. xxxi. Opp. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 307. From this summary, it appears, that even this Gregory himself did not claim absolute power over the church.

⁴ [A.D. 1049. *Tr.*]

⁵ Before Leo IX., there is no example of a Roman pontiff's assuming the power to transfer countries and provinces from their owners to other persons. But this

pope generously gave to the Normans, then reigning in the south of Italy, both the provinces which they then occupied, and also such as they might wrest from the Greeks and the Saracens. Gaufr. Malaterra, *Historia Sacula*, lib. i. cap. xiv. in Muratori's *Scriptores Ital.* tom. v. p. 553.

⁶ See Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, lib. i. p. 29, &c. subjoined to the *Opp. Anselmi Cantuar.* And yet this very William, who so openly and vigorously resisted the extension of pontifical and episcopal power, is himself a proof, that the kings of Europe, when the desire of

reigns. Nor were the bishops wholly silent, especially those of France and Germany; but others of them succumbed, being influenced either by superstition or by motives of interest. Thus, although the pontiffs did not obtain all that they wished for, yet they secured no small part of it.

§ 3. Those who presided over the Latin church, from the death of *Sylvester II.* in the year 1003, till A. D. 1012, namely, *John XVII.*, *John XVIII.*, and *Sergius IV.*, neither did nor suffered any thing great or memorable. It is beyond a doubt, however, that they were elevated to the chair, with the approbation and by the authority of the emperors. *Benedict VIII.*, who was created pontiff in 1012, being driven from Rome by one *Gregory*, his competitor, implored the aid of the emperor, *Henry II.*, called the Saint⁷, was restored by him, and reigned peacefully till the year 1024. Under his reign, the celebrated Normans, who afterwards acquired so much fame, came into Italy, and subdued the southern extremity of it. *Benedict* was succeeded by his brother, *John XIX.*, who presided over the church till A. D. 1033. The five above-named pontiffs appear to have sustained respectable moral characters.⁸ But very different

extending or confirming their power demanded it, did imprudently feed the lust of dominion which reigned in the breasts of the pontiffs. For when he was preparing to invade England, he sent ambassadors to the pontiff, Alexander II., "in order" (as Matthew Paris says, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 2,) "that the enterprise might be sanctioned by Apostolic authority. And the pope, after considering the claims of both the parties, sent a standard to William as the omen of kingly power."—And the Normans, I can suppose, did the same thing; humbly requesting Leo IX. to confer on them the territories which they now occupied, and those that they might afterwards seize. What wonder, then, that the pontiffs should claim dominion over the whole world, when kings and princes themselves suggested to them this very thing?

⁷ [This statement, that Benedict was driven from Rome by Gregory, and implored the succour of king Henry II., is given also by Baronius, ad ann. 1012, § 6, and by Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Vita Bened.* viii. § 2. But it is founded on a misinterpretation of Ditmar's *Chronicon*, lib. iv. near the end, p. 399, Ditmar says: "Papa Benedictus Gregorio cui-

dam in electione prævaluit. Ob hoc iste (not Benedict, for he had the superiority; but Gregory) ad nativitatem Domini ad regem in Palithi (Pöelde) venit cum omni apparatu apostolico, expulsionem suam omnibus lamentando innotescens."—See Muratori, *ad ann.* 1012, and the (German) translator's notes there. *Schl.*—But it is not so certain, that Gregory was the suitor to king Henry. If he lost his election, how could he appear before the king in the pontifical habiliments, never having been pope? But suppose Benedict, after "prevailing in the election," and being put in possession of the papacy, to have been vanquished and "expelled" from Rome by his antagonist, he might well flee to the king in the *habiliments*, and might there plead, that he had *prevailed in the election*, and complain of *his expulsion*. Besides, it is certain, that it was Benedict who crowned king Henry, as emperor, upon his first arrival at Rome, Feb. 1014. It is therefore supposed, that the people of Rome finding Benedict to be supported by the king, restored him of their own accord. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxii. p. 322, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Yet Benedict was rescued from

from them, or a most flagitious man, and capable of every crime, was their successor, *Benedict IX.* The Roman citizens, therefore, in the year 1038, hurled him from St. Peter's chair; but he was restored soon after by the emperor *Conrad*. As he continued, however, to be as bad as could be, the Romans again expelled him in the year 1044; and gave the government of the church to *John*, bishop of Sabina, who assumed the name of *Sylvester III.* After three months, *Benedict* forcibly recovered his power, by the victorious arms of his relatives and adherents; and *Sylvester* was obliged to flee. But soon after, finding it impossible to appease the resentments of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to *John Gratian*, arch-presbyter of Rome, who took the name of *Gregory VI.* Thus the church now had two heads, *Sylvester* and *Gregory*. The emperor, *Henry III.*, terminated the discord; for, in the council of Sutri, A. D. 1046, he caused *Benedict*, *Gregory*, and *Sylvester*, to be all declared unworthy of the pontificate; and he placed over the Romish church *Suidger*, bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the pontifical name of *Clement II.*⁹

§ 4. On the death of *Clement II.*, A. D. 1047, *Benedict IX.* who had been twice before divested of the pontificate, seized the third time upon that dignity. But the year following, he was obliged to yield to *Damasus II.*, or *Poppo*, bishop of Brixen, whom the emperor *Henry III.* had created pontiff in Germany, and sent into Italy. *Damasus* dying after a very short reign of twenty-three days, *Henry III.*, at the diet of Worms, in the year 1048, elevated *Bruno*, bishop of Toul, to the throne of St. Peter. This pontiff bears the name of *Leo IX.* in the pontifical catalogue, and on account of his private virtues, and his public acts, has been enrolled among the Saints. Yet, if we except his zeal for augmenting the wealth and power of the church of Rome, and for correcting some more flagrant vices of the clergy, by the councils which he held in France and Germany, we shall find nothing in his character or life to entitle him to such honour. At least, many of those who on other occasions are ready to palliate the faults of the Roman pontiffs, censure freely the last acts of his reign. For in the year 1053, he rashly made

purgatory by the prayers of St. Odilo; and John obtained the papacy by base means;—according to Baronius, *ad ann.* 1012, § 1—4. *Tr.*]

⁹ In this account of the pontiffs I have

followed the best historians, Anton. and Fran. Pagi, Papebroch, and Muratori in his *Annales Italia*; disregarding what Baronius and others allege in defence of Gregory VI.

war upon the Normans, whose dominion in Apulia, near his estates, gave him uneasiness. And the consequence was, that he became their prisoner, and was carried to Benevento. Here his misfortunes so preyed upon his spirits, that he fell sick: but after a year's captivity, he was set at liberty, conducted to Rome, and there died, on the 19th of April, A. D. 1054.¹

§ 5. *Leo IX.* was succeeded in the year 1055, by *Gerhard*, bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of *Victor II.*², and he was followed, A. D. 1058, by *Stephen IX.*, brother to *Godfrey*, duke of Lorrain. Neither of these, so far as is now known, performed any thing worthy of notice. Greater celebrity was obtained by *Nicolaus II.*, who had previously been bishop of Florence, and was raised to the pontificate in 1058.³ For *John*, bishop of Veletri, who, with the appellation of *Benedict X.* has been inserted between *Stephen IX.* and *Nicolaus II.*, does not deserve to be reckoned among the popes; because, after nine months, he was compelled to renounce the office, which a faction at Rome had induced him to usurp. In a council at Rome, which he assembled in the year 1059, *Nicolaus* sanctioned, among other regulations calculated to remedy the inveterate evils in the church, a new mode of electing the Roman pontiffs; which was intended to put an end to the tumults and civil wars, which so often took place at Rome and in Italy, and divided the people into factions, when a new head of the church was to be appointed. He also, in due form, created *Robert Guiscard*, a Norman, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, on the condition that he would be a faithful vassal of the Romish church, and would pay an annual tribute. By what right *Nicolaus* could do this, does not appear; for he was not lord of those territories

¹ See the *Acta Sanctor.* ad d. 19 Aprilis, tom. iii. p. 642, &c. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 459. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 52.

² [Leo of Ostia states, that Hildebrand, a subdeacon of the Romish church, was sent by the clergy and people of Rome, to the emperor in Germany, requesting permission to elect, in the name of the Romans, whom he should deem most fit to be pope; and the request being granted, Hildebrand selected this bishop of Eichstadt. But this story is very improbable; and it is

supposable, that Hermanus Contractus was better acquainted with the facts, who states, (ad ann. 1054.) that the emperor held a council at Mentz, in which Victor II. was elected. It is also worthy of notice, that this pope, and his predecessors, continued to hold their former bishoprics, when elevated to the papal throne. See Muratori, *Annales*, ad ann. 1055. *Schl.*]

³ Of Nicolaus II., besides the common historians of the pontiffs, the Benedictine monks have treated particularly in their *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 515.

which he thus gave to the Normans.⁴ Perhaps he relied upon the fictitious donation of *Constantine* the Great: or perhaps with *Hildebrand*, archdeacon of Rome, who afterwards became supreme pontiff, under the title of *Gregory VII.*, he believed that the whole world belonged to the Roman bishop, as Christ's vicegerent. For it is well known, that this *Hildebrand* guided him in all his measures. This was the commencement of the Neapolitan kingdom, or that of the two Sicilies, which still exists; and of that right of sovereignty over this kingdom which the Roman pontiffs assert, and the Neapolitan kings recognize from year to year.

§ 6. Before the reign of *Nicolaus II.*, the Roman pontiffs were elected, not by the suffrages of those who were called *cardinals*, but by those of the whole Roman clergy; nor by theirs alone, for persons of knightly rank, that is, the nobles, the citizens too, and, in fine, all the people, gave their voices. Among such a mixed and heterogeneous multitude, it was unavoidable that there should be parties, cabals, and contests. *Nicolaus* therefore ordered, that the *cardinals*, as well bishops as presbyters, should elect the pontiff; yet without infringing the established rights of the Roman emperors in this important business. At the same time, he did not exclude the rest of the clergy, nor the citizens and people, from a share in the election; for he required, that the assent of all these should be asked, and be obtained.⁵ From this time onwards, the *cardinals* always acted the principal part in the choice of a new pontiff: and yet, for a long time, they were much impeded in their functions, both by the priests and the Roman citizens, who either laid claim to their ancient rights, or abused the power given to them of approving the election. These altercations were at length terminated in the following century by *Alexander III.*, who was so fortunate as to perfect what was begun by *Nicolaus*, and to

⁴ See Muratori, *Annal. d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 186. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1060.

⁵ The decrees of *Nicolaus* respecting the election of Roman pontiffs, is found in the Collections of the Councils, and in many other works. But the copies of it, as I have learned by comparing them, differ exceedingly; some being longer, and others shorter; some favouring the imperial prerogative more and some

less. The most extended form of it is found in the *Chronicon Farfense*, published in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 645. Very different from this is the form exhibited by Hugo of Fleury, in his book *de Regni potestate et Sacerdotali dignitate*: in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 62. Yet all the copies, universally, agree in the points we have stated.

transfer the whole power of creating a pontiff to the college of *cardinals*.⁶

§ 7. From this period, therefore, the august college of Romish *cardinals*, and that high authority which they possess, even to this day, both in the election of the pontiffs and in other matters, must be dated. By the title *cardinals*, *Nicolaus* understood the seven bishops in the immediate vicinity of Rome, or the *suffragans* of the bishop of Rome, of whom the bishop of Ostia was chief, and who were thence called *cardinal bishops*; together with the twenty-eight ministers of the parishes in Rome, or presbyters of the churches, who were called *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. To these, in process of time, others were added, first by *Alexander II.*, and then by other pontiffs; partly to satisfy those who complained that they were unjustly excluded from a share in the election of pontiffs, and partly for other reasons. Therefore, although that exalted order of empurpled members of the Roman court, who figure under the name of *cardinals*, had its commencement in this century, yet it did not acquire the settled character and the form of a real *college*, before the times of *Alexander III.*, in the next century.⁷

⁶ See Jo. Mabillon, *Comment. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. of his *Musæum Italicum*, p. cxiv. Constat. Cenni, *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani III.* p. xviii. Rom. 1735, 4to. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 374.

⁷ Concerning the *cardinals*, their name, their origin, and their rights, very many persons have written treatises; and these are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliographia Antiquar.* p. 455, 456. by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* cap. xxix. p. 771, and in J. A. Schmidt's *Supplement*, p. 644, by Christ. Gryphius, *Isagoge ad Hist. Seculi XVII.* p. 430. To these I add Lud. Thomassinus, *Disciplina Ecclesie vet. et nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. cxv. cxvi. p. 616, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, whose *diss. de Origine Cardinalatus* is in his *Antiquit. Ital. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. v. p. 156.—Among these writers are many who are both copious and learned; but I am not certain that any one of them is so lucid and precise as he should be, in respect to the grand points of inquiry, the origin and nature of the office. Many expend much time and labour in ascertaining the import of the *word*, and tracing its use in ancient authors; which is not unsuitable

indeed for a philologist, but is of little use to give us clear views of the origin of the college and dignity of *cardinals*. It is certain, that the word *cardinal*, whether used of things or persons, or as the appellative of a certain clerical order, was of dubious import, being used in various senses by the writers of the middle ages. We also know, that this title, anciently, was not peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of Rome, but was common to nearly all the churches of the Latins: nor was it applied only to what are called *secular* clergymen, but likewise to *regular* ones, as abbots, canons, and monks, though with some difference in signification. But after the times of *Alexander III.*, the common use of the word was gradually laid aside, and it became the exclusive and honorary title of those who had the right of electing the pontiffs. When we undertake to investigate the origin of the college of *cardinals* at Rome, the inquiry is not, who were they that were anciently distinguished from the other clergy by the title of *cardinals*, both among the Latins generally, and at Rome in particular; nor is the object to ascertain the original import and

§ 8. Notwithstanding that *Nicolaus II.* had forbidden any infringement of the emperor's right to ratify the election of a

the propriety of the term, or in how many different senses it was used; but the sole inquiry is, whom did *Nicolaus II.* understand by the appellation *cardinals*, when he gave to the *cardinals* of Rome the sole power of electing the pontiffs, excluding the other clergy, the soldiery, the citizens, and the people at large. If this can be ascertained, the origin of the college of cardinals will be seen; and it will likewise appear, how far the modern cardinals differ from those who first held the office. Now the answer to this inquiry, in my view, is manifest from the edict of *Nicolaus* itself. "We ordain," says the pontiff, (according to *Hugo of Fleury*, in *Baluze, Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 62,) "that on the demise of a pontiff of this universal Roman church, the *cardinal bishops*, in the first place, hold a solemn consultation among themselves; and then forthwith advise with the *cardinal clerks*; and so let the rest of the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election." The pontiff here, very obviously, divides the cardinals who are to elect a pope into two classes, *cardinal bishops*, and *cardinal clerks*. The former, beyond all controversy, were the seven bishops of the city and its dependent territory, the *comprovinciales Episcopi*, as *Nicolaus* afterwards calls them, borrowing a phrase from *Leo I.* [These seven bishops were, those of *Ostia* (*Ostiensis*), of *Porto* (*Portuensis*), of *Albano* (*Albanensis*), of *St. Rufina*, or *Silva Candida*, of *Frascati* (*Tusculanus*), of *Palestrina* (*Prænestinus*), and of *La Sabina* (*Sabinensis*). *Tr.*] These seven bishops, long before this period, bore the title of *cardinal bishops*. And the pontiff himself puts this construction beyond all doubt, by indicating, that he understood the *cardinal bishops* to be those to whom belonged the consecration of a pontiff after his election: "Because the apostolic see can have no metropolitan over it," (to whom, in that case, would belong the principal part in the ordination,) "the *cardinal bishops*, undoubtedly, supply the place of a metropolitan; for they, it is, who raise the pontiff elect, to the summit of his apostolic elevation." And that it was the custom, for those seven bishops above named, to consecrate the Roman pontiffs, is a fact known to all men. These *cardinal bishops*, therefore,

Nicolaus would have to first hold a consultation by themselves, and discuss the merits of the candidates for the high office of pontiff. Immediately after, they were to call in the *cardinal clerks*, and with them, as forming one body of electors, they were to choose a pontiff. *Clerk* here is the same as *presbyter*. And all admit that the *cardinal presbyters* were the ministers who had charge of the twenty-eight *parishes*, or principal churches in Rome. All the remaining clergy of Rome, of whatever rank or dignity, *Nicolaus* excludes expressly from the office of electors of the pontiffs. And yet, he would have "the clergy and the people give their assent to the new election;" that is, he leaves them what is called a *negative voice*, or the right of approving the election. It is therefore clear, that the college of electors of the Roman pontiffs, who were afterwards denominated *cardinals* in a new and peculiar sense of the word, as this college was at first constituted by *Nicolaus*, embraced only two orders of persons, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks* or *presbyters*. And of course, we are not to follow *Onuphr. Panvinus*, (cited by *Jo. Mabillon, Comment. in Ordinem Roman.* in his *Museum Italicum*, tom. ii. p. cxv.) who undoubtedly errs when he says, that *Alexander III.* added the *cardinal bishops* to the college of cardinals. And they, also, are to be disregarded, who suppose there were *cardinal deacons* in the electoral college from the beginning. There were indeed then, and there had long been, as there are at the present day, *cardinal deacons* at Rome, that is superintendents of the *diaconie* or churches, from whose revenues the poor are supported, and to which hospitals are annexed. But *Nicolaus* committed the business of electing the pontiff solely to *such* cardinals as were *bishops* and *clerks*; so that he excluded *deacons*. And hence in the diploma of the election of *Gregory VII.* the *cardinals* are plainly distinguished from *deacons*. But this decree of *Nicolaus* could not acquire at all the force of a fixed law. "It is evident," says *Anselm of Lucca*, (*Libro ii. contra Wibertum, Antipapam, et ejus sequaces*; in the *Lectiones Antig.* of *H. Canisius*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 383.) "It is evident that the above-mentioned decree" (of *Nicolaus*,

pontiff, yet on the death of *Nicolaus*, in 1061, the Romans, at the instigation of *Hildebrand*, then archdeacon, and afterwards pontiff of Rome, proceeded, without consulting *Henry IV.*, not only to elect, but also to consecrate *Anselm* the bishop of Lucca, who assumed the name of *Alexander II.* When the news of this reached *Agnes*, the mother of *Henry*, through the bishops of Lombardy, she assembled a council at Bâle, and to maintain the majesty and authority of her son, then a minor, she there caused *Cadolaus*, bishop of Parma, to be appointed pontiff, who

for of that he is speaking,) “is of no importance; nor did it ever have any force. And by saying this, I do not injure pope Nicolaus, of blessed memory, nor derogate at all from his honour.—Being a man, he could not be secured against doing wrong.” Anselm is speaking especially of that part of the decree, which secures to the emperors the right of confirming the elections of pontiffs: but what he says, is true of the whole decree. For those who were excluded by it from this most important transaction; namely, first, the seven *palatine judges*, as they were called, that is, the *Primicerius*, *Secundicerius*, *Arcarius*, *Saccellarius*, *Protoscriniarius*, *Primicerius Defensorum*, and the *Adminiculator*; next, the higher clergy, who filled the more important offices, and also the inferior clergy, priests, deacons, &c. and lastly, the soldiery, the citizens, and the common people,—complained that injury was done them; and they raised commotions and gave trouble to the *cardinals* whom Nicolaus had constituted [sole electors]. Therefore, to appease these tumults, Alexander III. thought proper to extend and enlarge the college of those now called *cardinals*, in the restricted sense. And he accordingly added to the list of *cardinals*, certain priests of high rank, namely, the prior, or arch-presbyter of the Lateran church, the arch-presbyters of St. Peter and St. Maria Maggiore, and the abbots of St. Paul and St. Laurence without the walls; and after these, the seven *palatine judges* which have been mentioned. See Cenni, *Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephani III.* p. xix. Mabillon, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman. ex Panvino*, p. cxv. By this artifice, the *higher clergy*, or those of supe-

rior rank, were vanquished, and ceased to disturb the elections of the cardinals. For the heads of this body of clergy being admitted into the electoral college, the rest could neither effect nor attempt any thing. The *inferior clergy* still remained. But they were reduced to silence in the same way: for their leaders, the *cardinal deacons*, or *regionarii*, were admitted into the electoral college; and after this, the whole mass of deacons, sub-deacons, acolythists, &c. had to be quiet. But which of the pontiffs it was, whether Alexander III. or some other, that admitted the principal deacons at Rome to the ranks of *cardinals*, I have not been able to ascertain. This, however, I am sure of, that it was done in order to pacify the inferior clergy, who were dissatisfied at the violation of their rights. When all the *clergy*, both the higher and the lower, were placated, it was an easy matter to exclude the Roman people from the election of pontiffs. Hence, on the death of Alexander III. when his successor, Victor III.*, was to be chosen, the assent and approbation of neither the clergy nor the people were sought, as had always been done before; but the college of *cardinals* alone, to the exclusion of the people, created the pontiff. And the same custom has continued down to the present age. Some tell us, that Innocent II. [A. D. 1130,] was chosen by the cardinals only, or without the voice of the clergy and people. See Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 615. I grant it was so; but it is also true that this election of Innocent was irregular and disorderly; and therefore was no example of the ordinary practice at that time.

* [It should read Lucius III.; for he was the successor of Alexander III., whereas Victor III. reigned in the preceding century. *Tr.*]

took the name of *Honorius II.* Hence a long and severe contest arose between the two pontiffs; in which *Alexander* indeed prevailed, but he could never bring *Cadolaus* to abdicate the papacy.⁸

§ 9. This contest was a trifle, compared with those direful conflicts which *Gregory VII.*, the successor of *Alexander*, and whose former name was *Hildebrand*, produced, and kept up to the end of his life. He was a Tuscan by birth, of obscure parentage, once a monk of Cluny, then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and for a long time, even from the reign of *Leo IX.*, he had governed the pontiffs by his counsels and influence; when, in the year 1073, and during the very obsequies of *Alexander*, he was hailed pontiff, by the concordant suffrages indeed of the Romans, but contrary to the mode of proceeding enjoined by the decree of *Nicolaus*. When the election was laid before *Henry IV.*, king of the Romans, by the ambassadors from Rome, he gave it his approbation; but greatly to his own injury, and to the detriment both of the church and the public.⁹ For *Hildebrand* being elevated to the chair of *St. Peter*,—a man of extraordinary abilities, and competent to the greatest undertakings, intrepid, sagacious, and full of resources, but beyond measure proud, pertinacious, impetuous, untractable, and destitute of true religious principle and piety,—he being elevated, I say, to the highest post in the Christian commonwealth, laboured during his whole life to enlarge the jurisdiction, and augment the opulence of the see of Rome, to subject the whole church to the sole will and power of the pontiff, to exempt all clergymen and all church property wholly from the jurisdiction of kings and princes, and to render all kingdoms tributary to *St. Peter*. The vastness of his mind, and the obvious extravagance of his plans, are set forth in those most noted propositions, which from his name are called the *Dictates of Hildebrand*.¹

⁸ Fred. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166. Jo. Jac. Mascovius, *de Rebus sub Henrico IV. et V.* lib. i. p. 7, &c. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 385, &c. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214, &c.

⁹ The writers who describe the life and achievements of *Gregory VII.* are mentioned by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introduct. ad Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 687, &c. and Jo. And. Schmidt, in his *Supplem.* tom. ii. p. 627, &c. But especially should be consulted the *Acta Sanctor.*

tom. v. Maii, ad d. xxv. p. 568, and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 406, &c. Add *Vita Gregorii VII.* by Just. Christ. Dithmar, Francf. 1710, 8vo, and all those who have written the history of the contest between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, and of the controversy respecting investitures. [Also *Gregor. VII. und seiner Zeitalter.* by I. Voigt, Weimar, 1815, 8vo. Tr.]

¹ By the *Dictates*, or, as some write it, the *Dictate of Hildebrand*, are to be

§ 10. Nearly the whole form of the Latin church, therefore, was changed by this pontiff; and the most valuable rights of

understood twenty-six short propositions, relating to the supreme power of the Roman pontiffs, over the whole church and over states; which are found in the second book of the epistles of Gregory VII. inserted between the 55th and 56th epistles. See Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1304, and nearly all the Ecclesiastical Historians, large or small, Cæs. Baronius, and Christian Lupus, (whose full Commentary on these *Dictates*, which he considers most sacred, is among his Notes and Dissertations on the Councils; *Opp.* tom. v. p. 164,) and nearly all the patrons and friends of the Roman pontiffs, maintain, that these *Dictates* were drawn up and ratified, perhaps in some council, by Gregory VII. himself: and therefore the Protestants have not hesitated to ascribe them to Hildebrand. But the very learned French writers, Jo. Launoy (*Epistolar.* lib. vi. Ep. xiii. in his *Opp.* tom. v. pt. ii. p. 309), Natalis Alexander (*Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xi. xii. tom. vi. diss. iii. p. 719), Anthony and Francis Pagi (the former in his *Critica in Baron.* the latter in his *Breviarium Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 743), Lewis Ellies du Pin, and many others, zealously contend that these propositions, called *Dictates*, were palmed upon Hildebrand by some crafty flatterer of the Romish see. And to prove this, they allege that although some of those sentences express very well the views of the pontiff, yet there are others among them which are clearly repugnant to his opinions, as expressed in his epistles. The French have their reasons (which need not be here detailed) for not admitting that any pontiff ever spoke so arrogantly and loftily of his own power and authority. I can readily concede, that so far as respects the form and arrangement of these *Dictates*, they are not the work of Gregory. For they are void of all order and connexion; and many of them also of clearness and perspicuity. But Gregory, who was a man of no ordinary genius, if he had attempted to draw up and describe what he conceived to be the prerogatives of the pontiffs, would have expressed, with neatness and perspicuity, what he had revolved in his own mind. But the matter of these *Dictates* is undoubtedly Hildebrand's: for the greater part

of them are found, couched in nearly the same terms, here and there in his epistles. And those which seem to deviate from some assertions in his epistles, may, without much difficulty, be reconciled with them. It is probable, therefore, that some person collected these sentences out of his epistles, partly the printed ones, and partly such as are lost or unknown, and perhaps likewise from his oral declarations; and then published them without judgment and without arrangement.—[The following are the principal propositions which compose these *Dictates*. I. "That the Romish church was founded by our Lord alone. II. That the Roman pontiff alone is justly styled *universal*. III. That he alone can depose bishops and restore them. IV. That his legate has precedence of all bishops in a council, though he be of an inferior order; and can issue sentence of deposition against them. V. That the pope can depose absent persons. VI. That no person, among other things, may live under the same roof with one excommunicated by the pope. VII. That the pope alone is competent, as occasion shall require, to enact new laws, to gather new congregations,—to divide rich bishoprics, and to unite poor ones. VIII. That he alone can use the imperial insignia. IX. That all princes should kiss his feet only. XII. That it is lawful for him to depose emperors.—XVI. That no council, without his order, is to be accounted a *general* council.—XVIII. That his sentence is not to be reviewed by any one; while he alone can review the decisions of all others. XIX. That he can be judged by no one. XX. That no one may presume to condemn a person who appeals to the apostolic see. XXI. That the greater causes of every church should be carried up to that see. XXII. That the Romish church never erred; nor will it, according to the Scriptures, ever err.—XXIV. That with his licence, subjects may impeach [their sovereigns].—XXVI. That no one is to be accounted a catholic who does not harmonize with the Romish church. XXVII. That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to unrighteous rulers." See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1304, &c. *Tr.*]

councils, of bishops, and of religious societies, were subverted and handed over to the Roman bishop. The evil, however, was not equally grievous throughout the countries of Europe, for in several of them, through the influence of different causes, some shadow of pristine liberty and ancient usage was preserved. *Hildebrand*, as he introduced a new code of ecclesiastical law, would also have introduced a new code of civil law, if he could have accomplished fully his designs. For he wished to reduce all kingdoms into fiefs of *St. Peter*, i. e. of the Roman pontiffs; and to subject all causes of kings and princes, and the interests of the whole world, to the arbitrament of an assembly of bishops, who should meet annually at Rome.² The complete accomplishment of this arduous design, either by himself or his successors,

² Proofs of this most audacious design, which are above all exception or doubt, have been collected by learned men; and still more may be collected from the epistles of this pontiff, and from other ancient monuments. In his *Epist.* lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1481, (I use, all along, the edition of Harduin, *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i.) he prescribes this form of an oath, to be taken by future kings of the Romans or emperors: "From this hour onward, I will be faithful, with upright integrity, to the apostle Peter, and to his vicar pope Gregory—and whatever the said pope shall command me, under the following form: *by true obedience* (perveram obedientiam), I will observe with fidelity. And on the day when I shall first see him, I will, with my own hands, make myself a *vassal* (*miles*) of St. Peter and him." What is this but a feudal oath (*ligium*), as the jurists call it; and a perfect *vassalage* (*hominium*)? That the pontiffs of Rome derived all their civil power from the kings of France is a fact well known. And yet Gregory contended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the church of Rome; and he directed his ambassadors to demand an annual contribution or tribute from the French. Lib. viii. ep. xxiii. p. 1476. "You must declare to all the Franks, and command them, by true obedience, that each family is to pay, annually, at least one denarius to St. Peter, if they recognize him as their father and shepherd according to ancient custom." It should be remembered, that the phrase, *by true obedience*, here used, denotes, as those versed in antiquities well know, that the injunctions and commands to which it was annexed, were to be inevitably obeyed. But in vain did

Gregory lay this command upon the French; for he never obtained the least tribute from them. In the same epistle he vainly asserts, that Saxony was a *fief* of the Romish church; or, that Charlemagne had presented it to St. Peter. He insolently addresses Philip I., the king of France, in the following manner: (lib. vii. ep. xx. p. 1468,) "Strive to the utmost to make St. Peter (i. e. the pontiff, St. Peter's vicar) your debtor; for in his hands are your kingdom and your soul, and he is able to bind and loose you, both in heaven and on earth." He endeavoured to instil the same principles into the Spaniards as into the French, lib. x. ep. vii. "that the kingdom of Spain was, from ancient times, the property of St. Peter—and righteously belongs solely to the Apostolic see." But in lib. x. ep. xxvii., where he most earnestly inculcates the same doctrine upon the Spaniards, he has to acknowledge, that the record of this important transaction was worn out and lost. Yet with the Spaniards he was rather more successful than with the French. For Peter de Marca, in his *Histoire de Bearn*, lib. iv. p. 331, 332, proves from ancient documents, that the king of Aragon, and Bernard count of Besalva, promised and paid an annual tax to our Gregory. And it might be shown, if there was room for it, that other Spanish princes did the same. William the Conqueror, a king of enlarged views, and a most watchful guardian of his rights, when Gregory required him to pay St. Peter's denarius [*Peterpence*], and to render his kingdom a *fief* of St. Peter, replied with spirit, "Hubert your legate has admonished me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to be more careful to send the money

was, however, made impossible by the firmness and vigilance of the emperors chiefly, but also of the kings of France and Britain. (England.)

which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Romish church. One of these I accede to, the other I do not. Fealty I have not done, nor will I do it. The money, when there shall be opportunity, shall be transmitted." The letter of king William is in Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 127. With this answer Gregory had to be contented; for, though he might fear no other, he stood in fear of William. To Geusa, king of Hungary, he writes, lib. ii. ep. lxx. p. 1316, thus, "It cannot be unknown, we think, to your prudence, that the kingdom of Hungary is the property of the Apostle Peter." [He had before, lib. ii. ep. xiii. p. 1273, written to Solomon, king of Hungary, claiming that kingdom by virtue of an absolute surrender of it to the see of Rome, made by king Stephen, and in consequence of an acknowledgment by the emperor Henry II. after conquering it, that it belonged to St. Peter. And as Solomon had done homage for it to the king of the Teutones, Gregory now threatens him with the loss of his kingdom unless he shall acknowledge the pope, and him only, to be his liege lord. *Tr.*] He laboured most zealously to bring the more potent princes, of Germany in particular, under subjection or fealty to St. Peter. Hence, in lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1480, he strongly exhorts the bishop of Padua to persuade Welfo, duke of Bavaria, and the other German chiefs, by all the means in his power, to subject their territories to the see of St. Peter, lib. ix. ep. iii. p. 1480, "We should have you admonish Duke Welfo, to do homage to St. Peter.—For we wish to place him wholly in the bosom of St. Peter, and to draw him in a special manner into his vassalage. If you shall find such a disposition in him, or in other men of power, influenced by love of St. Peter, labour to bring them to do fealty." He approaches Sueno, king of Denmark, lib. ii. ep. li. p. 1300, with much flattery, to persuade him, "To commit, with pious devotedness, his kingdom to the prince of the Apostles, and to obtain for it the support of his authority." Whether he was more successful in Denmark than in England and France, I know not; but in other places his efforts certainly were not fruitless. A son of Demetrius, king

of the Russians, (to whom he addressed the lxxiv. ep. book ii. p. 1319,) came to Rome, "and wished to obtain the kingdom" (which he expected to inherit from his father) "by gift from St. Peter through the hands of Gregory, *paying due fealty to St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles*:" the import of which language will be quite intelligible from what has been said. Gregory granted his "*devout prayer*," being certainly not backward to perform such offices, and "in behalf of St. Peter committed the government of the kingdom" to the Russian prince. More such examples might be adduced. Demetrius, surnamed Sunimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was created a king by Gregory in the year 1076, and was solemnly inaugurated at Salona by the pontiff's legate, on the condition that he should annually pay to St. Peter, on Easter day, a tribute of Two hundred golden Byzantines, [a Grecian golden coin, of from twenty-three to twenty-four carats. *Schl.*] See Du Mont's *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. pt. i. no. 88, p. 53. Jo. Lucius, *de Regno Dalmatie*, lib. ii. p. 85. Up to this time, however, the emperors of Constantinople held the sovereignty over the province of Croatia. Boleslaus II., king of Poland, having killed Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, Gregory not only excommunicated him, but likewise deprived him of his crown; and not contented with this severity, he, by a special mandate, forbade the Polish bishops to crown any one king of Poland without first obtaining the consent of the Roman pontiff. Dlugoss, *Historia Polon.* tom. i. p. 295. But I desist.—If Gregory's success had equalled his wishes and his purpose, all Europe would at this day have been one great empire of St. Peter, or tributary to the Roman pontiffs; and all kings, feudal lords or vassals of St. Peter. But Gregory did not utterly fail in his attempts. For from his time onward, the state of the whole of Europe was changed; and many of the rights and prerogatives of emperors and kings were either abridged or annulled. Among those annulled was the right of the emperor to ratify the election of a pontiff, which became extinct in Gregory, and could never after be revived.

§ 11. *Gregory* was more successful, in extending the territories of the Roman church in Italy, or enlarging the patrimony of St. Peter. For he persuaded *Matilda*, daughter of *Boniface*, the very opulent duke and marquis of Tuscany, who was a very powerful Italian princess, and with whom he was on terms of peculiar intimacy, after the death of her first husband *Godfrey* the Hump-backed, duke of Lorrain, and of her mother *Beatrice*, in the year 1076 or 1077, to make the church of Rome heir to all her estates, both in Italy and out of it.³ This very spirited and most fortunate female's more than royal donation appeared in a bad way, on the celebration of her second marriage, in 1089, *Urban II.*⁴ the Roman pontiff consenting, with *Welf*, son of *Welf*, duke of Bavaria. But having been abandoned by her husband, in the year 1095, and again made mistress of herself, *Matilda* renewed her act with all due solemnity, in the year 1102.⁵ The pontiffs, indeed, had to encounter severe contests, first with the emperor *Henry V.*, and then with others, respecting this splendid inheritance; nor were they so fortunate at last as to secure the whole of it to St. Peter; yet, after various struggles and hazards, they succeeded in obtaining no small share of it, which they hold to this day.⁶

³ [This reversionary grant has been referred to the year 1079, but it seems really to have taken place in 1077, being posterior to the emperor's humiliation at Canossa. *Ed.*]

⁴ [Or *Guelph. Tr.*]

⁵ The life and achievements of this extraordinary princess (than whom the Roman church had no stronger bulwark against the emperors, and *Gregory VII.* no more obedient daughter) are described by *Bened. Luchin*, *Domin. Mellin*, *Felix Contelorius*, *Julius de Puteo*, and especially by *Fran. Maria Florentini*, in his *Monuments of the Countess Matilda*, written in Italian; and by *Bened. Baehni*, in his *Historia Monasterii Podalironensis*, which was founded by her. The ancient biographies of her, one by *Donizo*, and another anonymous, are given by *Godfr. William von Leibnitz*, in his *Scriptores Brunsvicens.* tom. i. p. 629, &c. and by *Lud. Anton. Muratori*, in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. v. p. 335, &c. with notes; and also the formula of her second donation, mentioned above. Well worth perusing, also, are the remarks concerning this woman of so masculine an understanding, which are found in

the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444, &c. and tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 303, &c., where also is an account of her second husband *Welf*. [*Matilda*, ordinarily called the great countess, and who was, from her prominence in *Gregory's* history, treated by some very much as a saint, and by others, as a woman of rather suspicious character, died in 1115, aged 69. *Maillon, Annal. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 479. *Ed.*]

⁶ Some distinguished men infer from the terms of the conveyance, that *Matilda* gave to the church of Rome only her allodial possessions, and not the territories which she held as fiefs of the empire; and of course, that she did not include in the donation the marquisate of Tuscany, and the duchy of Spoleto. For she says, "Ego *Matildis*—dedi et obtuli ecclesie S. Petri—omnia bona mea jure proprietario, tam quæ tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertinent." See the *Origines Guelph.* tom. i. lib. iii. p. 148, &c. But I doubt, whether this is so clear that it must be admitted with-

§ 12. Gregory VII. was, however, chiefly obstructed in his mighty scheme of raising the church above all human authority, and of asserting its total independence, by those two capital vices of the European clergy, *concubinage* and *simony*. The Roman pontiffs had already, from the time of *Stephen IX.*, made sharp assaults upon these monstrous vices, but could nowise get the better of them, because they were too inveterate.⁷

out hesitation. For the words *jure proprietario*, from which learned men conclude, that Matilda gave to St. Peter only what she possessed *jure proprietario*, or her *allodial* possessions, manifestly refer, or I am greatly mistaken, not to the possession by the owner, but to the mode of the gift; and are to be construed with the verbs *dedi* and *obtuli*. The princess does not say, “I have given all the estates which I possess and hold *jure proprietario*,” which had she said, we must have acceded to the opinion of the learned gentlemen; but she says, “I have given all my estates to the church *jure proprietario*,” i. e. it is my will that the church should possess all my estates, *jure proprietario*, as their real property. Besides, the words which follow refute the construction of the learned gentlemen. Had Matilda intended to include only what she possessed, *jure allodii*, she could not have said, as she does say, “whether belonging to me, by right of inheritance, or (*alio quocunque jure*) by any other right whatever.” Certainly, she excludes no species of possessions; but by using this very comprehensive language embraces all. Possibly, some one, however, may object, and say, The church of Rome never contended that the *fiefs* of the empire, which Matilda possessed, were included in this donation; and therefore they claimed only her *allodial* possessions. I am not sure that such was the fact: many reasons induce me to believe that the pontiffs wished to secure to their church *all* the estates of Matilda. But allow it to be so, as I cannot now go into the inquiry, that fact will not disprove what I contend for. Our inquiry is not how moderate were the Roman pontiffs in claiming the property bequeathed to them by Matilda, but what is the import of the words used in the bequest.

⁷ *Monstrous vices*, we may justly call them. For although no honest man will deny, that in hunting down these vices, Gregory violated not only the

principles of religion, but also those of natural justice and equity, and committed deeds without number, that were most incompatible with the character he professed to sustain; yet it must be acknowledged, that evils of no slight magnitude resulted from both these vices of the clergy to the church and to civil society; and that it was necessary that restraint should be laid upon them. Very many among the married clergy were pious and upright men, whom Gregory ought to have spared. But there were also, in all parts of Europe, a vast number, not only of priests and canons, but likewise of monks, implicated in illicit amours; who kept concubines under the name of wives, which they dismissed at their pleasure, substituting others, and often a plurality, in their place; who basely squandered the property of the churches and colleges which they served, even dividing it up among their spurious offspring, and committed other insufferable offences. How extensive the crime of *simony* had become, in this age, and what pernicious effects it produced every where, will be manifest from those examples (not to mention innumerable others) which the Benedictine monks have interspersed in various parts of their *Gallia Christiana*. I will give a few specimens. In the first volume of this excellent work, *Append. Docum.* p. 5, we have the document by which Bernard, a viscount, and Froterius, a bishop, give, or rather openly *sell*, to Bernard Aimard and to his son the bishopric of Alby, reserving to themselves a large part of its revenues. Immediately after, follows a writing of Pontius, a count, in which he bequeaths to his wife this bishopric of Alby, [and moieties of another bishopric, and an abbey; the reversion of which, at her death, was to belong to his children]: “Ego Pontius dono tibi dilectæ sponse meæ episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omni adjacentia sua—et mediæ tatem de episcopatu Nemanso—et medic-

Gregory, therefore, had no sooner completed his first official year, that is, reached 1074, than he attacked them with increased firmness and energy. He then held a council at Rome, which renewed all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony*; severely forbade the sale of ecclesiastical benefices; enacted besides that no priests should henceforth marry, and that such as now had either wives or concubines, should relinquish either *them* or the sacred office. After these enactments, he wrote letters to all bishops, requiring them to obey these decrees, on pain of incurring severe punishments; and also sent ambassadors into Germany, to *Henry IV.*, king of the Romans, demanding of him a council, for trying the causes of those especially who were contaminated with *simony*.

§ 13. Both these decrees appeared very proper, salutary, and accordant with the principles of the religion of the age; for it was then maintained, that priests should be *elected*, and that they ought to *live single*. Yet both gave rise to the most lamentable contentions, and to very great calamities. When the decree respecting celibacy was promulged, horrible tumults were excited, in most of the countries of Europe, by those priests who were connected with either lawful wives or concubines⁸: many

tatem de Abbatia S. Ægidii:—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati.” Similar and even worse instances are stated, p. 24. 37, and elsewhere. In vol. ii. *Append. Documentorum*, p. 173, there is a letter of the clergy of Limoges, in which they humbly entreat William, count of Aquitaine, that he would not sell the bishopric [and to give them a *pastor*, not a *devourer* of the flock]: “*Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas S. Stephani locum; quia si tu vendas episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia. — Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devorantem.*” In vol. ii. p. 179, Ademar, viscount of Limoges, laments that he “had heretofore simoniacally sold the charge of souls to abbots that purchased of him.” In fact, it appears from authors and documents, which are above all exceptions, that the licentiousness of this age in buying and selling sacred offices, exceeded all bounds and almost all credibility. I will subjoin only one short extract from Abbo’s *Apologeticum*, in Pitheus, *Codex Canon. Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 398, which is worthy of notice, as containing the argument by which the traders in sacred offices at-

tempted to justify their base conduct. “There seems to be almost nothing appertaining to the church which is not put upon sale; viz. bishoprics, presbyterships, deaconries, and the other lower orders, archdeaconries also, deaneries, superintendencies, treasurers’ offices, baptisteries.”—“And these traffickers are accustomed to offer the cunning excuse, that they do not buy *the blessing*, by which the grace of the Holy Spirit is conveyed, but *the property* of the church, or the *possessions* of the bishop” [non se emere *benedictionem*, qua percipitur gratia Spiritus Sancti, sed *res ecclesiarum*, vel *possessiones* episcopi.] An acute distinction truly!—[So also Glaber Radulphus, lib. v. cap. v. says of the Italian churches, in the middle of this century: “All ecclesiastical offices were at that time as much accounted things vendible, as merchandise is in a common market.” *Schl.*]

⁸ The histories of those times are full of the commotions excited by those priests who had either wives or concubines. For an account of the insurrections among the German priests, see Car. Sigonius, *de Regno Italia*, lib. ix. tom. ii. p. 557, and Seb. Tenguagel’s *Collectio*

of whom, especially in the Italian province of Milan, were willing rather to relinquish the priesthood, than to part with their wives: and, accordingly, they seceded from the church of Rome; and they branded the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned the marriage of priests, with the odious appellation of *Paterini*, i. e. Manichæans.⁹ The impartial, however, though they wished priests to lead single lives, blamed *Gregory* for two things: *first*, that he fell indiscriminately upon the virtuous and the

veter. Monumentor. p. 45. 47. 54, &c. and the other writers of German history. [Two councils were held in Germany, one at Erfurth, and the other at Mentz, in which the papal decree against the marriage of priests was made known. But in both, tumults were excited; and the adherents of the pope were in jeopardy of their lives, especially the abp. of Mentz, and the papal legate the bp. of Chur. The German clergy said, "they would rather lose their priesthood than part with their wives. Let him who despises *men*, see whence he can procure *angels* for the churches." See *Tritheimius*, in *Chron. Hirsauig.* and *Lambert of Aschaffenh.* *ad ann.* 1074.—The clergy of Passau, when the papal prohibition was published, said to their bp. *Altmann*, "that they neither could nor would abandon the custom which it was clear they had followed from ancient times, under all preceding bishops." The French also declared, in an assembly at Paris, that they would not suffer the pope's insupportable yoke to be laid upon them. See *Mansi, Suppl. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 5. *Schl.*]—Of the commotions in England, *Matthew Paris* treats, *Histor. Major*, lib. i. p. 9. For those in the Netherlands and France, see the epistles of the clergy of Cambrai, to those of Bremen, in behalf of their wives, in *Jo. Mabillon's Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 634, and the epistle of the clergy of Noyon to those of Cambrai, in *Mabillon's Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 128. How great a commotion this thing produced in Italy, and especially among the Milanese, is fully stated by *Arnulph senior*, and *Landulf*, historians of Milan; extant with notes, in *Muratori's Scriptores Rerum Italic.* tom. iv. p. 36, &c. Each of these historians favours the marriage of priests, in opposition to *Gregory* and the pontiffs.

⁹ *Paterini* was one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans were designated in Italy, (who are well

known to have migrated from Bulgaria to Italy in this age,) and who were the same as were also called *Cathari*. In process of time this became the common appellation of all heretics; as might easily be shown by many examples from writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Respecting the origin of the name, there are many opinions, the most probable of which is, that which derives it from a certain *place*, called *Pataria*, where the heretics held their meetings. And a part of the city of Milan is still vulgarly called *Pattaria*, or *Contrada de' Pattari*. See the notes on *Arnulphus Mediolan.* in *Muratori's Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 39. *Saxius* *ad Sigonium, de Regno Italiae*, lib. ix. *Opp. Sigon.* tom. ii. p. 536. An opinion has prevailed, perhaps originating from *Sigonius*, that this name was given at Milan to those priests who retained their wives contrary to the decrees of the pontiffs, and who seceded from the Romish church. But it appears from *Arnulph* and other ancient writers, that it was not the married priests that were called *Paterini*, but that these priests gave that appellation, by way of reproach, to such friends of the pontiffs as disapproved of the marriage of clergymen. See *Arnulph*, lib. iii. cap. x. and the copious and learned proofs of this fact by *Anton. Pagi, Critica in annal. Baron.* tom. iv. *ad ann.* 1058, § iii. and *Lud. Ant. Muratori, Antiqq. Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. v. p. 82. Nor need we look further for the origin of this term of reproach. For the Manichæans, and their brothers, the Paulicians, were opposed to marriage; which they considered as an institution of the evil demon: and, therefore, such as held the marriage of priests to be lawful and right, by applying the designation *Paterini* to the pontiffs and their adherents, who prohibited such marriages, would represent them as following the opinions of the Manichæans.

profligate, with equal severity; and dissolved the most honourable marriages, to the great disgrace, and hazard, and grief, of husbands, wives, and children¹: and *secondly*, that he did not correct the married clergy with moderation, and with only ecclesiastical penalties; but delivered them over to the civil magistrates, to be prosecuted, deprived of their properties, and subjected to indignities and sufferings of various kinds.²

§ 14. This first conflict gradually subsided, in process of time, through the firmness and perseverance of the pontiff: nor was there any one, among the European sovereigns, disposed to become the patron of clergymen's wives. But the conflict arising from the other law (that for the suppression of *simony*) was extremely difficult to be closed; and being protracted through many years, it involved both the church and the state in very great calamities and incredible miseries.³ *Henry IV.*

¹ For there was a vast difference among those priests who were more attached to their women, than to the decrees of the pontiffs; all of them being, by no means, equally censurable. The better sort of them, among whom those of Milan stood conspicuous, also those of the Netherlands, and some others, only wished to live according to the laws of the Greek church; maintaining, that it should be allowed to a priest before his ordination, to marry one wife, a virgin, and no more. And they supported their opinions by the authority of Ambrose. See Jo. Petri Puricelli *Diss. Utrum S. Ambrosius Clero suo Mediolan. permiserit, ut Virgini semel nubere possent*; republished in Muratori's *Scriptores Rer. Italicar.* tom. iv. p. 223, &c. With this class of priests, Gregory and the other Roman pontiffs ought, as some advocates of the pontiff have themselves acknowledged, to have been more indulgent than to those who claimed the right of marrying many wives, and those who advocated concubinage. The case of the monks also, whose vows bound them to perpetual celibacy, was very different from that of priests, who were unwilling to be separated from their children and their lawful wives, whom they had espoused with upright intentions.

² Theodoric of Verdun, *Epistola ad Gregorium VII.* in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 208. "They put me to the greatest confusion, for this, that I should ever admit of a law for restraining the incontinence of the clergy,

by the intemperate proceedings of laymen" (*per laicorum insanias*).—"Nor must you suppose, that persons of these sentiments, when they bring forward such vindications, wish to encourage incontinence in the clergy. They sincerely desire to see them lead blameless lives; but they wish to have only the restraints of ecclesiastical terrors, as is proper, held out to them" (*nec aliter, quam oportet, ecclesiasticæ ultionis censuram intentari gaudent*).

³ We have numerous histories, both ancient and modern, of this famous contest about *investitures*, which was so calamitous to a large part of Europe, and which being commenced by Gregory VII., was carried on by him and the succeeding pontiffs, on the one part, and by the emperors Henry IV. and V. on the other. Yet few, if any of these histories, are entirely impartial. For all the writers espouse the cause either of the popes, or of the emperors; and they decide the controversy, not (as in my opinion they should do) by the laws then in force, and according to the principles then universally admitted, but according to a supposed system of laws, and the opinions of the present age. The principal ancient writers on the side of Gregory, are collected by the noted Jesuit Jac. Gretzer, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII.* which was published separately, and also in his *Opp.* tom. vi. Those who defend Henry IV. are collected by Melch. Goldastus, in his *Replisatio contra Gretserum, et Apologia pro*

received indeed the legates of the pontiff in a gracious manner, and he commended the pontiff's design of putting an end to *simony*. But neither he, nor the German bishops, would grant leave to the legates to assemble a council in Germany, for the purpose of trying those who were guilty of *simony*. The next year, therefore, A. D. 1075, in a new council at Rome, *Gregory* proceeded still further; for, in the first place, he excommunicated some of the favourites of king *Henry*, whose advice and assistance he was said to have used in the sale of benefices; and likewise certain bishops of Germany and Italy; and in the next place, he decreed, that "whoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy, or should receive an investiture from the hands of any layman, should be excommunicated."⁴ For it had long been customary with the emperors, and kings and princes of Europe, to confer the larger benefices, and the government of monasteries, by the delivery of a ring and a staff. And as this formal inauguration of the bishops and abbots was the main support, both of the power claimed by kings and emperors to create whom they chose bishops and abbots, and also of the licentious sale of sacred offices to the highest bidders, or of *simony*, the pontiff judged that the custom ought to be wholly extirpated and suppressed.⁵

Henrico IV. Hanov. 1611, 4to. Of the moderns, besides the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, Baronius, the writers of Germanic and Italian history, and the biographers of Matilda, the reader may consult, Jo. Schilterus, *de Libertate Ecclesiæ Germanicæ*, lib. iv. p. 481, &c. Christ. Thomasius, *Historia Contentionis inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*: Henr. Meibomius, *de Jure Investituræ episcopalis*, in the *Scriptores Rer. Germanicarum*, tom. iii. Just. Chr. Dithmar, *Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, Francf. 1714, 8vo, and others. Superior to all these in learning, is Henry Noris, in his *Istoria delle Investiture della Dignità Ecclesiastiche*, which was published after the death of this great man, Mantua, 1741, fol. It is a very learned work, but unfinished, and defective; and, what is not surprising in a friend of the pontiffs, or a cardinal, not candid towards the adversaries of the pontiffs, or the emperors. With advantage, also, may be consulted, Jo. Jac. Mascov's *Commentarii de Rebus Imperii Germani sub Henrico IV. et V.* Lips. 1749, 4to.

⁴ See Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*,

tom. iv. ad ann. 1075. Henr. Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, p. 39, &c. Christ. Lupus, *Scholia et Diss. ad Concilia*, Opp. tom. vi. p. 39, &c. 44, &c.

⁵ I must be allowed here to go into an investigation respecting the right of inaugurating bishops and abbots with the ring and staff; because it is misunderstood by many, and not very intelligibly explained by others. Among these last, I may place the name of Henry Noris, the author of a *History of Investitures*, in Italian; for in chap. iii. p. 56, where he treats of the motives which induced Gregory to prohibit investitures, though he states many things well, and better than other writers do, yet he does not see through the whole thing, and he omits some circumstances important to be known. The *investiture* itself of bishops and abbots undoubtedly commenced at the time when the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe conferred on them the possession and use of territories, forests, fields, and castles. For according to the laws of those times, (and they have not yet ceased to operate,) persons holding territories, &c. by favour of the empe-

§ 15. But *Henry* was not dismayed at the decree of the pontiff. He acknowledged, indeed, that he had done wrong in

rors and sovereigns, were not considered to be in legal possession of them, until they had repaired to the court, sworn fealty to the sovereign, and received from his hand the token of the transfer and dominion of the property. But the mode of inaugurating or investing bishops and abbots, with the *ring* and the *staff* or crosier, (which are the insignia of the sacred office,) was of later date, and was introduced at the time when the emperors and kings, subverting the free elections which the ecclesiastical laws required, assumed to themselves the power, not only of conferring, but also of selling sacerdotal and abbatial offices at their pleasure. At first, the emperors and kings handed over to men of the sacred orders the same tokens of transferred use and possession, as they did to soldiers, knights, counts, and others, who approached the throne as vassals, namely, written instruments, green twigs, and other things. Humbert, a cardinal of the Romish church, who wrote before the contest about investitures was moved by Gregory VII., in his lib. iii. *Adversus Simoniacos*, cap. xi. (in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. 787,) says: "The secular authority favoured the ambitious, who coveted ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, first by making request for them, next by threats, and afterwards by formal grants: and in all this, finding no one to gainsay it, none who moved a pen, or opened his mouth and uttered a murmur, it proceeded to greater things; and now, under the name of investiture——gave, first, written instruments, or delivered small wands of some kind; afterwards, staffs——which horrid abomination has become so well established, that it is accounted the only canonical way, and what the ecclesiastical rule is, is neither known nor thought of."—And this custom of inaugurating or investing clergymen and laymen in the same manner, would doubtless have continued unchanged, had not the clergy, who had the legal power and right of electing their bishops and abbots, artfully eluded the designs of the emperors and sovereigns. For they, as soon as their bishop or abbot was dead, without delay, and in due form, elected a successor to him, and caused him to be consecrated. And the consecration having taken place, the empe-

ror or prince, who had proposed to give or sell that office to some one of his friends, was now obliged to desist from his purpose, and to confirm the person who was elected and consecrated. There is not room here for examples and proof of this shrewd management of the canons and monks, by which they eluded the intentions of emperors and kings to sell or give away sacred offices. But many may be collected out of the records of the tenth century. For this reason, the sovereigns, that they might not lose the power of conferring the sacred offices on whom they pleased, required the insignia of such offices, namely the staff and ring, immediately after the decease of a bishop to be transmitted to them. For according to ecclesiastical law, official power is conveyed by delivering the staff and ring; so that, these being carried away, if the clergy should elect any one for their bishop, he could not be consecrated in due form. And every election till it had been ratified by consecration, could be set aside, without violation of ecclesiastical law; nor could a bishop elect perform any episcopal function, till he was consecrated. As soon therefore as any one of the higher officers in the church died, the magistrate of the city where he lived, or the governor of the province, seized upon his staff and ring, and transmitted them to court. Ebbo, in his life of Otto of Bamberg, (who lived in the court of Henry IV.) lib. i. § 8, 9, (in the *Acta Sanctor. Mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 426,) says: "Soon after, the ring and the pastoral staff of the bishop of Bremen were brought to the royal court. For at that period, the church had not free elections,——but when any bishop was about to go the way of all the earth, presently the commandants of his city transmitted his ring and pastoral staff to the palace; and thus by royal authority, after consulting with his courtiers——he placed a suitable prelate over the bereaved people.——After a few days, again the ring and pastoral staff of the bishop of Bamberg were transmitted to our lord the emperor; which being told abroad, many nobles——flocked to the royal court, who endeavoured to obtain one of these, either by price or by petition."——The emperor or king then delivered the ring and staff to whom he pleased: after

selling sacred offices; and he promised amendment: but he could by no means be induced to give up the power of appoint-

which, the person thus inaugurated and appointed bishop, repaired to the metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the consecration, and delivered over to him the staff and ring received from the emperor, that he might again receive these insignia of his power from the hands of the metropolitan. Thus the new bishops and abbots received the ring and staff twice; first, from the hand of the king or emperor, and then from the metropolitan, by whom they were consecrated. Humbert, *Contra Simoniacos*, lib. iii. cap. vi. in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 779. "Being thus admitted," (i. e. *invested* by the emperor,) "the intruder comes upon the clergy, the people, the sacred order, as their master, before he is known by them, sought after, or asked for. And he goes to the metropolitan, not to be *judged* by him, but *to judge him*.—For what does it signify or profit, to *give up* the staff and ring, which he brings with him? Is it because they were given to him by a layman? Why is that given up, which is already held, unless it be, either that the ecclesiastical benefice may be again sold under this form of enjoining or giving; or that the former sale may be confirmed, by being subscribed to by the metropolitan and his suffrages; or at least, that the appearance of a layordination may be concealed under some cloak and colour of a clerical proceeding!"

What king or emperor first introduced this custom of appointing prelates by delivery of the staff and ring, is very uncertain. According to Adam Bremensis, (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 32, p. 10, and c. 39, p. 12, in Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Septentrion.*) as early as the ninth century, Lewis the Meek conferred on new bishops the right of enjoying the revenues of the churches they ruled, by delivery of a staff or shepherd's crook. But I suspect, that Adam described the events of the former centuries, in accordance with the customs of his own age, which was the eleventh century. For in the ninth century, most emperors and kings allowed bishops to be created, by the suffrages of the clergy and people: so that such an inauguration was then unnecessary. See the remarks of Dan. Papebroch, against Adam Brem. in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. i. p. 557.

Humbert states, (lib. iii. *contra Simoniac.* c. vii. p. 780, and c. xi. p. 787,) that this custom commenced in the age of Otto the Great: and I am much inclined to that opinion. At least, the learned men who have treated explicitly on the origin of investitures, have adduced nothing which dissuades me from receiving this opinion. See Lud. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesie circa Benef.* tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 434, and Natal. Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæcul. xi. xii. diss. iv. p. 725. The same Humbert relates, (l. c. cap. vii. p. 780,) that the emperor Henry, the son of Conrad, (i. e. Henry III. surnamed Niger,) wished to abrogate these *investitures*, but was prevented by various circumstances; but that Henry I., the king of France, threw every thing into confusion, and was excessively addicted to *simony*; against whom, therefore, Humbert inveighs most vehemently.

In this method of inaugurating bishops and abbots by delivery of the ring and staff, there were two things especially that displeased the Roman pontiffs. First, that by it, the ancient privilege of electing bishops and abbots was entirely subverted, and the power of creating prelates was placed wholly in the hands of the kings and emperors. This objection appeared a fair one, and perfectly accordant with the religious principles of that age. Secondly, it was extremely offensive to them, that the insignia of spiritual power, namely, the staff and ring, should be conveyed by the hands of laymen, i. e. of profane persons; which seemed to them very like to sacrilege. Humbert, who wrote, as already stated, anterior to the contest between Gregory and Henry, has a long complaint on this subject, lib. iii. *Contra Simoniac.* c. vi. p. 779. 795. I will subjoin some of his language: "What business have laymen to distribute the ecclesiastical sacraments, and episcopal or pastoral grace, that is, the curved staffs and rings, by which episcopal consecration is especially performed, and becomes valid, and on which it wholly depends? For the curved staff denotes the pastoral care which is committed to them; and the ring is emblematical of the celestial mysteries, admonishing preachers, that they should exhibit the wisdom of God in a mystery, with the

ing bishops and abbots, and the *investiture* so closely connected with that power. *Gregory*, therefore, well knowing that many of the German princes, especially those of Saxony, were alienated from *Henry*, deemed this a favourable opportunity to extend and establish his authority; and sending ambassadors to Goslar, he summoned the king to Rome, there to answer before a council to the charges brought against him. The king, who was a high-minded prince, and of an ardent temperament, being extremely indignant at this mandate, immediately called a convention of German bishops at Worms; and there, accusing *Gregory* of various crimes, pronounced him unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the election of a new pontiff.⁶ *Gregory*, on the other hand, upon receiving this sentence by the king's messengers and letters, not only interdicted him, simultaneously, from religious rites and royal functions, but also absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him.⁷ War

apostle. Whoever therefore presume to initiate any one with these two, undoubtedly claim for themselves, by this presumption, the whole pastoral authority." And this reasoning was certainly good, if not according to our views, at least according to the opinions of that age: for the staff and the ring were viewed as the emblems of spiritual things, and whoever conferred these emblems, was supposed to confer along with them spiritual authority and power.

From these considerations, it will be easy to perceive what it was that induced *Gregory VII.* to oppose so resolutely the inauguration of bishops by means of the staff and ring. In the first council at Rome, he left the subject of *investitures* untouched, and sought merely to abolish *simony*, and restore the ancient right of election to the societies of priests and monks. Nor had the former pontiff's who opposed *simony*, aimed at any thing more. But when he afterwards learned that the practice of *investitures* was so closely connected with the power of kings and emperors to confer the higher sacerdotal offices, and with its adjunct *simony*, that it could not well be separated from them, he now assailed that practice, that he might pluck up the evil which he opposed by the root. Thus we see the true grounds of the contest between the pontiff and the emperor. *Gregory* did not oppose *investitures* universally, and as such, but only that species of *investitures* which was then practised. He

did not object to the bishops and abbots swearing fealty to the kings and emperors, and acknowledging themselves their vassals and tenants: nor did he forbid an *investiture* which should be made by an oral declaration or a written instrument; for this mode of *investiture* he conceded to the kings of France and England:—perhaps also, he allowed a sceptre to be used in the transaction, as *Callistus II.* afterwards did. But he would not tolerate an *investiture* by the insignia of the sacred office; much less an *investiture* previous to consecration; and, least of all, an *investiture* subversive of the free election of bishops and abbots.

⁶ [The council of Worms was composed of a "very great number of bishops and abbots" from all parts of Germany. *Hugo*, a displaced cardinal, appeared there, and painted the life and character of *Gregory* in the blackest colours. The whole assembly, with the exception of two bishops, subscribed his condemnation. *Henry's* letter to the pontiff concludes thus: "Thou therefore, condemned by this anathema, and by the decision of all our bishops, descend; quit the apostolic chair you have invaded; let another ascend it, who will pollute religion by no violence, but will teach the sound doctrines of *St. Peter*. We *Henry*, by the grace of God king, with all our bishops, say to you: Descend." See *Harduin's Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1563. *Tr.*]

⁷ [*Gregory's* excommunication of

being thus declared on both sides, the church as well as the state was rent into two factions, one party taking sides with the king, and the other with the pontiff; and the evils resulting from this schism were immense.

§ 16. The first that revolted from *Henry* were the Suabian nobles, at the head of whom was *Rudolph*, duke of Suabia. Next followed the Saxons, who had long been very hostile to the king. Both were advised by the pontiff, in case *Henry* would not comply with the will of the church, to elect a new king; and they assembled at *Tribur*, in the year 1076, to deliberate on this very important subject. The result of the deliberation was, that the decision of the controversy between the king and the princes should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who should be invited to attend the diet of Augsburg, the ensuing year, for that purpose; and that the king, during the intervening time, should lead a private life; yet with this condition annexed, that unless he obtained absolution from the anathema within the year, he was to lose the kingdom. *Henry*, therefore, with the advice of his friends, determined to go into Italy, and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But he did not gain as much advantage as he had hoped from this journey. He obtained, indeed, though with difficulty, from the pontiff, then residing at the castle of Canossa, with *Matilda*, the great patroness of the church, the pardon of his sins; after standing, for three days together, in the depth of winter, in February, A. D. 1077, bare-footed, bare-headed, and clad in a common weed⁸,

Henry, is drawn up in the form of an address to St. Peter; stating what he had decreed, and why. It contains these words: "Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, Patris et Filii et Sp. Sancti, per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem, Henrico regi filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernaculo contradico: et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolve; et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdico." See *Harduin's Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1566. *Tr.*

⁸ *Vili amiculo vestitus*. [He put off the ordinary dress of his rank, and habited himself as a penitent, in the customary white garment. The fortress had three walled enclosures. The imperial atten-

dants were not allowed to go beyond the first; the emperor himself was conducted within the second; the pope was within the third, but although the weather was frosty and unusually severe, he refused admittance to *Henry*, but kept him in the yard fasting, and benumbed with cold, all the day through. This extraordinary spectacle seems to have begun Jan. 25, and the emperor submitted to it three whole days, deeply commiserated by every body but *Gregory*, whose conduct, *Bernried* says, was taxed by some with tyrannical severity. On the fourth day, *Henry*, completely tired of his penance, for that is what it was, took refuge in a chapel close by, where he had an interview with *Matilda*, and working upon her compassion, obtained admittance to *Gregory*. *Ed.*]

within the castle's walled enclosure, professing grief of mind. But the pontiff deferred the discussion and decision of his right to the throne, till the convention of the princes should meet; and, in the mean time, wholly interdicted him from wearing the ornaments or exercising the functions of royalty. The Italian princes and bishops⁹ were most indignant at this convention or compromise, and threatened *Henry* with deposition, and evils of all kinds; which made him soon after go from his agreement, and, contrary to *Gregory's* command, resume the regal character which he had laid aside. The princes of Suabia and Saxony, hearing of this, met in convention at Pforzheim, in the month of March, A. D. 1077, and by a unanimous vote elected *Rudolph*, the duke of Suabia, king.¹

§ 17. A violent war now commenced, both in Germany and Italy. In Italy, *Gregory*, with the forces of the Normans, who were sovereigns of lower Italy, and whom he had drawn over to his party, joined to those of the highly-famed and very resolute princess Matilda, resisted not unsuccessfully the Lombards, who fought for *Henry*. In Germany, *Henry* with his confederates encountered *Rudolph* and his associates, but with no good fortune. *Gregory*, fearing the dubious issue of the war, wished to be accounted neutral for some years. But taking courage, after the unfortunate battle of *Henry* with the Saxons, at Fladenheim, in the year 1080, he excommunicated *Henry* a second time; and sending a crown to *Rudolph*, pronounced him the legitimate king of Germany.² In revenge, *Henry*, supported by the suffrages of many of the German and Italian bishops, again deposed *Gregory*, the same year, in a council at Mentz; and a little after, in a convention at Brixen in the Tyrol, he created the archbishop of Ravenna, *Guibert*, supreme pontiff; who subsequently took the name of *Clement III.* when consecrated at Rome, A. D. 1084.

§ 18. A few months after, *Rudolph*, the enemy of *Henry*, died at Merseburg, in consequence of a wound received in battle at

⁹ [Who had been *Henry's* supporters. *Ed.*]

¹ The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of these and subsequent events, though not all of them with equal fidelity and accuracy. I have consulted the original writers, and have followed those most to be relied on: Si-

gonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascovius, Noris, and others; whose accounts differ indeed in some minor things, but agree as to the main points.

² [The golden crown which *Gregory* sent to *Rudolph*, had this memorable inscription, *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho. Tr.*]

the river Elster. Therefore, the following year, A. D. 1081, the king marched with his army into Italy, intending, if possible, to crush *Gregory* and his adherents; for if these were subdued, he hoped that the commotions in Germany might be easily quelled. He made several campaigns, with various success, against the forces of *Matilda*: twice he besieged Rome in vain; but at length, in the year 1084, he became master of the greatest part of that city; placed *Guibert*, whom he had made pontiff, in the chair of St. Peter, with the title of *Clement III.*; was by him crowned emperor, and saluted as such by the Romans; and he now laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, in which his enemy *Gregory* was shut up. But *Robert*, the Norman duke of Calabria and Apulia, delivered the pontiff from his siege; and as it was not safe for him to remain at Rome, carried him with him to Salerno. And here it was, that, in the year following, this man, whose mind, indeed, was great and invincible, but who was the proudest and boldest of all the pontiffs that ever lived, terminated his days in the year 1085.³ The Romish church honours him among her saints and intercessors with God, though he was never enrolled in that order by a regular canonization. *Paul V.*, near the commencement of the seventeenth century, appointed the 25th day of May to be his festival.⁴ But the sovereigns of Europe, especially the emperor and the king of France, have prevented it from being publicly and every where observed. And even in our times, [A. D. 1729,] there was a contest with *Benedict XIII.* respecting the worship of him.⁵

§ 19. The death of *Gregory* was followed by very trying times:

³ [An ancient life of *Gregory*, favourable to him, by Paul Bernried, may be seen in the *Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 410. An unfavourable life by Cardinal Benno is subjoined to a contemporary history of Henry IV., printed at Frankfort, in 1581. Of late, favourable lives have been published by Voigt, in German, (translated into French, in 1838,) and by Mr. Bowden, in English, in 1840. An unfavourable life by Sir Roger Griesley, appeared in English, in 1832. *Gregory's* character, unquestionably, deserves attentive consideration. It had not all the elements of evil that were once commonly attributed to it. But it was under this pope that ecclesi-

astical pretensions were first pretty thoroughly developed, under cover of that ostentatious, moral, and ritual strictness which is very likely to find them partisans. *Ed.*]

⁴ See the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp, ad diem 25 Maii; and Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii.

⁵ See the French work, entitled, *L'Avocat du Diable, ou Mémoires historiques et critiques sur la vie et sur la légende du Pape Grégoire VII.* published in Holland, 1743, 3 vols. 8vo. [See also J. B. Hartung's *Unpartheyische Kirchen-Historie*, vol. ii. p. 1057. *Tr.*]

for *Clement III.*, or *Guibert*, the emperor's pontiff⁶, ruled both at Rome and over a large part of Italy; and in Germany, *Henry* himself continued the war with the princes. The pontifical party, supported by the forces of the Normans, elected at Rome, in the year 1086, *Desiderius*, abbot of Monte Cassino, successor to *Gregory*; and he, assuming the name of *Victor III.*, was consecrated in the church of Peter, A. D. 1087, the Normans having seized a part of the city of Rome from *Clement*. But *Victor*, who was a very different man from *Gregory*, being mild and timorous, soon retired to Benevento, because Rome was in the hands of *Clement*, and not long after died at Cassino. Before his death, however, in a council held at Cassino, he renewed the decrees enacted by *Gregory* for the abolition of investitures.

§ 20. *Victor* was succeeded by *Otto*, bishop of Ostia, and likewise a monk of Cluny, who was elected at Terracina, in the year 1088, and chose the name of *Urban II.* He was inferior to *Gregory* in courage and fortitude, but his equal in arrogance, and went beyond him in imprudence.⁷ At first, fortune seemed to smile upon him: but, in the year 1090, the emperor returning into Italy, and boldly and successfully attacking the younger *Guelf*, duke of Bavaria, and *Matilda*, the two heads of the pontifical party, things assumed a new aspect. Yet the hope of subduing the emperor revived again in 1091, when *Conrad*, his son, suffered himself to be seduced by the pontiff and the other enemies of his father, to rebel against his parent, and usurp the kingdom of Italy. The condition of Italy now continued in the utmost confusion; nor was *Urban* able to bring the city of Rome under his subjection. Therefore, after holding a council at Piacenza, in the year 1095, in which he reiterated the decrees and anathemas of *Gregory*, he took a journey into France, and there held the celebrated council of Clermont, in which the holy war against the Mahumedans, who

⁶ A life of this pontiff, *Clement III.* was lately promised to the world, by Jo. Gottl. Hornius, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609. *Clement* died, A. D. 1100; as is expressly stated in the *Chronicon Beneventanum*, published by Muratori, *Antiqq. Italicae*, tom. i. p. 262, &c. See Rubeus *Historia Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 307, &c.

⁷ The life of *Urban II.* was written by Theod. Ruinart; and is extant in

Jo. Mabillon's *Opera Posthumæ*, tom. iii. p. 1, &c. It is composed with learning and industry; but with what fidelity and candour, I need not say. Those acquainted with facts, know that the monks are not at liberty to describe to us the Roman pontiffs such as they really were. See also, concerning *Urban*, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 514.

occupied Palestine, was resolved on. And, what deserves particular notice, in the same council, *Urban*, most imprudently, rendered the contest about investitures, which had long been so obstinate and calamitous, still more unmanageable and violent. For *Gregory* had not forbidden bishops and priests to swear fealty to their sovereigns; but *Urban*, with a rashness hitherto quite unknown, prohibited all such oaths from them as were exacted by feudal superiors.⁸ On returning to Italy, the pontiff succeeded in reducing the Roman castle of St. Angelo under his power; but he died a little after, in the year 1099; and the year following, *Clement III.* also died. And thus the Benedictine monk, *Raynier*, who was created pontiff after the death of *Urban*, and who assumed the name of *Paschal II.*, reigned without a competitor when the century closed.

§ 21. Among the oriental monks, nothing occurred worth noticing: but among the western monks, there were several events which deserve to be mentioned. Of these the most important, perhaps, was the closer union between them and the Roman pontiffs. For a long time, many of the monks, in order to escape the oppressions and snares of the bishops and kings and nobles, who coveted their possessions, had placed themselves under the protection of the Roman pontiffs; who readily received them, on condition that they should pay an annual tribute. But in this age, the pontiffs in general, and especially *Gregory VII.*, who wished to bring all things under subjection to *St. Peter*, and to diminish the rights and prerogatives of the bishops, themselves moved and advised the monks to withdraw their persons and property from the bishops, and to place both under the dominion of *St. Peter*.⁹ Hence, from the time of *Gregory VII.*, exemptions of monasteries from the ordinary power were immensely multiplied throughout Europe, to the

⁸ To the fifteenth canon of this council the following addition is subjoined, [constituting the seventeenth canon; according to Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1719.] "Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant;" i.e. may take the oath, which vassals or subjects are accustomed to take. They are in an error, who tell us, that *Gregory VII.* forbade bishops taking the oath of fidelity. He was more reasonable than that, unreasonable as he sometimes was.

This is proved by Henry Noris, *Istoria delle Investiture*, cap. x. p. 279, &c.

⁹ See, as a specimen, the Epistle of *Gregory VII.* in which he subjects the monks of Redon to the Romish see, with expressions new and unheard of till his age; in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 204, &c. To this may be added others, by *Urban II.* and the subsequent pontiffs; which are extant in the same work, and here and there in other collections.

great injury and inconvenience of kings and princes, and much to the vexation of bishops.¹

§ 22. The irreligious lives, ignorance, frauds, licentiousness, quarrels, and crimes of the greater part of the monks, are noticed by nearly all the historians of that age; not to mention other proofs of their impiety, which have reached us in great numbers.² But still this class of people was every where in high repute, was promoted to the highest offices in the church, and increased continually in wealth and possessions. The causes of this are to be found in an extreme ignorance of every thing pertaining to religion, which gave rise to the grossest superstition, joined to a boundless indifference for sin, which every where flourished in this age, and rendered people generally excessively dissolute.³ While the great mass of men, and even the *clergy*, whether those called *secular*, or *canons*, rushed upon every species of vice, people seemed saints, and friends of the most high God, who preserved some show of piety and religion.

¹ Perhaps no *exemption* of a Germanic monastery can be produced, which is older than the times of Gregory. [Dr. Mosheim, probably, means to say, "no exemption by mere *papal authority*" occurred in Germany, before Gregory VII., for there were various monasteries there, which were exempt at an earlier period. That of Fulda, was one; exempt from its foundation, A.D. 744: as appears from Boniface, *Epistola* 151. The founders of monasteries often wished to have them exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, as well as from civil exactions; and therefore procured from the bishop and from the prince such exemption; which was confirmed at first by some council, and afterwards by the Roman pontiff. As the pontiffs advanced in power, and encroached on the prerogatives of bishops, councils, and kings, their *confirmation* of an exemption became more common, and more necessary, till at last they assumed the exclusive right of granting exemptions at their pleasure. See Petrus de Marca, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xvi. *Tr.*]

² See what Jo. Launoy, *Assertio in Privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. 26, § 6. Opp. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 499, &c. and Rich. Simon, *Bibliothèque Critique*, tom. iii. cap. 32, p. 331, &c. have collected and remarked on this subject. [Ivo Carno-

tensis, *Ep.* 70, (cited by Pagi, *Crit. Baron.* ad ann. 1100, No. ix.) says to Walter, bishop of Meaux, "I state to your goodness, the shameful report, which I have received from the lips of the monks of Tours, and the letters of lady Adeleid, the venerable countess, respecting the monastery of St. Eura, that it is no longer the residence of holy virgins, but may be pronounced the brothel of demoniac females, who prostitute their bodies to every sort of men." This is only a specimen of what is to be met with in the writers of these times. *Tr.*]

³ On the astonishing wickedness of this age, see Dav. Blondel, *de Formula: regnante Christo*, p. 14, &c. Boulainvilliers, *de l'Origine et les Droits de la Noblesse*, in Malet's *Mémoires de Littérature et de l'Histoire*, tom. ix. pt. i. p. 63, &c. and many others. This licentiousness and impunity of all sorts of wickedness, gave rise to the orders of knights errant, or chivalry; whose business it was to protect the weak, the poor, and especially females, against the insults and violence of the strong. This was a laudable institution in those wretched times, when the energy of law was wholly prostrate, and these filling the office of judges were incompetent to perform the duties of their stations.

Besides, the nobles, knights, and military men, who had spent their lives in acts of robbery, in debauchery, revelry, and other gross vices, became frightened in old age by a guilty conscience, and hoped to appease their all-righteous Judge, if they should either purchase the prayers of monks by rich gifts, and should return to God and the saints a portion of their ill-gotten wealth, or should themselves become monks, and make their new brethren their heirs.

§ 23. Of all the monks, none were in higher reputation for piety and virtue than those of *Cluny* in France. Their rules of life, therefore, were propagated throughout all Europe; and whoever would establish new monasteries, or resuscitate and reform old ones, adopted the Cluniac discipline. The French monks of *Cluny*, from whom the sect originated, gradually acquired such immense wealth, in consequence of the donations of the pious of all classes, and at the same time, such extensive power and influence, that towards the close of the century, they were able to form a peculiar community of their own, which still exists under the name of the *Cluniacensian order* or *congregation*.⁴ For all the monasteries, which they reformed and brought under their rules, they also endeavoured to bring under their dominion: and in this they were so successful, especially under *Hugo*, the sixth abbot of *Cluny*, a man in high favour with pontiffs, kings, and nobles, that, at the close of the century, no less than thirty-five of the larger monasteries in France, besides many of the smaller ones, looked up to him as their *general*. Besides these, there were numerous others, which, though they declined becoming members of this community, and continued to elect their own governors, yet chose the *abbot of Cluny*, or the *arch-abbot*, as he wished to be called, for their patron and supervisor.⁵ But this prosperity, this abundance of riches and honours and power, gradually produced not only arrogance, but likewise all those vices which disgraced monks in those times: and after a short interval, there was nothing to distinguish the Cluniacensians from other monks, except certain regulations.

⁴ On the very rapid advances of the order of Cluny in both wealth and reputation, Stephen Baluze has collected numerous facts in his *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 343, &c. and tom. vi. p. 436, and Jo. Mabillon has treated expressly on the subject, in several parts of his *Annal.*

Benedict. tom. v.

⁵ Mabillon, *Præf. ad Sæcul. V. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. xxvi. &c. *Histoire Générale de Bourgogne, par les Moines Bénédictins*, tom. i. p. 151, &c. Paris, 1739, fol. *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 470.

§ 24. The example of the Cluniacensians led other pious and well-disposed men to establish similar monastic associations: and the consequence was, that the Benedictine family, which hitherto had composed but one body, was now split into several sects, all subject indeed to one *rule*, but differing in customs, forms, and mode of living, and moreover indulging animosity towards each other. In the year 1023, *Romuald*, an Italian, retired to *Camaldoli*, or *Campo-Malduli*, a desert spot on the lofty heights of the Apennine⁶, and there laid the foundation of the congregation of the *Camaldulensians*; which still flourishes, especially in Italy. Those who belong to it are divided into cœnobites and eremites. Both are required to live according to rigorous and severe laws: but the cœnobites have relaxed not a little the ancient rigour of the sect.⁷ Shortly after, *John Gualbert*, a Florentine, founded at *Vallombrosa*, also situated on the Apennine mountains, the congregation of Benedictine monks of *Vallombrosa*, which in a little time extended into many parts of Italy.⁸ To these two Italian congregations may perhaps be subjoined that of *Hirschau*⁹, in Germany, established by the abbot *William*, who reformed many German monasteries, and also established some new ones.¹ But the *Hirsaugians*, if we examine them closely, appear not to be so much a new sodality, as a branch of the Cluniacensian congregation, whose rules and customs they followed.

§ 25. Near the end of the century, A. D. 1098, *Robert*, abbot of Molême, in Burgundy², a province of France, being utterly unable to make his monks live as St. Benedict's rule prescribed, retired with twenty associates, to *Cîteaux*³, in the county of

⁶ [See a description and a drawing of the spot in Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iv. p. 261, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ Some of the writers concerning the order of Camaldulensians are named by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. p. 895. To which add the life of Romualdus, in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. ii. p. 101, &c. and in Jo. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. i. p. 427. Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 236. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Ord. Bened.* tom. v. in many places, especially p. 261, &c. Magnold Ziegelbauer's *Cenotifolium Camaldulense, seu Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, Venice, 1750, fol. [and Anselm Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulens.* tom. i. ii. Venice, 1755, fol. *Schl.*]

⁸ See the life of Jo. Gualbertus, in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 273. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 298. Many documents relating to this order and to its history were published not long since by Jo. Lami, in his *Deliciae Eruditiorum*, printed at Florence, tom. ii. p. 238, (where the ancient rules of the sect are given,) and p. 272, 279, tom. iii. p. 177, 212, and elsewhere.

⁹ [In the diocese of Spire. *Tr.*]

¹ See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. 716, &c. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 332.

² [In Champagne, on the frontiers of Burgundy. Moreri. *Ed.*]

³ Cistercium.

Beaune, then a horrid place, covered with woods and briers, but now a beautiful spot, and there commenced the order, or rather *congregation*, of the *Cistercians*. In the following century, this family, with the same success as that of *Cluny*, spread itself over the greatest part of Europe, became exceedingly opulent, and acquired the form and rights, not only of a new monastic sect, but also of a new commonwealth of monks. The primary law of this fraternity was the rule of *St. Benedict*, which the founder required the members to fulfil perfectly, without adopting any convenient interpretations of its precepts: he added, however, some further regulations, to serve as a rampart for fortifying the rule against any violations; regulations which were severe and ungrateful to human nature, yet exceedingly holy, according to the views of that age. The possession of wealth, however, which had corrupted the Cluniacensians at once, extinguished also, gradually, among the Cistercians, their first zeal for obeying their rule; so that, in process of time, their faults were as numerous as those of the other Benedictines.³

§ 26. Besides these societies formed within the Benedictine family, there were added some new families of monks, or *orders* in the proper sense of the term, *i. e.* societies having peculiar rules and institutions.⁴ For to some persons who were constitutionally gloomy, and inclined to excessive austerity, the rule of *Benedict* appeared too lax; and others thought it imperfect, and not well accommodated to the exercise of all the duties of piety towards God. In the first place, *Stephen* of *Thiers*, a nobleman of Auvergne, and son of a viscount, (whom some call *Stephen de Muret*, from the place where he erected the first convent of his order,) obtained from *Gregory VII.*, in the year 1073, permission to institute a new species of monastic discipline. He at first designed to subject his followers to the rule of *St. Benedict*; but he afterwards changed his purpose, and

³ The principal historian of the Cistercian order is Angelus Marriquetz, whose *Annales Cistercienses*, a ponderous and minute work, was published at Lyons, 1642, in four vols. fol. The second is Peter le Nain, whose *Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre de Citeaux*, was published at Paris, 1696, in nine vols. 8vo. The other writers are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latina Mediæ ævi*, tom.

i. p. 1066. But to them should be added Jo. Mabillon, who learnedly and diligently investigates the origin and progress of the Cistercians in the 5th and 6th vols. of his *Annales Benedictini*; and also Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 341, &c.

⁴ [See note ³, p. 268, of this vol. *Tr.*]

drew up a rule of his own. It contains many severe injunctions: poverty and obedience it inculcates as first principles: it forbids the possession of lands beyond the boundaries of the monastery: denies wholly the use of flesh even to the sick: does not allow even the keeping of cattle, that a hankering after animal food might be more easily prevented: most sacredly enjoins silence; and makes solitude of so much importance, that the doors of the monastery were to be opened to none but persons of high authority: prohibits all converse with females; and, finally, commits the care and management of all the temporal affairs and concerns of the monastery, exclusively, to the *converted brethren*⁵, while the *clerics* were to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of divine things. The reputation of this new order was very high in this century and the next, so long as these regulations and others no less severe were observed; but its credit sank entirely, when violent animosity broke out between the *clerical* and the *converted* brethren, the latter exalting themselves above the former, and when the rigour of their rule was in many respects mitigated and softened down, partly by the prefects of the order themselves, and partly by the Roman pontiffs. This monastic sect was called the order of *Grandimontans*, because *Muret*, where they were first established, was near to *Grandmont* in the territory of Limoges.⁶

§ 27. Afterwards, in the year 1084 or 1086, followed the order of *Carthusians*, so called from *Chartreuse*, a wild and dismal spot, surrounded with high mountains and craggy rocks, near Grenoble in France. The founder of this noted sect, which exceeded perhaps all others in severity of discipline, was *Bruno*, a German of Cologne, and a canon of Rheims in France. Unable either to endure or correct the perverse conduct of his archbishop *Manasses*, he bade farewell to the world, and with six companions took up a wretched residence in the dismal spot that I have mentioned, with the permission of *Hugo*, bishop of Grenoble.⁷ He at first adopted the rule of *St. Benedict*, though

⁵ [The lay brethren. *Tr.*]

⁶ The origin of this order is described by Bernard Guidonis [de la Gayonne], whose tract was published in Phil. Labbe's *Bibliotheca Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 275. For its history and concerns see Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Bened.* tom. v. p. 65, &c. 99, &c. and tom. vi. p. 116, and *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. xxxiv. Helyot, *His-*

toire des Ordres, tom. vii. p. 402. *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, tom. ii. p. 645. Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Arcimons.* tom. i. p. 158, and his *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 486. Of the founder of the order, Stephen, there is a particular account in the *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. tom. ii. p. 199, &c.

⁷ Some of the writers concerning Bruno, and the order he established,

enlarged with a considerable number of very austere and rigid precepts: and his successors, first *Guigo*, and afterwards others, imposed upon the sect other laws, which were still more severe and rigorous.⁸ Nor is there any sect of monks that has departed less than this from the severity of its original discipline. This new sect of solitaries spread itself more slowly than the others over Europe, and was later in admitting females to join it: indeed, it could never prevail much among that sex; owing, undoubtedly, to the rigours and the gloominess of its discipline.⁹

§ 28. At the close of the century, A. D. 1095, the *order of St. Anthony*, which was devoted to the receiving and curing of diseased persons, and especially those affected with what was called the sacred disease, or *St. Anthony's fire*, took its rise from small beginnings in France. Those who were seized with this terrible disease, in this century, hastened away to a cell, (built by the Benedictine monks of Montmajor, near *Vienne*,) in which the body of *St. Anthony* was said to repose; that, through the

are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediævi*, tom. i. p. 784, but there are many more extant. See Innoc. Masson, *Annales Cartusiani*, Coreria, 1687, fol. Peter Orland, *Chronicon Cartusianum*, and others; from whom Hipp. Helyot, (in his *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 366.) has compiled a neat but imperfect history of the Carthusian order. Many documents relating to the character and laws of the order, are exhibited by Jo. Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 638. 683, &c. Of Bruno himself the Benedictine monks have given a distinct account, *Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 233, &c. The collectors of the *Acta Sanctorum* will doubtless give a more full account, when they come down to the 6th day of October, which is sacred to his memory. It was the current report formerly, that Bruno took his resolution of retiring into a desert upon occasion of the death of a priest at Paris, who, after his death, miraculously returned to life for a short period, in order to attest his own damnation. But since Jo. Launoi attacked that story, in his tract, *de Causa Secessus Brunonis in desertum*, it has commonly been accounted a fable by the more discerning, even in the Romish church itself. And the Carthusians, who might feel an interest to keep up the story,

seem at this day to abandon it; or at least they defend it timidly. The arguments on both sides are clearly and fairly stated by Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 467, &c.

⁸ See Mabillon's *Præf. ad sæcul. vi. pt. ii. of his Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. xxxvii.

⁹ Most of those who treat of this sect make no mention of *Carthusian nuns*; and hence many represent the order as embracing no females. But they have cloisters of females; though but few. For most of their nunneries are extinct; and in the year 1368, an express regulation was made prohibiting the erection of any more convents for females in the Carthusian community. At the present day, therefore, [A. D. 1755,] there are only five convents of Carthusian nuns, four in France, and one at Bruges in the Netherlands. See the learned author of the *Variétés historiques, physiques, et littéraires*, tom. i. p. 80, &c. Paris, 1752, 8vo. The delicate female constitution could not sustain the austere and stern mode of living required by the laws of the order: and hence, in the few nunneries that remain, it was necessary to yield somewhat to nature, and in particular to relax or abrogate the severe laws respecting silence, solitude, and eating alone.

prayers of this holy man, they might be restored. *Gaston*, a rich nobleman of the diocese of Vienne, and his son *Guerin*, having both recovered from the disease in this cell, consecrated themselves and all their property to *St. Anthony*, who, as they believed, had healed them; and devoted themselves to works of kindness towards the sick and indigent. Eight men first joined them, and afterwards many more. This company were, indeed, all consecrated to God; but they were bound by no vows, and were subject to the Benedictine monks of Montmajor. But after they had become rich through the bounty of pious individuals, and were spread over various countries, they at first withdrew themselves from the controul of the [Benedictine] monks; and at length, under *Boniface VIII.*, in the year 1297, they obtained the rank and the rights of an order, or sect of brethren observing the rule of *St. Augustine*.¹

§ 29. The *canons*, who formed, since the eighth century, an intermediate class between the monks and what are called the *secular* clergy, had become infected with the same dissoluteness of morals, which pervaded all the sacred order; indeed, they were even worse in some countries of Europe. Therefore, good men, who had some sense of religion, and also several of the pontiffs, as *Nicolaus II.*, in the council at Rome, A. D. 1059², and afterwards others, made commendable efforts for reforming the associations of *canons*. Nor were these efforts without effect; for a better system of discipline was introduced into nearly all those establishments. Yet all of them would not admit reform to the same extent. For some bodies of *canons* returned to the common method of living; except that they all resided in the same house, and ate at a common table: which was especially required by the pontiffs, and was extremely necessary, in order to prevent marriages among this class of priests. These *canons* retained the perquisites and revenues of their priestly offices, and used them at their pleasure. But other associations,

¹ See the *Acta Sanctor. Januarii*, tom. ii. p. 160. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 108, &c. Gabr. Penottus, *Historia Canonicorum regular.* lib. ii. cap. 70. Jo. Erh. Kapp, *Diss. de Fratribus S. Antonii*, Lips. 1737, 4to. The present state of the first house or hospital of this order, in which its abbot resides, is described by Martene and Durand, *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*

de la Congrég. de S. Maur, tom. i. p. 260, &c.

² The decree of *Nicolaus II.*, in the council of Rome, A. D. 1059, (by which the old rule for canons adopted in the council of Aix-la-Chapelle was repealed and another substituted,) was first published by Jo. Mabillon, among the documents subjoined to tom. iv. of his *Annal. Benedict.* p. 748, &c. and it is also in-

chiefly through the influence of *Ivo*, afterwards bishop of Chartres, renounced all private property, and all their possessions and patrimony; and these lived very much after the manner of monks. Hence arose the distinction between *secular canons* and *regular*; the former obeying the precept of *Nicolaus II.*, and the latter *Ivo's* plan. And since *St. Augustine* introduced among his clergy nearly the same regulations as those of *Ivo*, though he did not commit any rules to writing; hence the *regular canons* were called by many, *regular canons of St. Augustine*, or *canons under the rule of St. Augustine*.³

§ 30. Among the Greek writers, the following are the best.⁴ *Theophanes Cerameus*, whose homilies, still extant, are not altogether contemptible.⁵ *Nilus Doxopatrius*.⁶ *Nicetas Pectoratus*,

serted in the *Annals* themselves, lib. lxi. § xxxv. p. 586, &c.

³ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 586, and his *Opp. posthuma*, tom. ii. p. 102—115. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 11, &c. Ludov. Thomassin, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia*, tom. i. pt. i. lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 657, &c. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 357, &c. Many documents occur likewise in various parts of the *Gallia Christiana*, by the Benedictine monks, relating to this reformation of the *canons*, and the distinction among them. This recent origin of their order is very disagreeable to the *regular canons*; for they wish, on many accounts, to be esteemed a very ancient order; and hence, as is well known, they refer the origin of their order to the times of Christ, or at least to those of Augustine. But the arguments and testimonies they allege to prove their high antiquity, scarcely deserve a laboured confutation. The name *canons* was doubtless used anterior to this century; but its import was anciently very extensive. See Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de la Messe*, tom. i. p. 58. Hence nothing can be inferred from the name. But of *regular* and *secular canons*, there is no mention in any work extant, older than this century: and it is certain that those canons who had nothing in *common* but their dwelling and table, were called *secular canons*; while those who had *all things* in *common*, without any exception whatever, were called *regular canons*.——

[“To Dr. Mosheim’s account of the *canons*, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction

into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The order of *regular canons of St. Augustine* was brought into England by Adelwald, confessor to Henry I.; who first erected a priory of his order at Nostel in Yorkshire, and had influence enough to have the church of Carlisle converted into an episcopal see, and given to *regular canons*, invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by Henry I., who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of Dunstable, and by queen Maud, who erected for them the priory of the *Holy Trinity* in London, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that besides the noble priory of Merton, which was founded for them in 1117 by Gilbert, an earl of Norman blood, they had, under the reign of Edward I., fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.” *Macl.*]

⁴ Concerning all of whom, the *Biblioth. Græca* of Jo. Alb. Fabricius may be consulted.

⁵ [Theophanes, surnamed Cerameus (*the potter*) was abp. of Taormina in Sicily, and probably flourished about A. D. 1040, though some place him in the 9th century. His sixty-two Homilies on the lessons from the Gospels for all Sundays and festivals, are written in a natural and didactic style. They are exegetical. Fr. Seorsus published them, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1644, fol. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Nilus Doxopatrius, an abbot, or

the most strenuous defender of the opinions of the Greeks against the Latins.⁷ *Michael Psellus*, a learned man, and well known by his writings of various kinds.⁸ *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, who revived the contest between the Greeks and the Romans, when it was nearly put to rest.⁹ *Simeon*, junior, some of whose Meditations on the duties of a Christian life are extant.¹ *Theophylact* of Bulgaria, who acquired fame, especially, by his interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.²

archimandrite in the Gr. church. He resided at Palermo in Sicily, A.D. 1043. He wrote an account of the five patriarchates; namely, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, containing their statistics. Large extracts from which were published by Leo Allat, *de Concordia Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* and the entire work, Gr. and Lat., by Steph. le Moine, *Varia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 211. Paris, 1611. *Tr.*]

⁷ [He was a monk and presbyter in the monastery of Studium, near Constantinople, and flourished A.D. 1050. He wrote against the Latins, and also against the Armenians. His book *de Azymis, de Sabbathorum Jejuio, et Nuptiis Sacerdotum*, was published in Lat. by Canisius, tom. vi. Some other of his polemic tracts have been partially published. *Tr.*]

⁸ [For a notice of Michael Psellus, see note ⁴ to p. 259 of this volume. *Tr.*]

⁹ [This Michael was patriarch, A.D. 1043—1058. We have nothing of his but some synodic decrees and a few letters; all in controversy with the Latins. *Tr.*]

¹ [Simeon, junior, was abbot of St. Mamas, at Constantinople, about A.D. 1050. His works, in a Latin translation, were published by Pontanus at Ingolstadt, 1603, 4to; comprising thirty-three orations on Faith and Christian morals; a book on divine love; and 228 *Capita moralia, practica, et theologica*. *Tr.*]

² [Theophylact was a native of Constantinople, and abp. of Acris in Bulgaria, A.D. 1077. He wrote commentaries (compiled from Chrysostom) on nearly all the New Test. and on the minor prophets; also seventy-five epistles, and several tracts: all of which were well published, Gr. and Lat., Venice, 1754, fol. The older editions are less perfect.

Besides the writers mentioned by

Mosheim, the Greeks of this century had the following:—

Alexius, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1025—1043. Some of his decrees are extant.

Peter, patriarch of Antioch in the middle of this century, has left us three epistles, and a profession of his faith.

Leo, abp. of Acris in Bulgaria, A.D. 1053. He engaged in the contest against the Latins. One of his epistles, and extracts from others, are extant.

John, metropolitan of Euchaita in Paphlagonia, A.D. 1054, has left a poem on the history of the principal festivals, published Eton, 1610, 4to, and a few lives of monkish saints.

John Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1066—1078. He was of honourable birth, but abandoned public life, became a monk, and at last a patriarch. He has left us a homily on the cross, and some decrees. His nephew, also called John Xiphilin, and his contemporary, was the epitomizer of Dion Cassius.

Samuel, a converted Jew of Morocco in Africa, wrote, A.D. 1070, a letter or tract, in Arabic, proving that the Messiah was already come. A Latin translation of it is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xviii. p. 519.

Samonas, abp. of Gaza, A.D. 1072, wrote a tract, or dispute with Achmed a Saracen, proving the doctrine of transubstantiation; published, Gr. and Lat., in Ducæus, *Auctarium*, tom. ii. p. 277.

Michael Attaliata, a Gr. jurist, consul, and judge, A.D. 1072. He wrote a synopsis or practical treatise on the imperial laws, in ninety-five titles, addressed to Michael Ducas; published Gr. and Lat. by J. Leunclav. *de Jure Gr. Rom.* tom. ii. p. 1.

Nicetas Serron, deacon of the church

§ 31. The Latins esteem the following as their best writers. *Fulbert* of Chartres, a man to whom literature and youth devoted to it are not without obligations, and who has rendered himself famous by his Epistles, and by an immoderate zeal for the blessed virgin Mary.³ *Humbert*, a cardinal, who wrote against the Greeks, the most zealously and learnedly of all the Latins in this century.⁴ *Petrus Damianus*, whose genius, candour, integrity, and writings of various kinds, entitle him to rank among the first men of the age, although he was not free from the faults of the times.⁵ *Marianus Scotus*, whose *Chronicon*,

at Constantinople, and then abp. of Heraclea. He flourished A.D. 1077; and wrote commentaries on Gregory Nazianzen. To him, as well as to Olympiodorus, has been ascribed the *Catena* on Job, published, Gr. and Lat., by Fr. Junius, Lond. 1637, fol.

Nicolaus, Grammaticus, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1084—1111. He has left us a long letter to Alexis Comnenus, against depriving metropolitans of their sees; also several decrees. *Tr.*]

³ For an account of this famous man, see the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 261. [St. Fulbert came from Rome to Chartres about A.D. 1000, and there taught schools with great reputation. In the year 1007 he was made bishop of Chartres, and filled that office till his death in the year 1028. His writings consist of 134 letters, generally well written, and of some use to the history of those times; besides several indifferent sermons, some worse poetry, and two lives of monkish saints. They were edited, with bad faith, Paris, 1608, 8vo., and thence admitted into the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xviii. p. 1. See Du Pin's *Ecclesiastical Authors*, vol. ix. p. 1, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 629. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 527, &c. [Humbert was a monk of Toul, well skilled in Greek, whom pope Leo IX. took with him to Rome, A.D. 1049, and there made him a cardinal. He was employed in several important commissions; but especially in a papal embassy to Constantinople, A.D. 1054. He died after A.D. 1064. His writings are all controversial; and chiefly against the Greeks. They are extant partly in Baronius' *Annals*, and all of them in Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* tom.

vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. *Tr.*]

⁵ See the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. iii. p. 406. Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. p. 950. Casim. Oudin, Diss. in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 686, &c. [Peter Damian was born of humble parentage at Ravenna, A.D. 1007. Educated by his brother, he early became a monk, a teacher, a reformer of morals, an abbot of Ostia, and cardinal of the Romish church. But weary of public life, he resigned his bishopric, and retired to his monastery. The pontiffs employed him as their legate on several most difficult enterprises, in which he acquitted himself with great address and prudence. He was sent to Milan, A.D. 1059, to suppress simony and clerical incontinence; and, A.D. 1069, was despatched to Cluny in France to reform that monastery, and settle its controversies; and in 1063 was legate to Florence for settling a contest between the bishop and the citizens; and 1069 he was sent into Germany to dissuade king Henry from repudiating his queen Bertha; and lastly, in 1072 he was papal legate to Ravenna, for reconciling that church to the papal dominions; and died on his return in February 1074, aged 66. He was a man of great learning, devout, honest, frank, and well acquainted with human nature. He wrote with ease and perspicuity. His numerous writings were collected in three vols. fol. by Cajetan, Rome, 1606; often reprinted since; but best at Venice, 1754, in four vols. fol. They consist of eight books of letters; about sixty tracts, on various subjects of discipline, morals, and casuistry; sermons for all sundays and festivals of the year; and the lives of several saints, viz. St. Odilo, St. Maurus, St. Romuald, St. Rodolph, St. Flora, and

and some other of his writings, are extant.⁶ *Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of subtle wit, well versed in the dialectics of his age, and possessed of an uncommon acquaintance with theological subjects.⁷ *Lanfranc*, also archbishop of Canterbury, well known for his exposition of the epistles of St. Paul, and other writings; from which one may see him to have wanted neither acuteness nor learning, according to the standard of his age.⁸ The two *Brunos*, the one of Monte Cassino⁹, and the other the

St. Lucilla; besides notices of many others. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Marianus Scotus was born in Ireland, A. D. 1008, became a monk, travelled into Germany in 1058, where he spent the remainder of his life in the monasteries of Cologne, Fulda, and Mentz. He died A. D. 1086, aged 58. His *Chronicon* extends from the creation to A. D. 1083; and was continued by Dodechin to A. D. 1200. It is published among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, by Struve and others. His other writings are of little value. *Tr.*]

⁷ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 398. Rapin de Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 65. 166, &c. Colonia, *Histoire Littér. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 210. [Eadmer (Anselm's secretary) *de Vita S. Anselmi*, lib. ii. in the *Acta Sanctorum*. April, tom. ii. p. 893. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, pt. ii. p. 179, and Milner's *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, cent. xi. ch. v.—St. Anselm was born at Aosta in Piedmont, A. D. 1033. After acquiring an education, and travelling in France, he became a monk at Bec in Normandy, at the age of 27. Here he taught with great reputation, succeeded Lanfranc in the abbacy, and was made archbishop of Canterbury, next after Lanfranc, A. D. 1093. In that office he spent an unquiet life, which ended A. D. 1109. He was in continual collision with the kings of England, respecting investiture and encroachments upon clerical rights. Twice he left the kingdom, travelled to Italy, and resided at Rome and at Lyons. His works have been published frequently; the best edition is by Gabr. Gerberon, Paris, 1675, 3 tom. fol. They comprise a large number of letters, many sermons, and meditations on practical and devotional subjects, and a considerable number of doctrinal and polemic treatises. *Tr.*]

⁸ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 260. [And *Vita Beati Lanfranci*,

by Milo Crispin, chantor in the monastery of Bec in the age next after Lanfranc; in Jo. Mabillon's *Acta Sanctorum*. *Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 630—660. Lanfranc was a native of Pavia, travelled into France very early in life, became a monk at Bec in Normandy, A. D. 1041, taught there with very great applause, and drew pupils from afar; was made prior, and then abbot of his monastery, and counsellor to William the Conqueror, and A. D. 1070 archbishop of Canterbury, in which office he died A. D. 1088. He had contention with Thomas, archbishop of York, about priority; went to Rome on that and other subjects; and bore a conspicuous part in the civil transactions of England. His works, which were collected and published by D'Achery, Lucca, 1648, fol., comprise his commentary on the epistles of St. Paul; about sixty letters; a tract on transubstantiation; and a few other small pieces. *Tr.*]

⁹ [This Bruno was a native of Lombardy, educated in the monastery of Asti, became a canon in the cathedral of Siena, Tuscany; disputed against Berengarius in the council at Rome, 1079; and was soon after, by the pope, created bishop of Segni, in the ecclesiastical states. Weary of public life, he fled to Monte Cassino, A. D. 1104; but the pontiff ordered him back to his bishopric. In 1107 he again went to Monte Cassino, and was there made abbot with the consent of the pope. But in the year 1111, the pontiff required him to resign his abbacy, and resume his episcopal staff, which he held till his death, A. D. 1195. His writings were published at Venice, 1651, 2 vols. fol. The first volume contains his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Job, Psalms, Canticles, and the Apocalypse. The second volume contains 145 homilies on the Gospel lessons, some letters and tracts, and a life of the pontiff Leo IX. *Tr.*]

founder of the Carthusian order.¹ *Ivo* of Chartres, a very active restorer of ecclesiastical law and order.² *Hildebert* of Le Mans, as a theologian, philosopher, and poet, not one of the best, nor one of the worst.³ Lastly, *Gregory VII.*, that haughtiest of pontiffs, who undertook to elucidate certain parts of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote some other things.⁴

¹ [For an account of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, see p. 337 of this vol. and note⁷ there.—After spending six years at Chartreuse, Urban II., who had been his pupil, summoned him to Rome, A. D. 1092, that he might become his counsellor. But the scenes of public life were so disagreeable to him, that the pontiff, in 1095, gave him leave to retire. He travelled to the extreme part of Calabria, and there, with a few of his monks, spent the remainder of his life. He died A. D. 1101. To him have been ascribed most, or all, of the works written by Bruno of Segni, mentioned in the preceding note. But he wrote nothing, except two letters, during his residence in Calabria, and a confession of his faith, which is extant in Mabillon's *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 400. *Tr.*]

² [*Ivo*, or *Yvo*, was a native of Beauvais in France, educated under Lanfranc, at Bec, then abbot of St. Quentin, and at last bishop of Chartres, A. D. 1092—1115. He was a very learned man, and a partizan of the Roman pontiffs, which involved him in some difficulties. His works were published by Jo. Bapt. Souchet, Paris 1647, fol. They comprise *Decretorum Liber*, in xvii. parts; *Pannormia* or a summary of ecclesiastical law; 287 epistles; 22 sermons; and a short Chronicle of the kings of France, extending from Pharamond to Philip I. *Tr.*]

³ All the works of this Hildebert, who was certainly a man of learning and ingenuity, were published by the Benedictine monks, with the explanatory notes of Anton. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, fol. [They comprise about a hundred well written epistles, and some sermons, tracts, and poems of an ordinary character.—Hildebert was born at Lavardin in the diocese of Le Mans, became a monk of Cluny, studied under the famous Berengarius, and was made bishop of Le Mans, about A. D. 1098, and archbishop of Tours, A. D. 1125, where he died A. D. 1132. *Tr.*]

⁴ [The epistles of Gregory VII., in number 370, are found in all the col-

lections of councils; *e. g.* by Harduin, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 1195, &c. His other writings are few, and little worth. To him some attribute an exposition of the seven penitential Psalms, published as the work of Gregory the Great. His exposition of St. Matthew exists in MS., and some fragments of it have been published.

The following list embraces most of the Latin writers omitted by Dr. Mosheim: for a fuller account of them, see Cave's *Historia Litterar.*, Du Pin, and others.

Aimoin, of Aquitaine, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A. D. 1001. His *Historia Francorum* libri iv. to A. D. 752, with an additional book by another hand, is published among the *Scriptores Francicos*. He also wrote two books recounting the miracles of St. Benedict; a life of St. Abbo of Fleury; and some other things.

Godehard, a monk, and bishop of Hildesheim, A. D. 1002; has left us five epistles, published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 349.

Gozbert, abbot of Tegern in Bavaria, A. D. 1002; has left us four epistles, published also by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 347.

Adelbold, a nobleman, councillor and general under the emperor Henry; then a monk, and A. D. 1008—1027 bishop of Utrecht. He is supposed to be the author of the *Libri ii. de Vita S. Henrici, Imperat.* published by Canisius, Surius, and Gretser.

Berno, a monk of St. Gall, abbot of Richenau near Constance, died A. D. 1045. He wrote *de Officio Missæ, seu de Rebus Missæ ad Officium pertinentibus, Liber*; (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii.) and Lives of St. Udalric and St. Meinrad.

Hugo, archdeacon of Tours, A. D. 1020, wrote *Dialogus ad Fulbertum Carnotensem Episcopum*; published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. ii.

John, surnamed Johannelinus, from his diminutive stature, abbot of Fécamp, A. D. 1028—1078. He wrote many

prayers and religious meditations, and some epistles; published by Mabillon, *Analecta*, tom. i.

Ademar, a monk of Limoges, A.D. 1030. He wrote a Chronicle of the French monarchy, from its commencement to A.D. 1029; an account of some abbots of Limoges; and a supplement to the work of Amalarius *de Divinis Officiis*.

Hugo, de Britolio, a monk of Cluny, and bishop of Limoges, A.D. 1030—1049, when he was deposed for simony. He retired to the monastery of Verdun; and wrote a tract against Berengarius, in favour of transubstantiation, which is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 417.

Bruno, duke of Carinthia, and bishop of Würzburg, A.D. 1033—1045. To instruct his clergy, he compiled from the fathers Commentaries on the Psalms, and on all the devotional hymns of the Scriptures, also on the Apostolic, Ambrosian, and Athanasian creeds; published, Cologne, 1494; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 65.

Hermannus, surnamed Contractus, because all his limbs were contracted by a paralytic affection. He was accounted a vast scholar, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Arabic, and in theology, history, philosophy, and all the sciences of the age. Though of noble parentage, he became a monk of St. Gall, and of Richenau, till his death, A.D. 1054. He wrote *Chronicon de sex Mundi Etatibus* from the creation to A.D. 1054, published among the *Scriptores Germanici*; and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 348.

Glaber Radulphus, a monk of St. Germain de Auxerre, and then of Cluny, A.D. 1045. He wrote *Historiarum libri v.* extending from A.D. 900 to A.D. 1045; published among the *Scriptores Francicos*; also a life of St. Gulielmus, abbot of St. Benignus of Dijon.

Deoduin, or Theoduin, bishop of Liege, A.D. 1045—1075. He wrote a letter or tract, addressed to Henry king of France, against the doctrine of Berengarius and his followers; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 419.

Hugo, abbot of Cluny, A.D. 1048—1108. He was of noble French parentage, and became a monk at the age of fifteen. Some of his letters are extant in D'Ache-ry, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii.

Leo IX. pope, A.D. 1048—1054, (see

above, p. 309.) He has left us nineteen epistles, extant in the Collections of the Councils, (e.g. Harduin's, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 927,) besides a number of homilies or sermons. His life, written by Wibert, a contemporary, is in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 49, &c.

Anselm, a canon of Liege, and dean of Namur, A.D. 1050. He wrote a history of the bishops of Liege, from A.D. 666 to about A.D. 1048; published by Jo. Chapeville, Liege, 1612, 4to.

Stephen IX. pope, A.D. 1057—1058. He has left us two epistles.

Alberic, a monk and deacon of Monte Cassino, and a cardinal, A.D. 1057—1079. He wrote many poems and other tracts, devotional and polemic, and some lives of saints, all of which are said to exist still in manuscript. His life of St. Dominic is the only work of his published; extant in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. viii. p. 35, &c.

Alphanus, abbot in the Benedictine monastery at Salerno, and then archbishop there A.D. 1057—1086. He wrote numerous poems, devotional, and in praise of the saints; most of which were published by Ughelli, annexed to his *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii.

Nicolaus II. pope, A.D. 1058—1061. He has left us eight epistles; extant in the Collections of the Councils.

Gautierus, called also Benedict, a monk of Monte Cassino, A.D. 1060. He wrote some sermons on the festivals, and some religious poems, which are in the library of Monte Cassino.

Alexander II. pope, A.D. 1061—1073. He has forty-five epistles in the Collections of the Councils.

Berthold, a German ecclesiastic, presbyter of Constance, and a warm partizan of Gregory VII. against Henry IV. He flourished from about A.D. 1066 to 1100. His *Historia sui Temporis, ab anno 1053 usque ad ann. 1100*; and his Appendix to Hermann Contractus' Chronicle, from A.D. 1055—1066, are published among the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. Some of his tracts also, in support of Gregory's measures, were published by Gretser.

Guitmund, a Benedictine monk of Normandy, and then archbishop of Aversa, in Italy, died A.D. 1080. He has left three books on the real presence in the Eucharist; a statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. and an address to William I., king of England: all extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii.

Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, from about 1069 to 1084. In the year 1064, he led a band of 7000 German pilgrims to the holy land. In 1074, he attempted to reclaim his clergy from simony and matrimony, without success. In 1076, Gregory VII. excommunicated him for adhering to the cause of Henry; but the next year he revolted, and he it was who crowned Rudolph the competitor for the German throne. Four of his epistles are in the Collections of Councils.

Durand, a monk of Normandy, A.D. 1070, was one who wrote against Berengarius. His tract is subjoined to Lanfranci *Opp.* ed. D'Achery.

Gualdo, a monk of Corbey, A.D. 1070; wrote a metrical life of St. Ansgar, bishop of Hamburg, and apostle of the North; which is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 116.

St. Anselm, bishop of Lucca, A.D. 1071—1086. He was a decided supporter of Gregory VII.; and wrote two books in his defence against Guibert the antipope; also a collection of sentences from the fathers, in support of Gregory's principles respecting the independence of the clergy and the church of all civil power; both which are extant in Canisius, *Lectt. Antig.* tom. vi. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 602, and tom. xxvii. p. 436. His life, written by one of his friends and pupils, is in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. 469, &c.

Wilhelmus, an abbot of Metz, A.D. 1073, and friendly to Gregory VII. Mabillon has published seven of his epistles and an oration, in his *Analecta*, tom. i. p. 247.

Ingulphus of Croyland, [or Crowland, *Ed.*] born in London, A.D. 1030, educated at Westminster, and Oxford. In 1051, he accompanied William duke of Normandy to France, and became his private secretary. To escape envy, in 1064, he retired to Germany, and was one of the 7000 who went as pilgrims to the holy land under Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz. On his return he was made abbot of Fontanelle; and A.D. 1076, William, now king of England, invited him thither, and made him abbot of Croyland, till his death, A.D. 1109. He was very intimate with Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. His *History of the Monastery of Croyland*, from A.D. 664 to about 1091, was published by Saville, among the five *Scriptores Anglicos*, Lond. 1596, fol. and still better among the *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Oxon. 1684, fol.

Lambert of Aschaffenburg. He became a monk at Hirsfeld, A.D. 1058; soon after travelled as a pilgrim to the holy land, and returning, resumed his monastic life at Hirsfeld. There he composed, A.D. 1077, his *History*, which is a mere chronicle, from the creation to A.D. 1050, and then a very diffuse history down to A.D. 1077. His style is commended very highly. The work is published among the *Scriptores Germanici*.

Hugo, bishop of Die in the year 1077, and archbishop of Lyons from A.D. 1080 till after A.D. 1099. He was much engaged in the public transactions of the times. Two of his epistles to Gregory VII. are in the Collections of the Councils.

Micrologus, a fictitious name for the author of a tract on the ceremonies of the mass, written in the latter part of this century, or perhaps in the next; which is extant among the *Scriptores de Divinis Officiis*, Paris, 1610, fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xviii. p. 469.

Adamus, surnamed Magister, a canon of Bremen from A.D. 1077, and who flourished A.D. 1080. He wrote *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ præsertim Bremensis libri iv.*; in which he describes, with much fidelity, the propagation of Christianity in Hamburg, Bremen, Denmark, and throughout the North, from the times of Charlemagne to those of Henry IV.; to which he subjoined a geographical account of Denmark and other northern countries; published by Lindenbrog, Leyden, 1595, 4to, and Helmstadt, 1670, 4to.

Benno, a German ecclesiastic, who adhered to Clement III., or Guibert, the antipope; was made archpresbyter and cardinal of Rome, and took a very active part against Gregory VII. He flourished about A.D. 1085; and wrote *de Vita et Rebus Gestis Hildebrandi et Papæ*, libri ii.; published, Francf. 1581, and among the *Opuscula Anti-Gregorianæ*, by Goldast, Hanover, 1611, 4to, p. 1.

Victor III. pope, A.D. 1086, 1087. He was born at Benevento, A.D. 1027; bore the name of Daufertius till he became a monk of Monte Cassino, when he assumed the name of Desiderius; became abbot there in 1056, was made a cardinal, and employed on important occasions by the pontiffs. But he was ever partial to a retired and monastic life. His *Dialogues on the miracles of St. Benedict*, and other monks of Monte

Cassino, in four books, (a work stuffed with idle tales,) has been frequently published; *e. g.* by Mabillon, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. sæcul. iv.* pt. ii.

Urban II. pope, A. D. 1087—1099. His former name was Otho, a native of Châtillon, in the diocese of Rheims, a monk of Cluny, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and much employed by Gregory VII. While pope, he pursued the measures of Gregory. He has left us fifty-nine epistles, and two harangues in favour of a crusade; extant in the Collections of the Councils. Mabillon gives some account of his life, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. ix. p. 902, &c.

Lambert, bishop of Arras from A. D. 1094 onwards. Three of his epistles are in the Collections of the Councils.

Raimund D'Agiles, a canon of Le Puy, France, and chaplain to the earl of Toulouse, (who was also bishop of Le Puy,) whom he accompanied in his expedition to the holy land, A. D. 1095. He saw the holy lance dug out of the earth, and carried it at the siege of Antioch. He wrote the *History of Jerusalem*, describing especially the achievements of the earl of Toulouse, during

five years from the time they entered Slavonia on their way to the East. The work is in the collection of Bongars, *de Gestis Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 139.

Gotselin, or Goscelin, a Benedictine monk of St. Bertin in Artois, and then of St. Augustine at Canterbury, who flourished A. D. 1096. He wrote the life of St. Augustine, the apostle of England; which is extant in Mabillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. i. p. 498.

Balderic, secretary to two successive bishops of Arras and Cambay, and then bishop of Nimeguen and Tournay, A. D. 1097—1112. He wrote a history or chronicle of the churches of Cambay and Arras, in three books; published by Geo. Colvener, Douay, 1615.

Paschal II. pope, A. D. 1099—1118. His former name was Rainer or Ragin-ger; a Tuscan by birth, a monk of Cluny, a presbyter and cardinal of Rome, abbot of St. Laurence, and St. Stephen, and at last pope. His wars and contests with Henry V. were very violent. One hundred and seven of his epistles are in the Collections of Councils; and some more in Baluze, *Miscellanies. Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The state of religion.—§ 2, 3. Witnesses for the truth.—§ 4. Expositions of the scriptures.—§ 5, 6. Scholastic theology.—§ 7. Moral theology.—§ 8. Polemic theology.—§ 9, 10, 11. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins.—§ 12. New contest respecting the holiness of images.—§ 13. Contentions in the Latin church. Controversy respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 14, 15, 16, 17. The pontiff's labour in vain to settle it.—§ 18. The result as to Berengarius and his friends.—§ 19. Dispute in France respecting Martial.

§ 1. It is not necessary to be minute in describing the state of the public religion of this age. For who can doubt that it was debased and corrupt, when the guardians of it were just as far removed from the knowledge of divine and human things, as they were from virtue; and even the first men in the church exhibited examples of the grossest vices? The people at large were wholly

absorbed in superstition; and concerned themselves with nothing but statues, and images, and relics, and the futile rites which the caprice of their priests enjoined upon them. The learned had not, indeed, wholly lost all knowledge of the truth; but they obscured and debased it with opinions and doctrines, which were, some of them, ludicrous and silly, others hurtful and pernicious, and others useless and uncertain. It is most unquestionable that there were, here and there, pious and good men, who would willingly have aided the suffering cause of piety. But they themselves needed protection, against the satellites of superstition and impiety.

§ 2. From the times of *Gregory VII.*, however, pretty clear traces appear, in some countries of Europe, especially in Italy and France, of those persons whom the Protestants denominate *witnesses of the truth*; that is, of pious and good men, who deplored the imperfection and defects of the public religion, and of the whole clerical order, who opposed the lordly domination both of the Roman pontiffs and of the bishops, and who attempted, sometimes covertly, and sometimes openly, to effect a reformation in the church.¹ For rude as this age was, and ignorant in general of divinely-revealed truth; yet those few fragments, as it were, of Christianity², which were exhibited and explained to the people, sufficed for showing, even to illiterate and rustic men, that the religion publicly inculcated was not the true religion of *Christ*; that *Christ* required of his followers things wholly different from those exhibited in the discourses, and in the lives and morals of the clergy; that the pontiffs and the bishops exceedingly misused their power and opulence; and that the favour of God and salvation were to be obtained, not by a round of ceremonies, nor by donations to the churches and priests, nor by erecting and endowing monasteries, but by holiness in the soul.

§ 3. Those, however, who undertook the great work of reforming the church and religion, were, for the most part, incom-

¹ [Some have considered Peter Damian, Hildebert, Ivo, Waltham, bishop of Naumburg, and Lambert of Aschaffenburg, as examples of this class of persons. *Von Einem*.—See F. Spanheim's *Introductio ad Historiam Eccles. N. T.* sæcul. xi. cap. vii. § 5, p. 313, and the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, lib. xii. xiii. Tr.]

² [In some of the writers of this century, we meet with specimens of sound Christian doctrine, as well as of devout breathings of a pious soul. The English reader may see, for an example, the life of Anselm of Canterbury, in Milner's *History of the Church*, century xi. ch. v. Tr.]

petent to the task; and by their solicitude to avoid some faults, they ran into others. All, indeed, perceived the defects and blemishes of the prevailing religion; but none, or at least very few, understood the nature and essential character of true religion. This will not appear strange to one who is well acquainted with those unhappy times. Hence, these reformers often mixed much that was false with a little that was true. As all saw that not only most of the infamous and criminal acts of priests and bishops, but also the greatest of them, had flowed from abundance and riches, too high an opinion of want and indigence gained ground; nor was any virtue thought so characteristic of a good religious teacher, as voluntary poverty. Every body looked upon the church of the primitive times as a model, by which all churches were ever after to be formed; and the practice of the apostles of Jesus Christ as a perpetual and inviolable law for all priests. Many also, grieved to see the people place all their dependence for salvation on the external worship of God, and ceremonies, contended that the whole of religion consisted in the internal emotions of the mind, and the contemplation of divine things; and they contemned and wished to abolish all external worship, with its temples, religious meetings, teachers, and sacraments.

§ 4. A large number both of the Greeks and the Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Among the Latins, the two *Brunos* expounded the Psalms of David; *Lanfranc*, the Epistles of St. Paul; *Berengarius*, the Apocalypse of St. John; *Gregory VII.* the Gospel of St. Matthew; and others, other portions of the sacred volume. But all these follow the perverse custom of their age: that is, they either transcribe the works of former interpreters, or they apply the declarations of the sacred writers so whimsically to heavenly things and to the duties of life, that a wise man can scarcely restrain his indignation. The most eminent of the Greek interpreters, was *Theophylact* of Bulgaria; though *he* also drew most of his comments from the ancients, particularly from *Chrysostom*.³ After him we may place *Michael Psellus*, who attempted to explain the Psalms and the book of Canticles; the *Catena* on Job, by *Nicetas*; and some few others.

³ For an account of Theophylact, see Rich. Simon's *Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N.T.* cap. xxviii. p. 380; and his *Critique de la Bibliothèque*

des Auteurs Ecclési. par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 310, where he also treats of Nicetas and Oecumenius.

§ 5. Hitherto all the Latin theologians, except a few of the Irish, who threw obscurity on religious doctrines by their philosophical speculations, had illustrated, explained, and proved the doctrines of Christianity, solely from the Holy Scriptures, or from them in connexion with the opinions and writings of the fathers. But in the middle of this century, some divines, among whom was *Berengarius*, well known by his controversy respecting the Lord's supper, ventured to apply the precepts of logic and metaphysics to the explanation of the Scriptural doctrines, and the confirmation of their own opinions. Hence, the opponent and rival of *Berengarius*, *Lanfranc*, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, employed the same weapons against *Berengarius* and his followers; and, in general, laboured to impart light and confirmation to certain religious truths, by the aids of reason. His example was followed by *St. Anselm*, afterwards likewise archbishop of Canterbury, a man of extraordinary subtlety; and the two found many imitators. From these beginnings, gradually arose that species of philosophic theology, which, from the *schools* in which it most prevailed, obtained afterwards the name of *scholastic theology*.⁴ But there was far more sobriety and good sense in these reconcilers of faith and reason, than in their successors; for they used perspicuous language, had no fondness for vain and idle disputations; and, for the most part, made use of the precepts of logic and philosophy, only in combating their antagonists.⁵

⁴ See Christ. Aug. Heumann, *Præfat. ad Tribecovii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. xiv. The sentiments of the learned, respecting the first author or inventor of the scholastic theology, are collected by Jo. Fran. Buddeus, *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. i. p. 358.

⁵ That it may be seen how much wiser the first scholastics were than their disciples and followers, I will subjoin a passage from Lanfranc, whom many regard as the first author of the scholastic theology. In his tract *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, cap. viii. Opp. p. 236, ed. D'Achery; he says, "God is my witness, and my own conscience, that, in treating sacred subjects, I do not wish to bring forward dialectical questions, and their solutions; nor to answer them, when brought forward by others. And if, at any time, the subject under discussion is such, that it can be most satisfactorily explained by the rules

of this art as far as I am able, I cover over the art by citations of equivalent import; that I may not seem to place more reliance upon this art than upon the truth and the authority of the holy fathers." The concluding words in this quotation indicate those sources from which theologians previously to this age had derived all their arguments; namely, the holy Scripture, which he denominates *the truth*, and the writings of the ancient fathers. To these *two* sources of proof, the theologians now suffered a *third* to be added, namely *dialectics*. Yet they would have none recur to this, except *disputants*; whose business it is, to withstand opponents that wield dialectical weapons, and to solve the difficulties suggested by reason. But unhappily, in the following ages, the two former sources of proof were used but sparingly; and philosophical proof, alone, and that not very wisely stated, was

§ 6. Following these principles, the Latin theologians began to reduce all the truths of revealed religion into a connected system, and to subject them to the laws of the human sciences: a thing which no one before had attempted; if we except *Tajo* of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and *Damascenus* among the Greeks, in the eighth century. For all the Latin writers, previously to this age, had only occasionally, and in a formal manner, elucidated and explained the points of theology; nor had they thus explained them *all*, but only such as the occasions demanded. The first attempt at a *system of theology* was by *Anselm*⁶; and the first who completed an entire system, or body of divinity, was *Hildebert*, bishop of Le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, just at the close of the century. And all the subsequent, almost numberless, writers of *systems of theology*⁷, seem to have followed *Hildebert* as their model.⁸ His method is, first to substantiate each doctrine by passages of Scripture, and by authorities from the fathers, which had been the common method hitherto; and then, to solve the difficulties

deemed sufficient to substantiate every thing in a system of theology.

⁶ [The principal treatise by Anselm, here referred to, is that entitled, *Cur Deus homo?* in two books, (in his *Opp.* p. 74—96, ed. Paris, 1721, fol.) The work corresponds with its title, its object being to answer the question, *Why did God become incarnate?* He describes the fallen state of man, and his need of an Almighty Saviour to atone for his sins, and raise him to a state of bliss after death; and he shows that an incarnate God, and he only, could perform the office of a mediator. The views and speculations of Anselm on this whole subject have prevailed very generally, quite down to the present times. Nor have Grotius, and Edwards, and the most elaborate modern writers, added much on the subject. Another tract of Anselm, on the same important subject, is entitled, *de Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato Liber*; (in his *Opp.* p. 97—106.) Besides these, he has four others on important subjects. The first is a philosophical inquiry into the nature of truth, *de Veritate*; *Opp.* p. 109—115. The second is on free-will, *de libero Arbitrio*; *Opp.* p. 117—122. The third is on the fall of the sinning angels, *de Casu Diaboli*; *Opp.* p. 62—73. The fourth is a philosophical explanation of the doc-

trine of the divine decrees, and its consistency with free and accountable action in creatures, *de Concordia Præscientiæ et Prædestinationis, necnon Gratiæ, cum libero Arbitrio*; *Opp.* p. 123—134. On all these subjects, Anselm thought intensely, and endeavoured to meet every objection and difficulty which could be urged. But he did not wander from his subject, and take up a whole system of divinity in one, or even all, of these his theological tracts.]

⁷ *Summarum theologicarum.*

⁸ This first *system of theology* among the Latins, or *Tractatus Theologicus*, as it is entitled, is among the works of Hildebert, p. 1010, in the edition of Anton. De Beaugendre, who has shown, in his preface to the volume, that Peter Lombard, Robert Pullen, and the other writers of *Summaries*, trod in the footsteps of Hildebert. [This tract occupies about ninety folio pages, and is divided into forty chapters. It treats of the nature of faith, free-will, and sin, the Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, original sin, and grace, predestination and prescience, and the sacraments. But it scarcely touches upon the doctrine of atonement by Jesus Christ, its value and efficacy, of faith in Christ, of regeneration and sanctification, and the promises of the gospel. *Tr.*]

and objections which may be raised, by the aid of reason and philosophy; which was something new and peculiar to this age.⁹

§ 7. Those of this age, who undertook to give rules for a Christian life and conduct, attempted a great object, without possessing in general, adequate resources. This may be seen, by looking over the work of *Peter Damianus* on the virtues; and the Moral Philosophy, and the tract on the four virtues of a religious life, by *Hildebert*, bishop of Le Mans. Nor did the moralists usually add any thing to their precepts respecting the virtues, except what they called the *written law*: by which they intended the ten commandments of Moses. *Anselm* wrote some tracts calculated to excite pious emotions, and a book of meditations and prayers, in which many good thoughts occur. Nor did the *mystics*, as they are called, wholly abstain from writing. Among the Latins, *John Johannellus* composed a book expressly on *divine contemplations*¹: and among the Greeks, *Simeon*, junior, wrote some tracts on the same subject; not to mention some others.

§ 8. Many of the polemics of this age came forth, armed with dialectical arguments and demonstrations; yet few of them could use such arguments dexterously and properly: and they aimed, not so much to confute their adversaries, as to confound them with their subtleties. Those who were destitute of such armour, contend so badly, as to convict themselves of having begun to write before they had considered what was to be written, and how they were to do it. *Damianus* defended Christianity against the Jews, with good intentions, but with little effect. And there is extant a tract of *Samuel*, a converted Jew, against his nation. *Anselm* of Canterbury assailed the despisers of all religion and of God, with acuteness, in his book, *against the fool*²; but perhaps the subtlety of the reason-

⁹ I will here subjoin an opinion of *Anselm* of Canterbury, taken from his treatise entitled, *Cur Deus Homo?* lib. i. c. 2. *Opp.* p. 75; an opinion, which the first philosophical theologians, or the *Scholastics*, among the Latins, seem to have received as a sacred and immutable law in theology: "As the right order of proceeding requires, that we believe the deep things of the Christian faith, before we presume to discuss them by the aid

of reason; so, it appears to me, to be negligence, if, when we are confirmed in the faith, we do not study to understand what we believe:"—[which amounts to this, *that we must first believe without examination, but must afterwards endeavour to understand what we believe.* *Macl.*]

¹ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 48.

² *Adversus Inipientem.*

ing exceeded the comprehension of those whom he aimed to convince.

§ 9. The public contests between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not settled, had now for a long time been suspended, were indiscreetly revived, and rendered more violent, by new accusations, in the year 1053, by *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of a restless spirit. War was renewed under pretence of zeal for the truth, and for religion; but it really flowed from pride and lust of rule in the two pontiffs. The Latin one endeavoured, by various arts and projects, to bring the Greek under subjection, and to detach the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch from him, and to connect them with himself; and the disturbed and unhappy condition of the Greek empire was favourable to such machinations. For the friendship of the Roman pontiff seemed very important to the Greeks, who had to contend with the Normans in Italy, as well as with the Saracens. The Grecian pontiff, on the other hand, was solicitous to extend the limits of his jurisdiction, to concede nothing to his Latin brother, and to bring the Oriental patriarchs entirely under his control. *Cerularius*, therefore, in a letter, written in his own name, and in that of his chief counsellor, *Leo*, bishop of Acerida, and addressed to *John*, bishop of Trani in Apulia, publicly accused the Latins of various errors.³ *Leo IX.*, who was then Roman pontiff, replied in a letter, drawn up in a very imperious style; and likewise, in a council at Rome, excommunicated the Greeks.⁴

§ 10. In order to stifle this controversy in its birth, the Greek emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus*, requested the Roman pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, to negotiate a settlement. Accordingly, three legates of the Latin pontiff repaired to Constantinople; namely, cardinal *Humbert*, a fiery man, *Peter*, archbishop of Amalfi, and *Frederic*, archdeacon and chancellor of the Church of Rome; carrying with them letters from the pontiff, both to the emperor and to the Greek patriarch. But the issue of the legation was lamentable, although the emperor himself, for political reasons, favoured the side of the Latins more than that of the Greeks.

³ [In faith and practice. *Tr.*]

⁴ These epistles are extant in Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1053, tom. xi. p. 210, &c. The epistle of Cerularius is also printed in Canisius' *Lection. Antiq.*

tom. iii. p. 281, of the new edition; and that of Leo, in the *Concilia*, &c. [e.g. in Harduin's Collection, tom. vi. pt. 4. p. 927. *Tr.*]

For the letter of *Leo IX.*, which displayed great arrogance, alienated the mind of *Cerularius* from him; and the legates showed, in various ways, that they were sent, not so much to restore harmony between the contending parties, as to establish Roman domination among the Greeks. All deliberation about a reconciliation being thus rendered fruitless, the Roman legates proceeded, in the most indiscreet and most unsuitable manner possible, in the year 1054; for they excommunicated the Greek patriarch, with *Leo* of Acrida, and all that adhered to them, publicly, in the church of St. Sophia; left a copy of the inhuman anathema upon the great altar, and then shook off the dust from their feet and departed. This most unrighteous procedure rendered the dissension incurable, though till this act it seemed capable of a compromise. The Greek patriarch now returned the anathema, in a council, excommunicating the pontiff's legates, and all their friends and supporters; and also directed the copy of the Latin decree of excommunication against the Greeks, to be burned by order of the emperor.⁵ From this time, offensive and insulting writings were issued by both parties, which continually added fresh fuel to the fire.

§ 11. To the old charges advanced by *Photius*, new ones were added by *Cerularius*; of which the chief one was, that the Latins used unleavened bread in the Holy Supper; a point on which, from this time, the Greeks and Latins contended more vehemently, perhaps, than on any other; at all events, they were as warm about it as about the primacy of the Roman pontiff. The other things opprobriously objected to the Latins, by the Greek patriarch, betray rather his contentious disposition, and ignorance of true religion, than zeal for the truth. For he was exceedingly offended that the Latins did not abstain from things strangled and from blood; that their monks used lard, and allowed the brethren when sick to eat flesh; that the Latin bishops wore rings on their fingers, as if they were bridegrooms;

⁵ Besides Baronius, and the common writers, none of whom are free from errors, see John Mabillon, *Annales Bened.* tom. iv. lib. ix. ad ann. 1053, and Præf. ad sæcul. vi. of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* pt. ii. p. i. &c. Leo Allatius, *de Libris Græcor. Ecclesiast.* diss. ii. p. 160, ed. Fabricius; and, *de Perpetua Ecclesiæ Orient. et Occident. Consensione*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614. Mich. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 260; and *Diss. Damas-*

cen. prima, § xxxi. p. xvi. &c. but especially Jo. Gottfr. Hermann, *Historia Concertationum de Panæazymo et fermentato*, p. 59, &c. Lips. 1739, 8vo, and Jo. Bapt. Cotelier, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græc.* tom. ii. p. 108, &c. [See also a full, yet dense, and well vouched account in J. E. C. Schmidt's *Kirchengesch.* vol. v. p. 316, &c. The account in Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. is less correct. *Tr.*]

that their priests wore no beards, but shaved them; and lastly, that persons under baptism were among the Latins dipped but once into the water.⁶ When we see the Greeks and Latins not only standing aloof from each other and contending eagerly, but also fulminating anathemas and execrations against each other, for such things as these, we perceive the very lamentable state of religion in both churches; and we can be at no loss for the causes that gave rise to so many sects dissenting from the church.

§ 12. When the century was all but closed, under *Alexius Comnenus*, the Greeks, in addition to their controversy with the Latins, narrowly escaped from another among themselves. Public difficulties being extreme, the emperor not only laid hold of the money in the churches, but also caused the plates and images of gold and silver to be taken from the doors of them, and to be converted into money. *Leo*, bishop of Chalcedon, a man of austere manners, severely censured this transaction, maintaining that it was a sacrilege. To support his views, he published a tract, asserting, that in the images and emblems of *Jesus Christ* and the saints, there was a degree of sanctity which entitled them to worship and adoration; so that worship was to be paid, not only to the *persons* represented by the statues, images, and emblems, but also to the statues themselves. To suppress the popular tumult which arose from this discussion, the emperor assembled a council at Constantinople, which decreed, that the images of *Christ* and of the saints were to be worshipped only *relatively*⁷; that the *material* of a sacred image was not entitled to worship, but the *likeness* formed upon the material; that the images of *Christ* and the saints, whether painted or carved, had nothing of *their* nature, although they participated somewhat in the grace of God; and that the saints were to be invoked and honoured as the servants of *Christ*, and on his account. *Leo*, who had held different opinions, was deprived of his office, and sent into exile.⁸

⁶ See the epistle of Cerularius to John of Trani, in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281; where also we have Humbert's confutation of it. Cerularius' epistle to Peter of Antioch is in Cotelier's *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 1038. Add Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 847, where is a polemic tract of an unknown Latin writer against the Greeks.

⁷ Σχετικῶς προσκυνοῦνται, οὐ λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

⁸ This controversy is stated at large by Anna Comnena, the emperor's daughter: *Alexiades*, lib. v. p. 104. lib. vi. p. 158, ed. Vernee. The acts of the council were drawn from the Cosmian library, by Beruh. de Montfaucon, and published in his *Biblioth. Cosmiana*, p. 103, &c.

§ 13. In the Latin church, about the middle of the century, the controversy was revived respecting the manner in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist. Various opinions on this subject had hitherto prevailed with impunity; for it had not yet been decided by the councils, what men ought to believe respecting it.⁹ Hence in the beginning of the century, A.D. 1004, *Leutheric*, archbishop of Sens, had taught, contrary to the more general opinion, that only holy and worthy communicants receive the body of Christ: but *Robert*, king of France, and the advice of friends, prevented him from raising commotion among the people by the doctrine.¹ Much more indiscreet was *Berengarius*, a canon and master of the school at Tours, afterwards archdeacon of Angers, a man of subtle wit, learned, and venerable for sanctity of life.² By him was publicly and resolutely maintained, in the year 1045, the opinion of *John Scotus* respecting the Holy Supper; that of *Paschasius Radbert*, which better accorded with the unenlightened piety of the multitude, being rejected. He taught, in fact, that the bread and wine are not converted into the body and blood of Christ, but are merely figures of his body and blood.³ He was forthwith opposed by some in France and Germany; and *Leo IX.*, the Roman pontiff, in the year 1050, caused his opinion to be condemned in a council, first at Rome, and then at Vercelli; and ordered the work of *Scotus*, from which it was derived, to be committed to the flames. *Berengarius* was not present at either of these councils. A council held at Paris, in the same year, by *Henry* king of France, concurred in the decision of the pontiff; and issued very severe threats against *Berengarius*, who was absent, and against his adherents who were numerous. A part of

⁹ The various opinions of the age respecting the eucharist are stated by Martene, from an ancient manuscript, in his *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur*, tom. ii. p. 126.

¹ See Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 354.

² For the life of Berengarius, see the works of Hildebert of Le Mans, p. 1324. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 197, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404, and those others mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medi. ævi*, tom. i. p. 570. I will just observe, that he is erroneously

called *archiepiscopus*, instead of *archidiaconus*, in Matthew of Paris, *Hist.* lib. i. p. 10, ed. Watts. But I suppose it is a mistake of the printer, and not of the historian. [For the life of Berengarius see Mabillon, *de Berengario, ejusque Hærescos ortu, progressu — ac multiplici condemnatione*, in *Prefat. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. vii. &c. *Berengarius*, or the announcement of an important work by him, by G. E. Lessing, (in German,) 1770. Schroeckh's *Kirchen-gesch.* tom. xxxiii. p. 507, &c. *Tr.*]

³ [See, for the real opinion of Berengarius, note^s, p. 360, in this chapter. *Tr.*]

these threatenings was felt by *Berengarius*; for the king deprived him of the income of his office. But neither threats, nor decrees, nor fines, could move him to reject the opinion which he had embraced.

§ 14. This controversy now rested for some years; and *Berengarius*, who had many enemies, (among whom, his rival, *Lanfranc*, was the principal,) and also many patrons and friends, was restored to his former tranquillity. But after the death of *Leo IX.*, his adversaries incited *Victor II.*, the new pontiff, to order the cause to be tried again, before his legates, in two councils, held at Tours in France, A. D. 1054. In one of these councils, in which the celebrated *Hildebrand*, afterwards *Gregory VII.*, was one of the papal legates, *Berengarius* was present; and being overcome by threats, undoubtedly, rather than by arguments, he not only gave up his opinion, but (if we may believe his adversaries, who are the only witnesses we have,) abjured it and was reconciled to the church. This docility, however, was only feigned: for he soon after went on teaching the same doctrine as before, though perhaps more cautiously. How much censure he deserves for this behaviour, it is difficult to say, as we are not well informed of what was done in the council.

§ 15. *Nicolaus II.* being informed of this bad faith of *Berengarius*, in the year 1058 summoned him to Rome: and in a very full council, held there in the year 1059, he so terrified him, as to make *Berengarius* beg to have a formula of faith prescribed to him. One was accordingly drawn up by *Humbert*, a cardinal, which he subscribed and confirmed with an oath. In this formula he declares, that he believes what *Nicolaus* and the council required to be believed, namely, "that the bread and wine, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also the real body and blood of *Christ*; and are sensibly, and not merely sacramentally, but really and truly, handled by the hands of the priests, broken, and masticated by the teeth of the faithful." An opinion so monstrous could not, however, be really entertained by a man like *Berengarius*, for he was acute and a philosopher. Therefore, when he returned to France, relying undoubtedly upon the protection of his patrons, he expressed his detestation, both orally and in his writings, of what he had professed at Rome, and defended his former sentiments. *Alexander II.*, indeed, admonished him, in a friendly letter, to reform; but he attempted nothing against him; probably because

he perceived him to be upheld by powerful supporters. Of course the controversy was protracted many years in various publications, and the number of *Berengarius*' followers increased.

§ 16. When *Gregory VII.* was raised to the chair of *St. Peter*, that pontiff, to whom no difficulty seemed insurmountable, undertook to settle this controversy also; and therefore summoned *Berengarius* to Rome, in the year 1078. This new judge of the affair manifested an extraordinary, and, considering his character, a wonderful degree of moderation and gentleness. He seems to have been attached to *Berengarius*, and to have yielded rather to the clamours of his adversaries, than to have followed his own inclinations. In the first place, in a council held near the close of the year, he allowed the accused to draw up a new formula of faith for himself, and to abandon the old formula drawn up by *Humbert*, though it had been sanctioned by *Nicolaus II.*, and by a council; for *Gregory*, being a man of discernment, undoubtedly saw the absurdity of that formula.⁴ *Berengarius*, therefore, now professed to believe, and swore that he would in future believe, only, “that the bread of the altar, after consecration, is the real body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and is seated at the right hand of the Father; and that the wine of the altar, after consecration, is the real blood which flowed from Christ's side.” But what was satisfactory to the pontiff, did not satisfy the enemies of *Berengarius*; for they maintained that the formula was ambiguous, (and ambiguous it certainly is,) hence they wished that one more definite might be prescribed for him; and also, that he might prove the sincerity of his belief, by touching red hot iron. The last of these, the pontiff, in his friendship for the accused, would not concede; the first he could not deny to the importunities by which he was assailed.

§ 17. The following year therefore, A.D. 1079, in a council held again at Rome, *Berengarius* was required to repeat, subscribe, and swear to a third formula, which was milder than the first but harsher than the second. According to this, he professed to believe, “that the bread and wine, by the mysterious rite of the holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer, are

⁴ I wish the learned and candid to observe here, that *Gregory VII.*, than whom none carried the prerogatives of the pontiffs further, or defended them

more strenuously, here tacitly acknowledges that a Roman pontiff and a council are capable of erring, and have in fact erred.

changed in their substance into the real and proper and vivifying flesh and blood of Jesus Christ : ” and he also added to what he had professed by the second formula, “ that the bread and wine are,” after consecration, “ the real body and blood of Christ, not only by a sign and in virtue of a sacrament, but in their essential properties, and in the reality of their substance.” When he had made this profession, the pontiff dismissed him to his own country with many tokens of his good will. But he, as soon as he got home, discarded, and confuted by a book, what he had professed at Rome in the last council. Hence *Lanfranc*, *Guitmund*, and perhaps others, violently attacked him in written treatises : but *Gregory VII.* neither punished his inconstancy, nor manifested displeasure ; which is evidence that the pontiff was satisfied with the second formula, or that which *Berengarius* himself drew up, and disapproved of the zeal of his enemies, who obtruded upon him the third formula.⁵

⁵ These statements are finely illustrated and supported by a writing of *Berengarius* himself, which *Edm. Martene* has presented to the public in his *The-saurus Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 99—109. From this tract it appears, (I.) that *Gregory VII.* had great and sincere friendship for *Berengarius*. (II.) That, in general, he believed with *Berengarius* respecting the eucharist ; or, at least, thought we ought to abide by the words of holy writ, and not too curiously enquire after and define the *mode* of Christ's presence. For thus *Gregory* (p. 108) addressed *Berengarius* just before the last council : “ I certainly have no doubt that your views of the sacrifice of Christ are correct and agreeable to the scriptures, yet because it is my custom to recur on important subjects, &c.—I have enjoined upon a friend, who is a religious man,—to obtain from *St. Mary*, that through him she would vouchsafe not to conceal from me, but expressly instruct me, what course I should take in the business before me, relating to the sacrifice of Christ, that I may persevere in it immoveably.” *Gregory*, therefore, was inclined to the opinion of *Berengarius*, but yet had some doubts ; and, therefore, he consulted *St. Mary*, through a friend, to know what judgment he ought to form respecting the eucharistical question. And what was her response ? His friend (he says) “ learned

from *St. Mary*, and reported to me, that no inquiries were to be made, and nothing to be held, respecting the sacrifice of Christ, beyond what the authentic scriptures contain ; against which *Berengarius* held nothing. This I wished to state to you, that your confidence in us might be more secure, and your anticipations more pleasing.” This therefore was *Gregory's* belief, and this he supposed or pretended he had received from the holy virgin herself, that we should simply hold what the sacred volume teaches, that the real body and blood of Christ are exhibited in the sacred supper, but should not dispute about the *manner* of it. (III.) It appears from this writing, that *Gregory* was forced, by the enemies of *Berengarius*, who pressed the thing beyond measure, to allow another formula to be prescribed to *Berengarius* in another council. “ He was constrained,” says *Berengarius*, “ by the importunity of the buffoon—not bishop—of *Padua*, and of the antichrist—not bishop of *Pisa*,—to permit the calumniators of the truth, in the last *Quadragesimal* council, to alter the writing sanctioned by them in the former council.” (IV.) It is hence manifest, why *Gregory* attempted nothing further against *Berengarius*, notwithstanding he violated his faith publicly pledged in the latter council, and wrote against the formula which he had con-

§ 18. *Berengarius*, influenced undoubtedly by motives of prudence, returned no answer to his adversaries, who were violently moved; but retiring from the world, he repaired to the island of St. Côme, near Tours; and there led a solitary life, in prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises, till the year 1088, when he died; leaving a high reputation for sanctity, and numerous followers.⁶ In this retreat he seems to have aimed to atone for the crime, which he confessed, lamenting deeply the commission of it, before the last council at Rome, when he professed, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, what he regarded as erroneous doctrine.⁷ As to his real opinions, learned men are not agreed: but whoever will candidly examine his writings that yet remain, will readily see that he was one of those who consider the bread and wine to be *signs* of the body and blood of Christ; although he expressed himself variously, and concealed his views under ambiguous phraseology.⁸ Nor have they any

firmed with an oath. For Gregory himself disagreed with the authors of this formula, and deemed it sufficient if a person would confess with Berengarius that the real body and blood of Christ were exhibited in the sacred supper. He therefore suffered his adversaries to murmur, to write, and to confute the man whom he esteemed and agreed with; kept silence himself, and would not allow Berengarius to be further molested. Moreover, in the book from which I have made these extracts, Berengarius most humbly begs God to forgive the sin he committed at Rome; and acknowledges, that through fear of death, he assented to the proposed formula, and accused himself of error, contrary to his real belief. "God Almighty," says he, "the fountain of all mercy, have compassion on one who confesses so great a sacrilege."

⁶ The canons of Tours still celebrate religiously his memory. For they annually, on the third day of Easter, repair to his tomb, on the island of St. Côme, and there solemnly repeat certain prayers. See Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130.

⁷ None will doubt this, after reading his tract published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. vi. p. 109.

⁸ Some writers in the Romish church, as Mabillon and others, and some also in our own, suppose that Berengarius merely denied what is called *transub-*

stantiation; while he admitted the real presence of Christ's body and blood. And whoever inspects only the formula, which he approved in the first Roman council under Gregory VII., and which he never after rejected, and does not compare his other writings with it, may be easily led to believe so. But the writers of the reformed church, Jac. Bagnage, Ussher, and nearly all others, maintain, that Berengarius' opinion was the same that Calvin afterwards held. With these I have united, after carefully perusing his epistle to Almannus in Martene's *Thesaurus*, tom. iv. p. 109. "Constat," says he, "*verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter interiori homini verum*, in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum inatritumque *spiritualiter manducari*." This is so clear, that an objection can scarcely be raised against it. Yet Berengarius often used ambiguous terms and phrases, in order to elude his enemies.—[Since Dr. Mosheim's death, the manuscript of Berengarius' reply to Lanfranc has been discovered in the library of Wolfenbuttle; and a large part of it has been presented to the public, in extracts, by G. E. Lessing (*Gregorius Turonensis, oder Ankündigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben*, &c. Brunzw. 1770, 4to). From this work it is said to appear, beyond all controversy, that Berengarius only denied *transub-*

solid proof to urge, who contend, that he receded from this opinion before his death.⁹

stantiation, or the *transmutation of the substance* of the bread and wine into the *substance* of Christ's body and blood; while yet he admitted the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood, as being *superadded* to the bread and wine, in and by their consecration. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxiii. p. 534, &c. And Münscher's *Elements of dogmatic History*, § 243, p. 118, ed. N. Haven. 1830. And this accords exactly with the statement of Guitmund, one of Berengarius' antagonists, as quoted by Mabillon, (*de Berengario, ejusque Hæreseos ortu*, &c. in his *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* tom. ix. p. xxiii.) Speaking of the followers of Berengarius, Guitmund says, "All the Berengarians indeed agree in this, that the bread and wine are not changed in their essence; but I was able to draw from some of them, that they differ among themselves much; for some of them say, that nothing whatever of the body and blood of the Lord are in the sacraments, but that these are only shadows and figures [of the body and blood of Christ]; but others, yielding to the solid arguments of the church, yet not receding from their folly, that they may seem to be with us in a sort, say, that the body and blood of the Lord are in reality, though covertly contained there, (*re vera, sed latenter contineri*;) and, in order that they may be received, they are, somehow, so to speak, *impanated*, (*impanari*.) And this more subtle opinion, they say, is that of Berengarius himself."—Berengarius, therefore, was a *Lutheran*, or, like *Luther*, he held the doctrine of *consubstantiation*.—It may be added, that the newly discovered manuscript of Berengarius throws light on various parts of his history and of the proceedings against him. In particular, it shows that Lanfranc attacked him, and was answered by him, at a much earlier period than Dr. Mosheim states in the text, § 17. *Tr.*]

⁹ It is well known, that the historians of the Romish community endeavour to persuade us, that Berengarius, before his death, gave up the doctrine which he had for so many years strenuously defended, and adopted that of the Romish church. But the only proofs that they have of the fact, are these: First, in the council of Bourdeaux, A.D. 1080, it

is said, "he gave an account of his faith." And further, some ancient writers speak favourably of his penitence, and say that he died in the catholic faith. But these arguments amount to nothing. Berengarius adhered to that formula which he adopted in the former council at Rome under Gregory, and which the pontiff judged to be sufficient: and they who heard it read, but did not examine its import, but looked only at the words, and their natural import, might easily believe, that between his opinion and the common belief of the church, there was no difference. And in this conclusion, they would be confirmed by the conduct of the pontiff; who, though he knew Berengarius to have renounced and opposed the formula, which he had approved in the latter Roman council, yet took no measures against him, and thus [apparently] absolved him from all error and blame. To these considerations, another of still greater weight may be added; namely, that the belief of the Romish church itself, respecting the sacred supper, was not, in that age, definitely established; as the three formulas of Berengarius evince, beyond all controversy; for they most manifestly disagree, not in words only, but in import. Nicholas II. and his council decided, that the first formula, which cardinal Humbert drew up, was sound, and contained the true doctrine of the church. But this was rejected, and deemed too crude and erroneous, not only by Gregory, but also by his two councils that tried the cause. For if the pontiff and his councils had believed that this formula expressed the true sense of the church, they would never have suffered another to be substituted for it. The pontiff himself, as we have seen, supposed that the doctrine of the sacred supper was not to be explained too minutely, but that, dismissing all questions as to the mode of Christ's presence, the words of the sacred volume were simply to be adhered to; and as Berengarius had done this in his formula, the pontiff pronounced him no offender. But the last council departed from the opinion of the pontiff; and the pontiff, though reluctant, suffered himself to be drawn over to the opinion of the council. Hence, the third formula disagreeing with both the former ones,

§ 19. In France, about the year 1023, a great contest arose about a little thing. The priests and monks of Limoges disputed, whether *Martial*, the first bishop of Limoges, ought, in the public prayers, to be classed among the *apostles* or among the *confessors*. *Jordan*, the bishop of Limoges, would have him be denominated a *confessor*: but *Hugo*, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, insisted on his being called an *apostle*; and he pronounced the adherents of the bishop to be *Ebionites*, that is, the worst of heretics. This controversy was first taken up in the council of Poitiers, and then, A. D. 1024, in that of Paris. Their decision was, that *Martial* was to be honoured with the appellation of an *apostle*; and those who judged differently were to be compared with the Ebionites, who denied that there were any more than twelve apostles. The Ebionites, it may be noted, in order to exclude *St. Paul* from the number of apostles, would not allow of more than twelve apostles. But this decision of the council inflamed, rather than calmed, the feelings of the disputants; and the silly controversy spread over all France. The affair being carried before the pontiff, *John XIX.*, he decided, by

we may here drop the passing remark, that in this controversy a council was superior to the pontiff: and the resolute Gregory himself, who would yield to no one else, yielded to the council. Berengarius, escaping from the hands of his enemies, adhered to his own formula, which had met the approbation of the pontiff, and publicly assailed and condemned the third formula, or that of the latter council. And he did this with the pontiff's knowledge and silent consent. Now what could be inferred from all this, but that Berengarius, though he resisted the decree of the latter council, yet held to the opinion of the pontiff and the church?—In this history of the Berengarian controversy, so memorable for various reasons, I have examined the ancient documents of it that are extant, (for all of them are not extant,) and have called in the aid of those learned men who have treated most copiously and accurately of this contest. First, the very rare work of Francis de Roye, published at Angers, 1656, 4to, under the title, *Ad can. Ego Berengarius 41, de consecrat. distinct. 2, ubi vita, hæresis et pœnitentia Berengarii Andegavensis Archidiaconi et ad Josephi locum de Christo*. Next, I have consulted Jo.

Mabillon, *Prefat. ad tom. ix. Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. or sæcul. vi. pt. ii. p. iv. &c.*; and his *Diss. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et relapsu*; which is in his *Analecta veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 456. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris. tom. i. p. 404, &c. Franc. Pagi, Breviarium. Romanor. Pontif. tom. ii. p. 452*. Among the reformed divines, Jac. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiar. Christianar. in Occidente*, cap. vii. § 24, p. 195, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. p. 105, and *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1391. Casim. Oudin, *Diss. de doctrina et scriptis Berengarii*, in his *Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 624. Partiality prevails, I fear, among them all, but especially among the writers of the Romish church. [Mabillon says, that the ancients every where write the name *Beringerius*. It is obviously the *Berenger* of modern times. The famous controversialist who once bore it, pronounced John Scot's opinion, *doctrine*, Paschasius Radbert's, *a tissue of absurdities*. Hence he expostulated with Lanfranc for adopting the latter, as doing a thing unworthy of his genius, *Annal. Bened. tom. iv. p. 486. Ed.*]

a letter, addressed to *Jordan* and the other bishops of France, in favour of the monks, and pronounced *Martial* deserving of the title and the honours of an apostle. Therefore, first in the council at Limoges, A. D. 1029, *Jordan* yielded to the pleasure of the pontiff; and next, A. D. 1031, in a council of the whole province of Bourges, *Martial* was solemnly enrolled in the order of apostles; and lastly, in a very full council at Limoges, the same year, the controversy was terminated, and prayers consecrated by the pontiff to the honour of *Martial* the apostle, were publicly recited.¹ Those who contended for the apostleship of *Martial*, assumed that he was one of the seventy disciples of Christ; and thence they inferred, that he was entitled to the rank of an apostle, upon the same ground as *Paul* and *Barnabas* were.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Use of the Roman liturgy extended.—§ 2. Worship in a foreign tongue.—
§ 3. Rebuilding and adorning the churches.

§ 1. THE forms of public worship used at Rome, had not yet been received in all provinces of the Latin world. In this age, therefore, the pontiffs, who regarded any disagreement in rites as adverse to their authority, took great pains to have the Romish forms every where adopted, and all others excluded. In this affair, again, the diligence of *Gregory VII.*, as his letters show,

¹ See Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 372. 401. Jac. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. vii. p. 188, 189. 231, &c. The Benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append. Documentor.* p. 162, have published *Jordan's* letter to the pope, Benedict VIII., against the apostleship of *Martial*. The acts of the council of Bourges and Limoges, respecting this controversy, are published by Phil. Labbe, *Biblioth. nova Manuscriptor.* tom.

ii. p. 766, &c. Of the first author of this strife, Ademar, a monk of Chabanois, Jo. Mabillon gives an account, in his *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 348, &c. and in the appendix to the volume he subjoins the epistle of Ademar, in support of the apostleship of *Martial*. The Benedictine monks have also given an account of this man, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 301.

was very conspicuous. No people of Europe had more resolutely and perseveringly opposed the wishes of the pontiffs, in this matter, than the Spaniards; for they could not in any way be induced to exchange their ancient liturgy, which was called *Mozarabic*, or *Gothic*¹, for that of Rome. *Alexander II.*, indeed, in the year 1018, had prevailed upon the people of Aragon to show themselves not indisposed for the Roman way of worshipping God²; nor did the Catalans resist. But the glory of perfecting this work was reserved for *Gregory VII.* He did not cease to press the kings of Aragon and Castile, *Sanchez* and *Alphonso*, till they consented that the Gothic rites should be abolished and the Roman be received. *Sanchez* first complied; *Alphonso*, followed his example in the year 1080. In Castile, the nobles thought that this contest ought to be decided by the sword. Accordingly two champions were chosen, who were to contend in single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, and the other for the Gothic. The Gothic champion conquered. After this, fire was chosen for bringing the matter to an issue. Both liturgies, the Roman and the Gothic, were thrown upon a pyre. The Roman was consumed in the flames: the Gothic remained uninjured. Yet this double victory could not save the Gothic mode; the pontiff's authority, and the pleasure of *Constantia* the queen, who controlled *Alphonso* the king, had greater weight, and turned the scale.³

§ 2. This zeal of the Roman pontiffs may admit some kind of apology; but it is a very hard matter to excuse them for prohibiting each nation to worship God in its own vernacular tongue. While the Latin language was spoken among all the nations of the West, or at least was understood by most people, little could be objected to its use in the public assemblies for Christian-worship. But when the Roman tongue, with the Roman dominion, had been gradually subverted, and become extinct, it was most just and reasonable, that each nation should

¹ See Jo. Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10. Jo. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xi. Opp. p. 220. Peter le Brun, *Explication des cérémonies de la Messe*, tom. ii. diss. v. p. 272. [and *Liturgia antiqua, Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica*, &c. tom. i. Rome, 1746, fol. as also Joh. Pinii *Tractatus historico-chronolog. de variis vicissitudinibus officii Mosarabici seculo*

xi. c. 6. Schl. — Also Aug. Krazer, *de Liturgiis*, p. 70, &c. Augsb. 1786, 8vo. Tr.]

² Peter de Marca, *Histoire de Beran*, lib. ii. cap. ix.

³ Bona, l. c. p. 216. Le Brun, l. c. p. 292, &c. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 237. 241. 246. [Krazer, l. c. p. 76. Tr.]

use its own speech in sacred offices. This privilege, however, could not be obtained from the pontiffs in this and the following centuries; for they decided, that the Latin language should be retained, though unknown to the people at large.⁴ Different persons assign different reasons for this decision; and some have imagined such as are quite far-fetched. But the principal reason, doubtless, was an [excessive veneration for the ancient forms. And the Oriental Christians have fallen into the same fault of excessive love of antiquity; for public worship is still performed by the Egyptians in the ancient Coptic, by the Jacobites and Nestorians in Syriac, and by the Abyssinians in the ancient Ethiopic; notwithstanding all these languages have long since become obsolete, and gone out of popular use.⁵

§ 3. Of the other things enjoined or voluntarily assumed in this age, under the name of religious acts, the rites added in the worship of the saints, relics, and images, the pilgrimages, and various other things of the kind, it would be tedious to go into detail. I will, therefore, only state here, that during nearly the whole of this century, all the nations of Europe were very much occupied in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches.⁶ Nor will this surprise us if we recollect the panic dread of an impending final judgment, and of the end of all things, which spread throughout Europe in the preceding century. For this panic, among other effects, led to neglect the repair of the churches and sacred edifices, as being soon to become useless, and perish in the wreck of all things; so that they

⁴ Jac. Ussher, *Historia dogmatica de scripturis et sacris vernaculis*; published, with enlargement, by Henry Wharton, London, 1690, 4to. [Yet we find in the canons of Ælfrie, king of England, about A.D. 1050, (in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 982, can. 23.) that the priests were required on Sundays and other mass-days to explain the lessons from the gospels in the English language: and to teach the people to repeat *memoriter*, and to understand the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed in the same language. "Presbyter etiam, seu missalis sacerdos, in diebus Solis, et Missalibus, evangelii ejus intellectum populo dicet Anglice, et ipsorum etiam *Pater noster* et *Credo* toties quoties poterit ad eos instruendos adhibere, et ut symbolum fidei memoriter discant, christianamque suam teneant confessionem."

Tr.—There never was a king of England named Ælfrie. The extract given comes from a summary of clerical duties, prepared by the great Ælfrie, for Wulfstan, bishop of Sherborne, as a sort of episcopal charge, and commonly printed, though not completely so, in collections of the councils, under the title of *Canones Ælfrici ad Wulfstanum Episcopum*. *Ed.*

⁵ See Eusebius Renaudot, *Diss. de Liturgiarum orientalium origine et antiquitate*, cap. vi. p. 81, &c.

⁶ Glaber Rodolphus, *Histor.* lib. iii. cap. iv. in Duchesne's *Scriptores Præcævi*, tom. iv. p. 247. "As the year 1003 approached, there was, almost the world over, but especially in Italy and France, a general repairing of the churches."

either actually fell to the ground, or became greatly decayed. But this panic being past, people every where turned attention to the churches, which were almost ruined, and vast sums were necessarily expended on their restoration.

Dec. 12/15 1864-

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE SECTS AND HERESIES.

§ 1. Ancient sects. The Manichæans.—§ 2. The Paulicians in Europe.—§ 3. The Manichæans of Orleans seem to have been mystics.—§ 4. So likewise others.—§ 5. The contest with Roscelin.

§ 1. THE condition of the ancient sects, particularly the Nestorians and Monophysites, who were subject to the Mahumedans in Asia and Egypt, was very nearly the same as in the preceding century, not perfectly happy and exempt from all evils, nor absolutely wretched and miserable. But the Manichæans or Paulicians, whom the Greek emperors had transported from the provinces of the East to Bulgaria and Thrace, were in almost perpetual conflicts with the Greeks. The Greek writers throw all the blame on the Manichæans; whom they represent as turbulent, perfidious, always ready for war, and inimical to the empire.¹ But there are many reasons, which nearly compel us to believe, that the Greek bishops and priests, and by *their* instigation, the emperors, gave much trouble and vexation to this people; alienating their minds from them by punishments, banishments, confiscation of property, and other things. The emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, being a man of learning, and perceiving that the Manichæans could not easily be subdued by force, determined to try the effect of discussion and arguments; and therefore spent whole days at Philippopolis in disputing with them. Not a few of them gave up to this august disputant and his associates; nor was this strange, for he employed not only arguments, but also rewards and punishments. Those

¹ See Anna Comnena *Alexiados* lib. v. p. 105. lib. vi. p. 124. 126. 145, and in other passages.

who retracted their errors, and consented to embrace the religion of the Greeks, were rewarded with rich presents, honours, privileges, lands, and houses: but those who resisted, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.²

§ 2. From Bulgaria and Thrace, some of this sect, either from zeal to extend their religion, or from weariness of Grecian persecution, removed, first into Italy, and then into other countries of Europe; and there they gradually collected numerous congregations, with which the Roman pontiffs afterwards waged very fierce wars.³ At what time the migration of the Paulicians into Europe commenced, it is difficult to ascertain. But this is well attested, that as early as the middle of this century, they were numerous in Lombardy and Insubria, and especially in Milan: nor is it less certain, that persons of this sect strolled about in France, Germany, and other countries, where the great appearance of sanctity, which distinguished them, captivated no small number of the people. In Italy they were called *Paterini* and *Cathari*, or rather *Gazari*; the last of which names, altered so as to suit the genius of their language, was adopted by the Germans.⁴

² Anna Comnena (*Alexiad.* lib. xiv. p. 357, &c.) is very full in her account and eulogy of this holy war of her father against the Paulicians.

³ See Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 38, &c. Phil. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 31. Thom. Aug. Richini, *Diss. de Catharis*; prefixed to Bernh. Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos*, p. xvii. xviii. and others; not to mention Glaber Rodolphus, *Historia*, lib. iii. c. viii. Matth. Paris, and other ancient writers. Some of the Italians, among whom is Richini, wish to deny that this sect was propagated from Italy into other parts of Europe; and would persuade us rather that the Paulicians came into Italy from France. For they would consider it a disgrace to their country to have been the first in Europe that fostered so absurd and impious a sect. These are countenanced by Peter de Marca, a Frenchman, who supposes (in his *Histoire de Bearn*, liv. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728,) that when the French were returning from the crusades in Palestine, as they passed through Bulgaria, some Paulicians joined them, and thus first migrated to France. But de Marca brings no proof of his supposition; and, on the contrary, it appears from the records of the inquisition of Toulouse, published by Lim-

borch, and from other documents, that the Paulicians first settled in Sicily, Lombardy, Milan, and Liguria, and from thence sent their teachers and missionaries into France. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14, 32, 68, 69, and in many other places. From the same *Codex Tolosanus*, we learn that the Paulicians of Gaul had no bishops who could consecrate their presbyters, whom they called *Anacum*: so that such of the French as wished to become presbyters, had to go into Italy to obtain regular consecration.

⁴ Of the name Paterini, given to this sect in Italy, we have already spoken, note ², p. 322. That the name Cathari was the same as Gazari, I have shown in another work, *Historia Ord. Apostolor.* p. 367. The name Gazaria was given in that age, to the country now called the lesser Tartary, [or Crim Tartary, or the Crimea. But the derivation of Cathari from Gazaria, a distant and then little known region, is by many deemed less probable, than from the Greek *kathari*, the Pure. So also the derivation of the German *Ketzer* (heretic) from Gazari or Chazari, is by no means universally admitted. See A. Neander's *Heilige Bernhard*, p. 314. &c. and Schroeckh's

In France they were called *Albigenses*⁵, from the town *Albi*.⁶ They were also called *Bulgarians*, particularly in France, because they came formerly from Bulgaria, where the patriarch of the sect resided; also *Publicani*, a corruption of *Pauliciani*; and *Boni Homines*⁷, and by other appellations.⁸

§ 3. The first congregation of this sect in Europe is said to have been discovered at Orleans in France, A. D. 1017, in the reign of king *Robert*. An Italian woman is stated to have been its founder and teacher. Its head men were ten canons of the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, all eminent for their learning and piety, but especially two of them, *Lisoius* and *Stephen*; the congregation was composed of numerous citizens, not of the lowest rank and condition. The impious doctrines maintained by those canons being made known by *Heribert*, a priest, and *Arifastus*, a Norman nobleman, king *Robert* assembled a council at Orleans, and left no means untried to bring them to a better mind. But nothing could induce them to give up the opinions which they had embraced. They were, therefore, burnt alive.⁹ But the case of these men is involved in ob-

Kirchengesch. vol. xxiii. p. 350, &c. Tr.]

⁵ *Albigensis.* Tr.]

⁶ That the Paulicians in France were called Albigenses, and are not to be confounded with the Waldenses and other heretics, is most manifest from the Records of the Inquisition at Toulouse. And they were called Albigenses, because they were condemned in a council held, A. D. 1176, at Albi (Albiges), a town of Aquitaine. See Chatel, *Mémoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305, &c. They therefore misjudge, who suppose the Albigenses were certain heretics who either originated at Albi, or who resided there, or had their principal church there: they were, rather, the heretics condemned there. Yet there did live in the region of Albi, some Paulicians, as well as many other classes of dissenters from the church of Rome; and the name of Albigenses is often applied to all the heretics in that tract of country. [See, for a fuller illustration, and confirmation of what is asserted in this note, Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 569. &c. also *Histoire de Languedoc*, tom. iii. note 13, p. 553, &c. and Füsslin's *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie der mittleren Zeit*, vol. i. Tr.—“I doubt whether any religious sect was, as such,

known by the name of *Albigenses*, until long after the council of Albi.—I believe that I speak much within compass, and state only what may be fairly inferred from evidence which will be adduced, when I say that the name of Albigenses was not given to those heretics whom we now describe by that title, until more than a century after the Albigensian Crusades.” Maitland's *Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*, Lond. 1832, p. 95, 96. Ed.]

⁷ [*Bos Homos*, Good Men. Tr.]

⁸ [That these people were called Bulgarians, or, as it was corruptly uttered, *Bougres*, is fully shown by Car. du Fresne, *Glossarium Latin. Mediævi*, tom. i. p. 1338. And the same Du Fresne, in his *Observationes ad Velleharduini Historiam Constantinop.* p. 169, has shown by abundant proofs, that the name *Popolicani* or *Publicani*, given likewise to these Manichæans, is merely the name *Pauliciani* corruptly pronounced. The Paulicians called themselves *Good Men*, or *Los Bos Homos*, as the French pronounced it. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosane*, p. 22. 84. 95, &c. but especially, p. 131, &c.

⁹ The testimonies of the ancients respecting these heretics are collected by

seurity and perplexity. For they are extolled for their piety by their very enemies ; and at the same time, crimes are attributed

Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 364, &c. Car. Plessis d'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 5. Jo. Launoi, *de Scholis celebrioribus Caroli M.* cap. xxiv. p. 93. The proceedings of the council of Orleans, in which they were condemned, are given by Lu. D'Achery, *Spicileg. veterum Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 604, &c. [Two principal accounts of these heretics of Orleans have reached us. The one is, that of Glaber Rodolphus, (*Historia*, lib. iii. cap. 8,) the other, which some ascribe to one Agano, a monk, is an anonymous account, but more full, and apparently deserving of at least as much credit, published by D'Achery, l. c. Both accounts are in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. i. p. 821, &c. Glaber states, that in the year 1017, a very strange heresy was discovered at Orleans, said to have been introduced by an Italian woman, and which had long been spreading itself in secret. The leaders in this heresy were two clergymen of Orleans, respectable for their birth, education, and piety, named Heribert and Lisoï. Both were canons ; and the latter was also master of the school in St. Peter's church, and enjoyed the friendship of the king and the court. These circumstances enabled them more easily to spread their errors at Orleans, and in the neighbouring towns. They attempted to convert a presbyter of Rouen, and told him that the whole nation would soon be with them ; but he divulged the subject to a nobleman of Rouen, and he again to king Robert. The monarch, equally distinguished for learning and piety, hastened away, full of solicitude, to Orleans ; assembled there a number of bishops and abbots, and some pious laymen, and commenced an examination of the heretics. The two leading men among them acknowledged, that they anticipated a general reception of their doctrines ; that they considered all that was taught in the Old Testament and the New, by miracles, or otherwise, concerning a Trinity in the Godhead, as being absurd ; that the visible heavens and earth had always existed, as they now are, without an original author ; that all acts of Christian virtue, instead of being meritorious, were superfluous ;

and like the Epicureans, they believed the crimes of the voluptuous would not meet with the recompense of punishment. Great efforts were made to convince them of their errors ; but in vain : neither arguments nor threatenings could move them ; for they expected a miraculous deliverance from death. Accordingly, when led out to the fire, which was kindled for them, they all, thirteen in number, went exulting and voluntarily leaped into it. But they no sooner felt the fire consuming them, than they cried out, that they had been deceived, and were about to perish for ever. The bystanders, moved with pity, made efforts to draw them from the flames ; but without effect. They were reduced to ashes. Such others of the sect as were afterwards detected, were in like manner put to death. And heresy being thus destroyed, the catholic faith shone the more conspicuous. The other, and more full account, differs from that of Glaber, in several respects. It states, that a Norman nobleman, named Arefast, had a clergyman in his house, by the name of Herbert, who went to Orleans for the purpose of study. That two leaders among the heretics, Stephen and Lisoï, universally esteemed for their wisdom, their piety, and their beneficence, met with Herbert, and instilled into him the poison of their heresy. When Herbert returned to the family of Arefast he laboured to convert him. But Arefast was not to be seduced. He communicated the whole to count Richard, to be made known to the king ; with a request that the king would take measures to suppress the heresy. King Robert directed Arefast to repair with his clergyman Herbert to Orleans, and there insinuate himself among the heretics, promising to come there himself shortly. Arefast was instructed by an aged priest of Chartres how to proceed. He was to receive the communion every day ; and thus fortified, he was to go among the heretics, pretend to be captivated with their doctrines, and draw from them a full knowledge of their heresy, and then appear as a witness against them. He did so ; and drew from them the following tenets ; that Christ was not born of the virgin Mary, did not suffer for mankind, was not really laid in the tomb, and did not rise

to them, which are manifestly false; at least, the opinions for which they suffered death, were, in general, quite distant from the tenets of the Manichæans.¹ So far as I can judge, these

from the dead; that in baptism, there was no washing away of sins; nor were the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament consecrated by the priest; and that it was useless to pray to the saints and martyrs. Arefast wished to know, then, on what he could rely for salvation. They promised to purify him from all sin, and to impart to him the Holy Spirit, by laying their hands upon him; and that he should eat heavenly food, and often see angels, and with them travel where he pleased, with ease and despatch. The account then describes the *heavenly food* they talked of. At certain times, the heretics met together by night, each with a lighted candle, and invoked the devil, till he appeared to them. Then putting out their lights, they all debauched themselves promiscuously. The fruits of these horrid scenes, when eight days old, were murdered and burned to ashes; and the ashes so obtained constituted their heavenly food, and was so efficacious, that whoever partook of it at all, became an enthusiast of their sect, and could seldom ever after be recovered to a sound mind. While Arefast was thus learning the whole heresy, king Robert and his queen Constantia arrived at Orleans; and the next day he called a council of bishops, and apprehending a whole assembly of the heretics, arraigned them for trial. Here Arefast stated all that he had learned from them. Stephen and Lisoï admitted that they held such doctrines. A bishop stating that Christ was born of the virgin, because he could be so, and that he died and rose again to assure us of a resurrection; they replied, that they were not present, and could not believe it was so. Being asked how they could believe that they had a natural father, and were born in the usual way, not having been present as witnesses, they replied, that what was according to nature, they could believe, but not what was contrary to nature. They were then asked, if they did not believe that God created all things from nothing by his Son. They replied, "Such things may be believed by carnal men, who mind earthly things, and trust in the fictions of men, written upon parchment; but we, who have a law written upon the

inward man, by the Holy Spirit, regard nothing but what we have learned from God the creator of all." They likewise asked the bishops to desist from questioning them, and to do with them what they saw fit; for they said, they already saw their king in the heavens, who would receive them to his right hand and to heavenly joys. After a nine hours' trial, the prisoners were first degraded from the priesthood, and then led away to the stake. As they passed the church-door, queen Constantia with a stick struck Stephen, who had been her confessor, and dashed out one of his eyes. Their bodies, together with the abominable ashes used by them, were consumed in the flames.—Such is the story, as told by their enemies. It is reasonable to give them all the credit which their enemies allow to them; and to make abatements only from what is said to their disadvantage. The whole description of their infernal night meetings, and eating the ashes of murdered infants, is doubtless a mere calumny. Their intelligence, and the spotless purity of their lives, are well attested. The account given of their doctrines is lame, and coming from those who were their inferiors in knowledge of the scriptures, and so hostile as to burn them at the stake, it is impossible to ascertain what their real sentiments were. *Tr.*—The second account given here, is that of the actuary of the Synod of Orleans. It is an ancient fragment of the History of Aquitaine, which says that ten canons of the Holy Cross were burnt alive on this occasion; and John of Fleury additionally tells us, that nearly fourteen suffered, being of *the better clergy, or nobler laity*: "de melioribus clericis, sive de nobilioribus laicis." Thus the three or four, who perished, besides the ten canons, were laymen, and these too, like their clerical fellow-sufferers, of no mean estimation. See Faber's *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Valenses and Albigenes*, Lond. 1838, p. 125. *Ed.*

¹ Jac. Basnage, in his *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 97, and in his *Histor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1388, &c. defends the cause of these canons of Orleans. But this otherwise

Manichæans of Orleans were *mystics*, who despised the external worship of God, ascribed no efficacy to religious rites, not even to the sacraments, but supposed religion to consist in the internal contemplation of divine things, and the elevation of the soul to God; and, at the same time, philosophized respecting God, the three persons in the Godhead, and the soul of man, with more subtlety than the capacity of the age could comprehend. Persons of this description proceeded from Italy in the following centuries, and spread over nearly all Europe, and were called in Germany, *brethren of the free Spirit*, and, in some other countries, *Beghards*.²

§ 4. Better characters perhaps than these, certainly honest and candid, though illiterate, were those men whom *Gerhard*, bishop of Cambray and Arras, reconciled to the church at the council of Arras, A. D. 1030. These likewise received their doctrines from Italians, and particularly from one *Gundulf*. According to their own account, they supposed all religion to consist in pious exercises, and in actions conformable to the law of God, while they despised all external worship. In particular, (I.) they rejected baptism as a rite of no use as regards salvation; and especially the baptism of infants. (II.) The Lord's Supper they discarded for the same reason. (III.) They denied that churches are any more holy than private houses. (IV.) Altars they pronounced to be heaps of stones; and therefore worthy of no reverence. (V.) They disapproved of the use of incense and of holy oil in religious rites. (VI.) The ringing of bells, or *signals*, as bishop *Gerhard* calls them, they would not tolerate. (VII.) They denied that ministers of religion, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were of divine appointment; and maintained that the church could exist without an order of teachers. (VIII.) They contended that funeral rites were invented by priests, to gratify their avarice; and that it was of no consequence whether a person were buried in the church-yard or in some other place. (IX.) Penance, as then practised, that is, punishments voluntarily endured for sins, they deemed of no

excellent and discerning man seems to have been carried too far, by his zeal for augmenting the number of the *witnesses for the truth*.

² Of this class of people we shall treat hereafter, in the thirteenth century; at which period, they were first drawn from their concealment into full view.

and condemned in many councils, especially in Germany. Yet they had long before been working their way in secret. This sect held some opinions in common with the Manichæans, whence the undiscerning theologians of those times might easily be led to regard them as a branch of the Manichæans.

use. (X.) They denied that the sins of the dead, who are in the world of torment, or in *purgatory*, can be expiated by *masses*, by gifts to the poor, and by *vicarious penance*; and doubtless they rejected the idea of *purgatory* itself. (XI.) They held marriage to be pernicious, and condemned it in all cases.³ (XII.) They allowed indeed some reverence to be paid to the apostles, and to the *martyrs*; but to *confessors* (by whom they intended those denominated *saints*, and who had not suffered death for Christ's sake,) they would have no reverence paid; declaring that their corpses were no better than those of other persons. (XIII.) The custom of chanting in churches and religious assemblies, they represented as superstitious and unlawful. (XIV.) They denied a cross to be more holy than other wood; and therefore denied it any honour. (XV.) They would have the images of Christ and the saints removed from the churches, and receive no kind of adoration. (XVI.) Finally, they were displeased with the difference of rank, and of powers and prerogatives existing among the clergy.⁴ Whoever considers the defects in the prevailing religion and doctrines of that age, will not think it strange that many persons throughout Europe, possessing good understandings and pious feelings, should have fallen into such sentiments as these.

§ 5. Toward the close of this century, about the year 1089, a more subtle controversy was raised in France by *Roscelin*, a canon of Compiègne, who was not the lowest of the dialecticians of the age, and was a principal doctor in the sect of the *Nominalists*. He maintained that it could not be conceived at all how the Son of God was to assume human nature, while the Father and the Holy Spirit did not, unless we suppose the three persons in the Godhead to be three *things*, or separately existing natures, (such as three angels are, or three human souls), though those three divine things might have one will and one power. Being told that this opinion would imply the existence of three Gods, he boldly replied, that if such language could be allowed, it might be truly said, there are three Gods.⁵ He was compelled to

³ I cannot easily believe this was altogether so. I should rather suppose, that these people did not wholly condemn matrimony, but only judged celibacy to be more holy than the married state.

⁴ See the *Synodus Atrebatensis*, in Luc.

D'Achery's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 607—624. Argentre's *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 7. [See also Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiii. p. 324, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ Thus his sentiments are stated by John, who accused him to Anselm, in an

express a detestation of this error in the council of Soissons, A. D. 1092; but as soon as the danger was past, he resumed it. He was now ordered to quit the country. While an exile in England, he raised new commotions; contentiously maintaining, among other things, that the sons of priests, and all born out of wedlock, should never be admitted to the rank of clergymen; which was a very odious doctrine in those times. Being expelled from England for these things, he returned to France, and, residing in Paris, renewed the old contention. But being pressed and harassed on all sides by his adversaries, he at last went to Aquitaine, and spent the remainder of his life devoutly and peacefully.⁶

Epistle, which is published by Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 478. also, by Anselm of Canterbury, in his book *de Fide Trinitatis*, written against Roscelin; *Opp.* tom. i. p. 41. 43, and in tom. ii. p. 355. *Epist.* lib. ii. ep. xxxv. and lastly, by Fulco of Beauvais, in Anselm's *Opp.* p. 357. *Epist.* lib. ii. ep. xli. But all these were adversaries of Roscelin, who may be supposed, either to have perverted his meaning, or to have not understood it correctly. And Anselm himself leads me to have much hesitation and doubt; for while he regarded the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head, with no little hatred, yet he concedes, in his book, *de Fide Trinitatis*, that the opinion of his opponent may be admissible in a certain sense; and he frequently states, that he does not know certainly what his views were; and even says, that he suspects they were less exceptionable than his adversaries represented them. *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. iii. p. 44. He says, "But perhaps he (Roscelin) does not say, just as three human souls, or three angels are; but he who communicated his sentiments to me, might make this comparison without authority for it; while he (Roscelin) only affirmed, that the three persons are three things, without adding any comparison." So in his forty-first *Epist.* book ii. p. 357, being about to state Roscelin's opinion, he prefaces it thus: "Which, however, I cannot believe without hesitation." The reader, I think, will clearly see, that Anselm, the determined enemy of the

Nominalists, distrusted the candour and fairness of Roscelin's accusers in describing his opinions, and supposed him to be less erroneous than they represented. If I do not misjudge, this whole controversy originated from the hot disputes between the Nominalists and the Realists. The Realists seem to have drawn this inference from the principles of the Nominalists, of whom Roscelin was the head: If, as you suppose, *universal subjects* are mere words and names, and the whole science of dialectics is concerned only with names, then doubtless the three persons in the Godhead will be, in your view, not three things, but only three names. By no means, answered Roscelin: the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not mere names, but belong to the class of *things*. But while shunning Scylla, he ran upon Charybdis: for his enemies thence inferred, that he taught the existence of three Gods. If any of Roscelin's own writings were now extant, a better estimate could be formed of this controversy. [Roscelin was a native of Brittany (*domus Britto-Armoricus*), the same country that produced his pupil, Abelard, eventually so celebrated. *Ed.*]

⁶ Boulay's *Histoire Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 485. 489. Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 262. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 358, &c. Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, ad ann. 1094, tom. iv. p. 317, &c. Jac. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. iii. p. 59, &c.

CHAPTER VI.*

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

§ 1. Peculiar character of Anglo-Saxon literature.—§ 2. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.—§ 3. The English school of theology.—§ 4. Wilfrid's appeals to Rome.—§ 5. Independence of the Anglo-Saxon church.—§ 6. Rejection of image-worship.—§ 7. Subsequent adoption of it.—§ 8. The secular clergy supplanted by the Benedictines.—§ 9. Dunstan's independent spirit.—§ 10. Prevailing anxiety for saintly intercession.—§ 11. Purgatory.—§ 12. Penitential doctrines.—§ 13. Transubstantiation.—§ 14. Elfric.—§ 15. Polity.

§ 1. THE eleventh century produced a very remarkable national change in England; its Anglo-Saxon occupants, whose possession, more or less complete, embraced six hundred years, and who had professed Christianity above four, being conquered by a race of foreigners. These fortunate strangers neither spoke the language of their adopted country, nor deigned to learn it. They long existed as a tribe of alien gentry, connected with humbler life around, only by finding dependants in it. Now as the vanquished people possessed a literature of their own, and had made considerable advances in social improvement, this insulation from their new masters gave a marked and peculiar character to their former position as an independent community. Their political institutions were, indeed, engrafted upon those of the victorious Normans, but much that prevailed among them during their separate existence, fell into neglect and desuetude. Their vernacular literature especially had this fate. Anglo-Saxon writers, who wrote in Latin, having already an European reputation, naturally retained their former places among the educated inhabitants of their country: but authors who used the native idiom, rapidly became unintelligible to all who entered an English library. The very character in which they wrote, varying in some particulars from the Roman, grew into a sort of hieroglyphic, which never met a studious eye without exciting a regret that it had long been all but absolutely unin-

telligible. Happily, many of the manuscripts were beautifully written, and ages in which books were few, would not strip a library of such ornaments, merely because altered circumstances had rendered them sealed volumes. Gradually, however, the mystery that shrouded these remains was dispelled. The Anglo-Saxon race, which formed the bulk of England's population, became blended with its Norman conquerors, and its language forms the ground-work of modern English. As a vernacular literature arose again, liberal curiosity, desirous of information upon the tongue employed, carefully examined libraries for remains of the long-forgotten Anglo-Saxon. These inquiries brought much to light which is of no mean importance, not only to philology, but also for the interpretation of Latin works, already well known. New information was thus acquired upon several points hitherto but imperfectly understood.

§ 2. The intellectual treasures of ancient England became sealed at a very interesting period. Many of the usages, and some of the principles, which eventually distinguished the western church, are confessedly not of the highest antiquity. The papal power did not attain an importance likely to act importantly upon general politics, until the pontificate of Gregory VII., who was contemporary with William the Conqueror. Transubstantiation, now the corner-stone of Romanism, first attracted notice in the ninth century; and, as the tenth is the darkest period in modern history, little information can be expected from it respecting the progress of that doctrine, provided it were really new, when controverted in the preceding age. A literature, however, which went regularly forward, could not fail of gliding all but imperceptibly with the current of opinion. But one suddenly rendered stagnant, would permanently retain the features of the period which brought its activity to a close. A theologian may, therefore, dwell with great profit, as well as interest, upon the records of Anglo-Saxon antiquity.

§ 3. Nor are these unworthy of notice, independently of their value as evidence. It is a remarkable fact, that ante-Norman England was at one time the intellectual mistress of her continental neighbours. Female importunity and Italian artifice had no sooner given to the Roman missionaries a decided advantage over the native British Christians, than the pope solidly confirmed it by sending over as his agent one who was both able and willing to render services of the most unequivocal descrip-

tion. While party-spirit still ran very high, the kings of Kent and Northumbria, then powerful above their fellow-sovereigns, thought of allaying it by sending Wighard, whom they chose for primate, to Rome for consecration. Their object was, not only to get an archbishop, approved by the pontiff, but also one who should combine domestic birth with Roman information.¹ The experiment, however, failed; Wighard having died unconsecrated in the ancient capital of Europe.² Vitalian, the pope, immediately saw an opening for gaining an effective hold upon the Anglo-Saxon church. He determined upon appointing a primate himself. But as this interference with an independent nation was evidently hazardous, he made his choice with unusual caution. He did not venture upon an offer to some native Italian. He would have sent over, as archbishop of Canterbury, an African, named Adrian, distinguished for learning and abilities, abbot of a Campanian monastery. But Adrian would not venture upon the proffered appointment; nor would another to whom he referred the pope. He then recommended Theodore, an Asiatic monk resident at Rome, about sixty-six years old, but able, erudite, and energetic, above most younger men. This eminent personage, like St. Paul, a native of Tarsus, was, however, no more willing to answer Vitalian's call, than those upon whom it had been made before. His objections, at length, were overcome by the help of Adrian's consent to accompany him into England.³ Such a primate, independently of his high personal qualities, was far from unlikely to conciliate the nation upon whose good nature a bold experiment was made by the sending of him. He could not be considered as a partizan of Rome. Not only was his origin Asiatic, but he had even refrained from a strict outward conformity with Roman usages. He was tonsured in the fashion of his native country, when brought forward as a papal nominee.⁴ Having, however, undertaken the see of Canterbury, his own good sense would neither allow him to rest upon an unimportant scruple, nor to present an appearance unanswerable to his new position. The tonsure had been one of the points

¹ Bed. *Opp. Min.* ed. Stevenson, p. 141.

² Ibid. p. 236.

³ Ibid. 244. Theodore reached England in May, 669.

⁴ "Monachi Græci tunc temporis penitus detonsi erant, rasisque similes, ad imitationem, ut certe putabant, sancti Jacobi, fratris Domini, et Pauli apostoli,

testante Germano, patriarcha Constantinopolitano, in *Theoria sua*: quod etiam de clericis Græcis affirmat Ratramnus, quibus mos est, inquit, barbam quidem non tondere, caput vero crine totum nudare." Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. i. p. 493.

on which the Roman missionaries in England had successfully struggled for conformity. Theodore was tonsured neither in the British fashion nor the Italian⁵: but he now adopted this latter, and remained in Italy until his hair was sufficiently grown to satisfy the papal party in his adopted country. Still the pope was suspicious. It might be best under such an experiment as he was now trying, to appoint an individual who should not shock the defeated party in England by a palpable and complete identification with their opponents. An able, elderly, resolute Asiatic might, however, carry his independence further than the exigencies of the case required; and when Theodore left Italy, the pope was not without misgivings as to the worldly prudence of his choice. He accordingly commissioned Adrian to act as a check and a spy upon the movements of his friend, if an oriental education should warp his views away from Rome.⁶

§ 4. Both strangers proved most important benefactors to their adopted country. Romish partizans naturally venerate the memory of Theodore, because he succeeded in realizing the project for which Augustine's endeavours had failed. He first was recognized as the primate of England⁷, and gained a firm footing for papal usages, which remained undisturbed until the Reformation. The example eventually told upon Scotland and Wales.⁸ But whatever may be thought of such services, there is no question upon those which both Theodore and Adrian rendered as instructors of youth. Age was considered by the archbishop no exemption from the labours of education. In conjunction with his African friend, he personally founded that English school of theology and general literature which rapidly outshone the learned activity of neighbouring nations, and became, at length, an asylum for erudition, when half-driven from them, and from which they drew a permanent supply. Happily, these two laborious teachers were gifted with uncommon length of life. Although Theodore came into England at sixty-six, he

⁵ "Romani sacerdotes, detonso superius toto capite, inferius brevem tantum capillorum circulum in coronæ modum gestabant, et quidem exemplo, ut putabant, beati Petri.—At vero Brittones et Scotti anteriorem capitis partem capillis omnino nudabant ab aure ad aurem, posteriori intonsa, quod exemplo beati Joannis apostoli se facere gloriabantur." Ibid. 471, 472.

⁶ Bed. 214.

⁷ "Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesiæ manus dare consentiret." Bed. 246.

⁸ The Piers conformed to Rome in 715, the monks of Iona in the following year. Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. ii. 42, 45. The Welsh, Bede laments, yet held out.

survived two-and-twenty years.⁹ Adrian lived another twenty.¹⁰ Thus the two did not merely make an effort crippled by its brevity. They were so long employed as to leave enduring traces of their generous work. Bede, Aldhelm, Egbert, and Alcuin, are indisputable evidences of the benefits which their school dispensed. By the last, it was transplanted on continental soil, and became the parent of that Frankish school which is invaluable for throwing light on the theology of the ninth century. *John 17th 1865, H.W.M.*

§ 5. But although Theodore brought all England into Romish habits, he showed no trace of a slavish deference for the papal see. Wilfrid, so famed for trying the effect of its influence on his countrymen, found him treat it with no attention. That restless prelate had been deprived of his bishopric under Theodore's authority¹, and the pope interfered in vain for a reversal of the sentence.² It is true, that when life was closing upon the venerable Asiatic, he wrote into Northumbria for Wilfrid's restoration.³ But there is no appearance of any late conviction here, that he had formerly neglected an established principle of ecclesiastical jurisprudence which ought to have been observed. He seems merely to have thought of Wilfrid's great services in adversity as a missionary, and to have embraced an opportunity of obliging him as a parting token of his Christian charity. Whether Theodore acted wisely in his opposition to Wilfrid, men will differ in opinion, as they are favourable, or otherwise, to the see of Rome⁴: but his conduct is a sufficient evidence that no authority, beyond such as rank and information gave, was then admitted in that see, and that Wilfrid's appeals to it were mere experiments. Theodore's successor, Brihtwald, was equally regardless of papal influence. In common with all the world besides, he knew perfectly well that Wilfrid had appealed to Rome, and, if thwarted at home, was likely to appeal again. Yet he headed a full meeting of the prelacy, by which that

⁹ He died in 690. *Saxon Chronicle*, Dr. Ingram's ed. p. 57.

¹⁰ He died in 710. Mabillon, *Annall. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 27.

¹ Eddius XV. *Scriptores*, 63. It is rather more than insinuated here that Theodore was bribed: but this is not likely. "Ad auxilium sæ vesaniæ archiepiscopum Theodorum cum muneribus, quæ excæcant etiam sapientum

oculos, quasi Balach Balaam, contra Dei voluntatem invitaverunt."

² Ibid. 69.

³ Ibid. 73.

⁴ "Vir magnus" (Theodorus, sc.) "nisi quod humani quiddam in Wilfridum Eboracensem antistitem passus est: cujus rei ante mortem magnopere ipsum pœnituit." Mabillon, *Annall. Bened.* tom. i. p. 591.

remarkable man was deprived once more.⁵ Undoubtedly Wilfrid, after all his trials, died at last under a partial recognition of his claims. But he was indebted to it for no interference of the Roman see. Elfreda, an abbess of royal blood, asserted that her nephew, the king lately dead, conscious of injustice to him, solemnly determined upon his restoration, if life had been allowed; and to this customary stream of female partiality for Rome, not to any tardy acquiescence of native authorities in its favour, did Wilfrid owe a departure from life with episcopal honours.⁶

§ 6. In subsequent periods the Anglo-Saxon church retained the same character of independence. Rome was viewed habitually with high veneration and respectful deference. The English primates generally travelled thither for the insidious compliment of a pall; certainly took care at least to send for one. The people were wild for pilgrimages to the ancient seat of empire, now hallowed, as it was thought, by the bones of apostles and martyrs. The more educated classes naturally looked up to a city which contained better scholars and abler canonists than any other city of the West besides. It is easy to see how these feelings, skilfully improved by Italian subtlety and superior information, might ripen into that recognition of papal authority which was eventually established. But it is observable, that Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical polity had no such ingredient. Rome was always respected, and her suggestions were often obeyed; of any right to press them, no suspicion seems ever to have been entertained. As might be expected in such a case, there was hardly ever any show of papal interference in English affairs. It was verging upon two hundred years after the death of Augustine, before any agent with a papal commission landed in England.⁷ Two legates then came from Rome; but evidently they came by invitation to answer the selfish ends of a native sovereign. Offa, king of the Mercians, then the most powerful of Anglo-Saxon princes, having a grudge against Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, and probably, being not uninfluenced by policy, was anxious to withdraw his prelacy from all dependence upon a metropolitan in another state, and to establish one at Lichfield, in his own dominions. As it is impossible to calculate exactly beforehand upon the degree of ac-

⁵ Eddius, 75.

⁶ Ibid. 86. Wilfrid died in 709.

⁷ Such is the declaration of the legates themselves, Gregory, bishop of

Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Teoli, to the council of Calcuth. Spelman, *Conc.* 293.

quiescence which such innovation may command, he was naturally willing to fortify his design by the pope's concurrence. Hence the unwonted appearance of papal legates in England. The object, however, having been answered by their visit, and Offa's antipathy to Canterbury not descending to his successors, the same authority that had concurred in making Lichfield a metropolitan see, was very reasonably sought again for restoring Canterbury to its ancient rights.⁸ Yet the very period which thus saw Rome interfering effectually, because by domestic procurement, with English affairs, saw her also signally baffled in a question really of much more importance. The Italian populace was besotted with a rage for image-worship, and the papal see had profited enormously by pandering to its taste. But when that seductive superstition was solemnly confirmed by synodical authority at Nice, western Europe was neither to be won over by the formal affirmation of a council, nor by papal interference in favour of its decrees. Italy and the East had seen paganism professed and defended by philosophers. The West knew it only as the grovelling delusion of barbarians, the inveterate prejudice of vulgar ignorance. Hence England, Gaul, and Germany, could hear of no specious apologies for the religious treatment of stocks and stones. When, accordingly, Charlemagne sent over into Britain the deuterio-Nicene decrees, her native divines followed his example in spurning the papal patronage of image-worship. They pronounced the synodical sanctions transmitted from Constantinople, disfigured by *many unfitting things, at variance with a right belief, especially by assertions of image-worship, which the church of God altogether execrates*.⁹ Yet these very assertions were sanctioned by the

⁸ *Epistola Kenulfi Regis Merciorum ad Leonem Papam III.* Ibid. 321. Lichfield had no more than one archbishop. It descended to the rank of an ordinary episcopal see about the year 800. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 430.

⁹ "Anno 792. Carolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu pro dolor!) multa inconvenientia, et veræ fidei contraria, reperiebantur: maxime, quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo amplius, episcoporum, unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit, imagines adorari debere:

quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur." Hoveden, *Rer. Angl. Scriptores post Bedam*. Francof. 1601, p. 405. "To this narrative Harpsfield gives the title of *Commentitia et insulsa fabula*, and thinks it not writ by Sim. Dunelmensis, or Mat. Westminster, (he might have added Hoveden, the MS. history of Rochester,) but that it was anciently inserted into them. For answer to which he would be desired to produce any one old copy without it, not mangled, so as it doth *prodere furtum* by wanting it. I have seen divers of Hoveden MSS., some of Mat. West., but never did one wherein it was not found, not in the margin, but in the text itself." Twisden,

Roman pontiff: a fact which evidently embarrassed their English opponents; who spoke of them, accordingly, as merely oriental. That the pope was really out of sight, is, however, impossible. His name might be suppressed from a spirit of respectful courtesy; his authority was, notwithstanding, set at nought, and it is difficult to understand how those who duly weigh such treatment of a solemn document approved at Rome, can consider the rejecting parties as owning obedience to the papal see.

§ 7. It is true, that England, like her continental neighbours, gradually, but rapidly, withdrew from the contest against image-worship. The steps of her downward course are hidden among the mists of remote antiquity. A decalogue, however, truncated of the second commandment, evidence of a guilty conscience that yields in pregnancy to none, proves that Anglo-Saxon execration of Pagan combinations with Christianity was easily undermined by constant communication with more subtle and polished Italy.¹ Still, there is neither evidence nor probability, that this discreditable defection from a purer creed flowed from any interference of the Romish court. The change left England, as to papal authority, exactly in her old position. It manifestly took its rise from nothing more than artful persuasion and seductive example acting upon the human mind; of which one great besetting weakness has been ever seen a childish fondness for gentile vanities.

§ 8. Perhaps few things happened, in the Anglo-Saxon period, more favourable to the eventual establishment of papal power over England, than the firm and extensive possession gained by Benedictine monachism. It is to the religious orders that Rome has been chiefly indebted for her authority in every quarter of the world. The earlier Anglo-Saxon monasteries had, however, but little of the monastic character. It is true, that Wilfrid boasted of having introduced the Benedictine system²; but it is also undeniable, that England knew very little of it until the days of Dunstan. It was reserved for that celebrated man, in conjunction with Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald,

Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism. Lond. 1675. p. 182.

¹ For examples of truncated Anglo-Saxon decalogues, see the Editor's *Bampton Lectures* for 1830, p. 242.

² "Ego canonicam in ecclesiis modu-

lationem institui, et monachorum vitam secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patris, quam nullus ante me in hanc Transhumbransium regionem invexerat." Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. ii. p. 6.

archbishop of York, to render monachism popular. Hence Dunstan was ever viewed as the real introducer of the Benedictine system into England. He is complimented by a contemporary author, as the first English abbot of that order.³ His exertions in its favour took something of a revolutionary cast. He could not be contented with stimulating Edgar, the royal puppet whom he moved upon the throne, to unsparing liberality in the foundation of monasteries. He and his two coadjutors were indefatigable in their endeavours to convert cathedral foundations into Benedictine abbeys. For this purpose, not only were the canons in possession assailed by importunity, and inveigled by the prevailing passion for monachism: their characters were also violently aspersed, and their ejection was thus advocated as a debt due to sound morality⁴; an injustice which, in the lapse of ages, recoiled upon the monastic orders, when the spoiler stood before their doors. By these various arts, England became thoroughly pervaded by monastic establishments and prejudices; the best preparative that Rome could wish for a realization of her ambitious hopes, when ripe for full development.

§ 9. But although Dunstan's monastic exertions were, undoubtedly, most favourable to the growth of papal influence; his own mind was, probably, quite unconscious of any such tendency in them, and altogether above any subserviency that might seem unpatriotic or injurious. He resisted, accordingly, an application from the pope to rescind a sentence earned by an incestuous marriage. The offender, though a successful suitor at Rome, found this no recommendation to his own archbishop. Dunstan spiritedly refused absolution, let application for it come whence it might, until the scandal was removed.⁵ The whole stream of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history is in unison with this display of independence. The papal see was highly venerated and respectfully heard, but deference for it was ever such as that of those who think themselves at perfect liberty to choose. Hence, when its authority was lent for distasteful purposes, England made no scruple to disregard it. Her ecclesias-

³ "Saluberrimam S. Benedicti sequens institutionem, primus abbas Angliæ nationis enituit." *Vita S. Dunst.* MS. Brit. Mus. Cleopatra 13, b. 72.

⁴ *Vita S. Ethelw. Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 614.

⁵ *Surius, de Probatis SS. Historiis*, tom. iii. p. 323.

tical polity evidently no more recognized an alien jurisdiction than her civil.

§ 10. In some other particulars, the Anglo-Saxon church made nearer approaches to the principles of modern Romanism. An excessive anxiety for saintly intercession produced prayers to God for this supposed benefit, and ultimately led to the invocation of angelic and departed spirits.⁶ It seems impossible to ascertain exactly how far this trust in uncommanded, if not forbidden mediation, had proceeded at the Norman conquest. But the principle had evidently taken root, and its eventual triumph was secured. It was the same with purgatory. That Platonic doctrine had constantly floated on the surface of Christian society, ever since philosophy and pagan tastes had been admitted to some sort of amicable fellowship with the gospel. Men were not prepared with any definite opinions upon such subjects, and were by no means persuaded of any solid foundation for them, in such texts of Scripture as later ages have cited in their support.⁷ Still there was a general expectation of some penal cleansing fire awaiting the disembodied soul. It might not, indeed, burn until immediately before the general judgment; but then it would intercept every child of Adam in his way to the heavenly tribunal, detaining and scorching him more or less, in proportion to his individual want of punishment and purgation. Of some such awful process, in store for all, few seemed to have entertained any doubt. This, however, is not identity with the purgatorial doctrines of modern Rome; only affinity with them, and preparation for them.

§ 11. The papal penitential doctrines are similarly circumstanced. Platonic speculations had made men reckon upon a strict correspondence between sin and punishment. Every offence must have its proportionate infliction, either in the body

⁶ The nature of Anglo-Saxon dependence upon saints may be seen from the following prayer, printed by Dr. George Hickes, as an appendix to the letters which passed between him and a Popish priest, Lond. 1705. "Sancta Dei genetrix, Virgo Maria, et omnes sancti Dei, intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus." This prayer occurs in the office for the canonical hours in Saxon and Latin. The same spirit appears in the mass of St. Balthildis, printed by

Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. i. p. 697. "Adjuvent nos, quæsumus, Domine, et hæc mysteria sancta quæ sumpsimus, et beatæ Balthildis intercessio veneranda." It may be said, that instances of the same kind, both in print and in MS., are almost innumerable.

⁷ Especially 1 Cor. iii. 13. Bede says upon this text, "Fateor me malle hinc audire intelligentiores et doctiores." *Opp.* tom. v. p. 286.

or out of it; and as the latter penalty might prove the more severe, serious minds were willing to bear their guilty earnings while life remained. They were, however, naturally averse from undergoing more than the exigency of their several cases needed: hence the apportionment of penance became a sort of science, and offences were confessed to a priest, not for sacramental absolution, as Romanists now talk, for that was unknown, but upon the same principle that a patient explains bodily ailments to a physician. The penitent exposed his delinquencies, in order that a physician of the soul might determine exactly what kind and measure of nauseous moral medicine was requisite for escape from a more intolerable course hereafter.⁸

§ 12. But although Anglo-Saxon theology thus made way for that of modern Rome in several particulars, in the most important it bore an opposite direction. Transubstantiation, or the tangible presence of the incarnate Deity in the eucharist, is really that pillar of the papal creed on which hangs all the rest. For decisive evidence upon this doctrine, the Anglo-Saxon period was fortunately prepared. Earlier eras often speak ambiguously; supplying language that some consider rhetoric, others fact. In the ninth century, Paschasius Radbert brought this matter to an issue. He took literally all that had hitherto been said, as many think, rhetorically, and moulded it into a startling system. This came immediately under the examination of such men as John Scot, Ratramn, and Rabun Maur, undoubtedly the first theologians of their age. All condemned it, and their judgment is re-echoed by the Anglo-Saxon church. The last of them, however, Raban, may be considered as the disciple of that church; his master being Alcuin. The fair inference, therefore, is, that Bede, the great repository of earlier English theology, must be taken as no authority for transubstantiation in passages that seem to favour it, such as bear against it embodying his real sentiments. In this view of the case, it will be seen, that the ancient church of England, whe-

⁸ An unpublished Saxon homily expressly likens sin to a leprosy, and the priest to a physician, who must know the particulars of the case in order to decide upon the mode of cure. (See the Editor's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 301.) The extract there from a MS. in the public library at Cambridge, proceeds upon the view that Tyndale, the martyred

translator of the New Testament, took of absolution at the Reformation; pronouncing the Christian priest's office analogous to that of an ancient Jewish priest, who neither made a leper clean nor unclean, but merely decided which was his case. But this view is adverse to the doctrine of sacramental absolution.

ther on her paternal soil, or transplanted to the continent, bears an uniform and irresistible testimony against the vital distinction of modern Rome. It has been doubted, with great reason, whether the reformed church of England gives a plainer contradiction to the main doctrine of her papal rival, than the venerable predecessor which taught the country before Norman William landed, with Lanfranc, Berenger's opponent, in his train.⁹

§ 13. It is of itself a strong presumption against that vital doctrine of the Roman church, that great uncertainty hangs over the Anglo-Saxon author, who most unequivocally opposed it. His name is known to have been Elfric, but his history cannot satisfactorily be ascertained. Yet his decisive testimonies against transubstantiation are given in a paschal homily, meant for serving as an ordinary Easter-Sunday sermon, and in two pieces; one addressed to bishop Wulfstane¹; the other, seemingly, to Wulfstan, archbishop of York. Both pieces have very much the character of modern episcopal charges,—a class of documents unlikely to be prepared by any divine without considerable professional reputation.² Nor, again, is Elfric's paschal homily the mere literary experiment of a private scholar. It is one in a series of forty homilies addressed to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, with a request for a strict scrutiny into the soundness of their doctrine.³ By that prelate they were highly commended, and formally approved, as adapted for the general instruction of the people.⁴ The writer of these pieces, therefore, bore an established character, to which the most competent authorities of his day willingly deferred. This is further shown by a second series equally extensive, but chiefly turning upon the lives of saints, which followed his first forty homilies.

⁹ "I am fully persuaded that the homilies of Elfric are more positive against the doctrine of transubstantiation than the homilies of the Church of England, compiled in the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth." General Preface to Johnson's *Collection of all the Eccl. Laws, &c. of the Church of England*, Lond. 1720, p. xx.

¹ Commonly, but erroneously, written without an *s*. He appears to have been bishop of Sherborne from 980 to 998.

² The paschal homily, together with extracts against transubstantiation from

the pieces addressed to Wulfstane and Wulfstan, were published by Alp. Parker about 1566. Again, in Foxe's *Martyrology*, ed. of 1610, p. 1041. Again, by L. Isle, in 1623, in *A Testimony of Antiquitie: shewing the Ancient Faith of the Church of England, touching the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, here publicly preached, and also received in the Saxons time, about 600 yeares agoe*.

³ Hickes, *Thesaurus Lingg. Septent.* tom. ii. p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 157.

These, too, appear to have had Sigeric's allowance; unquestionably they became the national stock of sermons for festivals.⁵ No mean author could be thus trusted as the religious instructor of his country. Nor were these important contributions to the literature of ancient England all that Elfric's industry supplied. Under his name came forth also a life of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, a glossary, a body of monastic discipline, and other pieces.⁶ It has been doubted, whether all these are works of a single author, or of two writers named alike. There is, however, very little reason to question the identity of authorship; hence Elfric, must have been one of the ablest, most eminent, and most industrious of contemporary scholars.

§ 14. Of such persons, it is rarely difficult to learn the leading particulars of their lives. Of Elfric, most remarkably, nothing is known, but that he was chiefly educated at Winchester, in the school of Ethelwold, was sent into Dorsetshire, as the regulator of Cerne abbey, and became, himself, in the course of years, a monk, priest, abbot, and bishop. Upon the abbey and see that owned obedience to him, there is ample room for controversy. It has been thought, however, that he was abbot of Peterborough, and eventually archbishop of York.⁷ Those who take this view of his case, believe that he also held, at one time, the see of Worcester.⁸ To York Minster was not attached a regular monastery, but a college of secular canons. Hence archbishops, who were Benedictine monks, had been allowed to hold Worcester *in commendam*, Oswald having organized a monastery of that order around the cathedral there. They could thus attend to their archiepiscopal duties, and yet preserve inviolate the character of Benedictine monks. But ano-

⁵ Like the former series, they challenge a rigid scrutiny into their orthodoxy.

⁶ Embarrassed by such literary eminence and industry in an author who convicts transubstantiation of novelty, and proves modern Romanism not to have been the faith of ancient England, Harduin, in his *Chronol. Vet. Test.*, pronounces the Anglo-Saxon remains mere German works of a remote age, printed in characters artfully made up for deception, and Elfric's name a figment, excogitated from the Hebrew. The indefatigable Mabillon has no industry for Elfric; he merely has not discovered whether certain little works, mentioned by Leland and Pits, are to be considered as Elfric, the grammarian's, or Elfric,

the archbishop of Canterbury's. (*Anall. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 191.) Dr. Lingard will not pretend to determine the effect of such language as Elfric's from a Protestant pulpit, but he is permitted to affirm (*quare* by the council of Trent?) that no Catholic theologian will declare it contrary to the Catholic doctrine. (*Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, note ^m.) This is true enough; but what must be said of a Roman-Catholic theologian?

⁷ See the Editor's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 213.

⁸ If he is to be identified in this way, he might seem to have holden the see of Worcester until the year 1034, and to have died in 1054.

ther hypothesis makes Elfric to have been successively abbot of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, bishop of Wilton, and archbishop of Canterbury.⁹ If this be his true history, he died in 1006.

§ 15. Now, although it is true that this age had not the numerous records of later periods, and that the Norman conquest reduced nearly the whole English population to a state of villenage, soon after Elfric's death, yet there is no reason certainly known why such obscurity should shroud the memory of a very prolific Anglo-Saxon writer. Soon after the time when this remarkable personage lived, as we learn from his own preface to his homilies, there arose, indeed, two authors, Osbern and William of Malmesbury, who sought employment and reputation in writing upon the ecclesiastical worthies of England. Neither of them, however, throws any light upon his history; Malmesbury rather the reverse. He might even seem to have intentionally involved his memory in confusion. For such omission and seeming management, it is, of course, impossible to assign an incontrovertible cause. But a plausible conjecture is obvious. Osbern's patron was Lanfranc, who rose to the summit of ecclesiastical distinction by polemics in favour of transubstantiation. Malmesbury had evidently taken those views of that doctrine which the Normans patronised, or he would not have attacked Raban Maur for supporting the opposite opinion. To such men, with their patrons and admirers, nothing could be more embarrassing than a writer, like Elfric, with a large body of homilies, regularly authorised for national use, within a few years before. There was no possibility that he should have delivered any other doctrine than that of the contemporary Church of England. He says, however, that eucharistic bread and wine are *not the same body that Christ suffered in, nor the same blood in bodily substance that he shed for us*.¹ It is true that he introduces legendary tales, meant for marking a broad line of distinction between the eucharist and ordinary food, hence capable, if taken unconnectedly, of serving the cause of transubstantiation.² His main stream of argument is, however, plainly an intentional contradiction of that doctrine. He has, in fact, worked up much that Ratramn wrote in reply to Paschasius Radbert.³ Hence it is clear, that he was well

⁹ Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Lond. 1842, p. 482.

¹ L'Isle's *Testimony of Antiquity*. Epistle to Wulfine.

² Ibid. Sermon on Easter-day, p. 7.

³ It shows how strongly the tide set in against opponents of transubstantiation, that although Ratramn was a

aware of a belief in transubstantiation, and that he purposely took an opposite view in a mass of doctrine, not only intended for popular instruction, but also approved and authorised by the archbishop of Canterbury.⁴ It is no wonder that such as looked up to a succeeding archbishop, who had risen as an advocate for transubstantiation, should seek to involve the name of Elfric in inextricable confusion. To discredit openly the national homilies was hopeless; but a studied silence might gradually wean his depressed countrymen from him, and in a few generations his very name and memory might become irretrievably obscured.

§ 16. Like other churches previous to the Reformation, that of the Anglo-Saxons was episcopally organized. A kingdom of the heptarchy was no sooner converted, than a bishop was appointed to direct its spiritual affairs. This arrangement applied as well to kingdoms Christianized by native missionaries, as to those won over to the Gospel by means of Rome. In Kent, indeed, although the smallest, perhaps, of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, two sees were founded very early, the second being at Rochester.⁵ But this, probably, arose from the metropolitical character bestowed upon Canterbury. Eventually, thirteen episcopal and two archiepiscopal sees were established in ante-Norman England.⁶ All the prelates, together with the abbots, were standing members of the *witenagemot*, or national legis-

very eminent writer in his day, there is little about him extant. Even the date of his death is uncertain. (Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 139.) There is, therefore, some degree of analogy between his case and Elfric's.

⁴ Sigeric, who has gained celebrity from his allowance of Elfric's homilies, filled the see of Canterbury from 989 to 994. Elfric's homilies, for two years, have been published and translated for the Elfric Society, by Benj. Thorpe, F.S.A. Lond. 1844, 1846. The editor admits that eminent person's abbacy of Eynsham, which seems, indeed, completely established by a citation produced by Mr. Wright from a C. C. C. M.S., but rejects the other portions of Mr. Wright's hypothetical history. He is led to this rejection by Elfric's words in the preface to his homilies, which speak of king Ethelred's days as past. Now they lasted ten years beyond the death of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Thorpe

prefers the hypothesis, which identifies the homilist with Elfric, archbishop of York; a supposition that seems liable to no chronological objections.

⁵ The see there was founded in 604, and so completely was it reckoned subordinate to Canterbury, that the archbishops are said to have nominated to it until after the conquest.

⁶ Under Henry I. two new sees were erected, *viz.* Ely, in 1108, and Carlisle in 1132. In addition to the fifteen episcopal sees thus existing, there were also, before the Reformation, the four Welsh sees. Out of the spoils of monasteries, Henry VIII. erected the sees of Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Westminster. Of these, the last had only a single prelate, Thomas Thirlby, consecrated in 1540, and translated to Norwich by Edward VI. in 1550. The see of Westminster was then dissolved, and its diocese re-united to London. The see of Bristol continued

lature. Thus the parliamentary privilege of a modern English bishop is no creature of that Norman innovation which converted episcopal endowments into baronies. William's object in this, was rather to impose additional burthens upon the prelacy, than to confer any new privilege upon it. His policy required him to place episcopal domains, like ordinary tenures, under a clear liability to supply contingents for military service. As for legislative functions, he left the prelates where he found them. The envious, narrow, illiberal spirit, let loose by the Reformation among certain classes of the laity, is prone to represent such forbearance as a proof of weakness in temporal rulers, and of artful ambition in ecclesiastics. It is, however, easy to show the wisdom, as well as the justice, of that ancient policy, which placed the church among liberal professions, and opened to its ministers those prospects of affluence, and attendant political privileges, which animate the hopes and requite the exertions of their fellow-countrymen.

until 1836, when it was united to that of Gloucester; Dorsetshire, before in its diocese, being restored to the see of Salisbury, under which it had been previously to the Reformation. Simultaneously with the union of Gloucester and Bristol, a new see was founded at Ripon, and another new see was founded at Manchester, in 1847. This was to have been done when a vacancy should allow the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph to be consolidated. Thus, although the populous districts of northern England were to gain two new bishops, the prelacy was to remain at its old number of twenty-six, including the two arch-

bishops, and excluding the bishop of Sodor and Man, who has never had any vote in the House of Lords. But a great opposition was made to the consolidation of the sees of Bangor and St. Asaph. That project was, in consequence, abandoned, and a twenty-seventh prelacy was created in England by the foundation of a new see at Manchester. It was, however, provided that no more than the old number of twenty-six prelates should sit in parliament. The individual last appointed has to wait for a seat until a vacancy is made by the death of some one who was on the bench before him.

CENTURY TWELFTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1, 2. Conversion of pagan nations.—§ 3. The Finns.—§ 4. The Livonians.—§ 5. The Slavonians.—§ 6. Estimate of these conversions.—§ 7. The Tartars and Presbyter John.—§ 8. Unfortunate issue of the expeditions to Palestine.—§ 9. Renewal of the crusades.—§ 10. Extinction of the kingdom of Jerusalem.—§ 11. The third crusade.—§ 12. Its result.—§ 13. Orders of knights militant. First the order of St. John.—§ 14. Second, that of Templars.—§ 15. Third, that of Teutonic knights.

§ 1. A CONSIDERABLE part of the people living in Europe, especially in its northern regions, were still ignorant of Christianity, and devoted to the foolish superstitions of their ancestors. In the conversion of these, therefore, the zealous in religion occupied themselves in this century; yet not all of them with equal success, or equal discretion. *Boleslaus*, duke of Poland, after vanquishing the Pomeranians, concluded a peace with them on the condition that they should allow the Christian religion to be freely preached and expounded to them. Accordingly, *Otto*, bishop of Bamberg, a man distinguished in this age for his zeal in propagating Christianity, was sent among them for this purpose, in the year 1124. He baptized a considerable number, but was utterly unable to overcome the obstinacy of many. On his return to Germany, a large part of those baptized by him, relapsed into idolatry. He therefore took

another journey into Pomerania, in the year, 1126 ; and amidst many difficulties succeeded in strengthening and extending the feeble church there.¹ From this time onward, Christianity became so established among the Pomeranians, that *Adalbert* could be ordained as their first bishop.

§ 2. *Waldemar I.*, king of Denmark, obtained very great fame by the many wars that he undertook against the pagan nations, the Slaves, the Wends, the Vandals, and others. He fought not only for the interests of his subjects, but likewise for the extension of Christianity ; and wherever he was successful, he demolished the temples and images of the gods, the altars and groves, and commanded Christian worship to be set up. In particular, he subdued, in the year 1168, the whole island of Rugen, which lies near to Pomerania ; and now he compelled its ferocious, savage, piratical inhabitants, who had been addicted to senseless superstitions, to hear Christian preachers, and to embrace the Christian worship. The king's designs were promoted and executed by *Absalom*, archbishop of Lund, a man

¹ See Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 34, where is a Life of Otto ; whom Clement III., in the year 1189, enrolled in the catalogue of saints. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349, &c. Dan. Cramer, *Chronicle of the Church of Pomerania*, book i. written in German : Christ. Schötgen's German tract, on the conversion of the Pomeranians by Otto : Stargard, 1724, 4to. Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323. [Likewise Jo. Bugenhagen's *Pomerania*, published by J. H. Balthasar, Greifswald, 1728, 4to, p. 38. 64. 78, &c. The precepts given by this apostle to his new converts, were designed chiefly to wean them from their superstitious practices. They did not go into the essentials of Christianity. They must observe Sundays and the feast-days ; they must fast ; must bring their children to be baptized, with certain formalities, at Whitsuntide ; must not murder their daughters, as formerly ; must refrain from polygamy ; must not marry their god-mothers ; and, in general, must refrain from marrying kindred within the sixth and seventh degrees ; they must not bury the bodies of Christians among those of pagans ; must build no idol-temples ; consult no soothsayer ; eat nothing that is unclean ; do penance

often, &c. See the *Chron. Ursperg. et Halberstadt.* ad ann. 1124. *Schl.*—From the account of one of Otto's great baptismal celebrations, extracted by Mabilon, we learn completely the contemporary mode of administering that sacrament. "Primus ejus apostolicus labor fuit apud Pirissam urbem, ubi septem circiter millia hominum ad baptismum adduxit, duobus illic exstructis baptisteriis, ut in uno mares, in altero feminas baptizaret. Ad utriusque ingressum cortinæ expansæ erant, sub quas singuli tantum baptizandi intrabant cum patrinis suis, qui baptizandi vestem ac cereum, illo in aquam descendente, accipiebant, et ob oculos suos tenentes expectabant, donec eam redderent de aqua exeunti. Sacerdos vero qui ad cupam, seu sacrum fontem, stabat, cum audisset potius, quam vidisset, baptizandum in aquam ingressum esse, velo paululum amoto, trina immersione capitis illius, mysterii sacramentum perficiebat, unctumque liquore chrismatis in vertice, et alba imposita, reductoque velo, de aqua baptizatum exire jubebat, patrinis veste, quam tenebant, illum co-operientibus atque deducantibus. Hic priscus erat ritus conferendi baptismatis, ab Ottone observatus, quem nusquam alibi tam accurate et distincte explicatum inveni." (*Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 124.) Otto died in 1139. *Ibid.* p. 323. *Ed.*]

of talents, whom the king employed as his chief counsellor on all subjects.²

§ 3. The Finns, who infested Sweden with frequent inroads, were attacked by *Eric IX.*, king of Sweden, called *St. Eric*, after his death; and by him subdued, after many bloody battles. As to the year when this took place, historians disagree.³ The vanquished nation was commanded to follow the religion of the conqueror, which most of them did, with reluctance and disgust.⁴ The shepherd and guardian assigned to this new church was *Henry*, archbishop of Upsal, who had accompanied the king. But as he treated these new Christians too rigorously, and attempted to punish severely a man of great influence who had committed murder, he was himself massacred; and the pontiff, *Hadrian IV.*, enrolled him among the saints.⁵

§ 4. Towards the close of the century, perhaps in the year 1186, some merchants of Bremen or of Lubec, trading to Livonia, took along with them *Mainhard*, a regular canon of St. Augustine in the monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, to bring that warlike and uncivilized nation to the Christian faith. But, as very few would listen to him, *Mainhard* consulted the Roman pontiff, who created him the first bishop of the Livonians, and decreed, that war should be waged against opponents.⁶ This war, which was first waged with the Esthonians, was extended further, and more vigorously prosecuted, by *Berthold*, the second bishop of the Livonians, after the death of *Mainhard*; for this *Berthold*, formerly abbot of Lucca, marched with a strong army from Saxony, and recommended Christianity, not by arguments,

² Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, lib. xiv. p. 239. Helmold, *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. ii. c. xii. p. 234, with the note there of Henry Bangert. Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccles. Danica*, tom. i. p. 404, &c. [Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 245, &c. *Tr.*]

³ Most of them, with Baronius, refer it to the year 1151. Vastovius places it in 1150, and Oernheimius, A. D. 1157.

⁴ Claud. Oernheimius, *Historia Eccles. Gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13. Jo. Locenius, *Historia Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76, ed. Francf. Isr. Erlandus, *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii. Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65, &c.

⁵ Jo. Vastovius, *Vitis Aquilonia*, seu

Vite Sanctor. Regni Suegothici, p. 62. Eric. Benzeli, *Monumenta Ecclesie Suegothica*, pt. i. p. 33, &c.

⁶ [The apostles of those times, according to the example of the successors of St. Peter in that age, made use of the double sword, first the spiritual, and, where this was ineffectual, the material sword. And this last, *Mainhard* knew well how to use. In the war against the Lettes or Lithuanians, he taught his Livonians the art of erecting fortified castles, and, in general, a better method of carrying on war. His lieutenant was Dietrich, a Cistercian monk, who was afterwards bishop of Esthonia. He also was *Mainhard*'s envoy to the pope, who

but by slaughter and battle.⁷ Following his example, the third bishop *Albert*, previously a canon of Bremen, entered Livonia in the year 1198, well supported by a fresh army raised in Saxony, and fixing his camp at Riga, he instituted, by authority of *Innocent III.*, the Roman pontiff, the military order of *knights sword-bearers*, who should compel the Livonians, by force of arms, to receive baptism.⁸ New forces were marched, from time to time, from Germany, by whose valour and that of the knights sword-bearers, the wretched people were subdued and exhausted, so that they at last substituted the images of Christ and the saints in the place of their gods. The bishops and knights partitioned out among themselves the lands most unjustly wrested from the ancient possessors.⁹

§ 5. The subjugation and conversion of the Slavonians, who inhabited the shores of the Baltic, and were most inveterate enemies of the Christians, gave employment to both civil and ecclesiastical rulers, during nearly the whole century. Among them, prince *Henry* the Lion was distinguished. Besides devising and effecting other measures very useful for improving the Slavonian character, he restored and liberally endowed three bishoprics in Slavonia beyond the Elbe; namely, Ratzeburg, Oldenburg, which was soon after transferred to Lubec, and Schwerin.¹ Among the religious teachers who assailed the

proffered indulgences to all that would assume the cross and march against the Livonians. *Schl.*]

⁷ [Berthold was a Cistercian, and was appointed successor to Mainhard, in the year 1196, by the archbishop of Bremen, who wished to enlarge his province by the addition of Livonia. His first expedition to Livonia was unsuccessful. The Livonians believed that he came among them only to enrich himself out of them; and he found it best to make his escape from them. When he returned with an armed force in 1198, the Livonians killed him. But the army of crusaders so terrified the inhabitants, that they admitted clergymen among them; though these they soon after chased out of the country. *Schl.*]

⁸ See Henry Leonh. Schurzfleisch, *Historia Ordinis Ensiferorum Equitum*, Witteb. 1701, 8vo.

⁹ See the *Origines Livoniæ, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published with copious notes, Franef. 1740, fol. by Jo. Dan. Gruber; who, in his notes, men-

tions and corrects all the other writers on the subject. [We have also three epistles of pope Innocent III. relating to the conversion of the Livonians. The first is addressed to all the Christians in Saxony and Westphalia; the second, to the Christians in the countries of the Slavonians; and the third, to the believers beyond the Elbe. In these the pope commands such as were under vows of pilgrimage to Rome, to substitute for them a crusade against the Livonians. Raynald, *Annales*, ad ann. 1199, No. 38, and *Cod. Diplom. Polon.* tom. v. p. 1. *Schl.*]

¹ See the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 41. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82, and the valuable Preface of Scheidius, § xiv. p. 41. Ludewig's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. p. 230, &c. Jo. Ern. de Westphalen's *Monumenta inedita Rerum Cambricar. et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1998, &c. [According to Helmold, in his *Chronicon Slavor.* lib. i. c. 69, it was Hartwich the archbishop of Hamburg who re-established these bishoprics. The

ignorance and stupidity of this barbarous nation, the most distinguished was *Vicelin* of Hameln, a man who had but few equals in that age, and who, from presiding over the regular canons of St. Augustine at Faldern, was at length made bishop of Oldenburg. For nearly thirty years, from A. D. 1124, to A. D. 1154, the time of his death, he laboured amidst innumerable difficulties, indefatigably, perseveringly, and successfully, in instructing the Slavonians, and alluring them to Christianity. He also performed many other praiseworthy deeds, which have rendered his name immortal.²

§ 6. It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, what has several times been remarked already, that barbarous nations brought into the pale of the Christian church in this manner, became

archduke Henry had previously made some campaigns into the territory of the Slavonians; but his object had not been to propagate Christianity. (Nulla de Christianitate, says Helmold, fuit mentio, sed tantum de pecunia.) Otto the Great had formerly established the bishopric of Aldenburg, which extended from that of Holstein as far as the Peene and the town of Demmin: and under Ezo, the tenth bishop, this bishopric was divided by Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg, into three bishoprics, those of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg being created within it. But these bishoprics, after the extinction of Christianity in the territories of the Slavonians, remained vacant eighty-four years, or till the times of Hartwich. This archbishop having in vain laboured to re-annex the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish bishoprics to his archiepiscopal province to which they had formerly belonged; that he might not be without suffragans, re-established the old Slavonian bishoprics; and made *Wicelin* bishop of Aldenburg, and *Emmahard* bishop of Mecklenburg, without the knowledge of the archduke and count, who seized upon all the first year's tithes in the bishopric of Aldenburg. Yet the archduke listened to the complaints of the bishop, and promised to support him, provided he would receive the investiture from his hands. This however the bishop refused, because it was an innovation upon a general custom, which was for bishops to receive investiture only from emperors and kings; and the clergy of Bremen

urged him to take this course. But a friend advised *Wicelin* to yield to the wishes of the archduke, for the sake of the good of the church, suggesting to him, that the protection of neither the archbishop nor the emperor would be of much service to him, unless he had the friendship of the archduke, the immediate lord of the country. He at length deemed it necessary to follow this advice, and received investiture by the staff from the archduke, who gave him the village of *Buzoe* (*Butzow*). From the same Helmold, from whom these statements are drawn, it appears, why the Slavonians so long opposed Christianity. They were drained by oppressive contributions, and were refused the privileges enjoyed by Saxons. *Pribeslav*, a Pomeranian chief, said to the bishop that would convert him: "*Dentur nobis jura Saxonum in prædiis et redditibus, et libenter erimus Christiani, ædificabimus ecclesias, dabimus decimas,*" &c. *Schl.*]

² A particular account of *Vicelin* is given by Jo. Möller, in his *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 910, &c. and by Peter Lambecius, in his *Res Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 12, and by others. But the illustrious Jo. Ern. De Westphalen has exceeded all others in diligence, in his *Origines Neomaster et Berdesholmens.* which are extant in the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, tom. ii. p. 2344, &c. The preface of this volume also deserves to be consulted, p. 33, &c. An engraved likeness of *Vicelin* is found in this volume.

disciples of Christ in *name* only, and not in reality. The religion taught them was not the pure and simple doctrine which Christ taught, but a method of appeasing God by ceremonies and external acts, which was in several respects very nearly allied to the religion that they were required to abandon. Take away the history and the name of Christ, the sign of the cross, some prayers, and a disagreement in rites, and it will not be difficult to reconcile both to each other, to a great extent. Besides, many practices were still tolerated among these nations, which were wholly inconsistent with the nature of Christianity, and which betrayed very great impiety: for the priests, with but few exceptions, did not labour to remove the spiritual maladies of their minds, and to unite their souls to God, but to advance their own interests and those of the Roman pontiff, by extending and establishing their dominion.

§ 7. In Asiatic Tartary, near to Cathay, a great revolution took place, near the beginning of this century, and it was one very favourable to the cause of Christianity. For on the death of *Coiremchan*, or, as others call him, *Kenchan*, a very powerful king of the eastern regions of Asia, at the close of the preceding century, a certain priest of the Nestorians inhabiting those countries, whose name was *John*, made so successful an attack upon the kingdom while destitute of a head, that he gained possession of it, and from a *presbyter* became the sovereign of a great empire. This was the famous *Prester John*, whose country was for a long time deemed by the Europeans the seat of all felicity and opulence. Because he had been a *presbyter* before he gained the kingdom, most persons continued to call him *Prester John* after he had acquired regal dignity.³ His name as king

³ The statements here made respecting the famous Prester John, whom our ancestors from the twelfth century onwards supposed to be the greatest and most prosperous of all kings, not only have the greatest appearance of probability among all the accounts that are given of him, but are also supported by the testimony of writers of candour, and the most worthy of credit: namely, William of Tripoli, (see Carolus Du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Life of St Lewis*, p. 89.) the bishop of Gabul, in Otto of Frisingen's *Chronicon*, lib. vii. c. 33. [This bishop had come to Rome to obtain the decision of an umpire of the controversies between the Armenian and

Greek churches. On this occasion he related, that a few years before, one John who lived in the extremities of the east, beyond Persia and Armenia, and was both a king and a priest, had, with his people, become a Nestorian Christian; that he had vanquished the Median and Persian kings, and attempted to march to the aid of the church at Jerusalem, but was obliged to desist from the enterprise, because he was unable to pass the Tigris. This king was descended from the Magians mentioned in the Gospel, and was so rich that he had a sceptre of emerald. *Schl.*] William Rubruquis, *Voyage*, c. xviii. p. 36, in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected

was *Ungchan*. The exalted opinion of the power and riches of this *Prester John*, entertained by the Greeks and Latins, arose from this, that being elated with his prosperity and the success of his wars with the neighbouring nations, he sent ambassadors and letters to the Roman emperor *Frederic I.*, to the Greek emperor *Manuel*, and to other sovereigns, in which he extravagantly proclaimed his own majesty and wealth and power, exalting himself above all the kings of the earth: and this

by P. Gerberon; and Alberic, *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1165 and 1170; in Leibnitz's *Accessiones Historicae*, tom. ii. p. 345 and 355, and others. It is strange that these testimonies should have been disregarded by learned men, and that so many opinions and disputes should have arisen respecting Prester John and the region in which he lived, and should have continued down even to our times. But such is the human character, that what has most simplicity and plainness is despised, and what is marvellous and obscure is preferred. Peter Covillanus, who was directed in the fifteenth century by John II., king of Portugal, to make inquiries respecting the kingdom of Prester John, when he arrived in Abyssinia with his companions, on discovering many things in the emperor of the Abyssinians or Ethiopians analogous to what was then currently reported in Europe respecting Prester John, supposed that he had discovered that John whom he was ordered to inquire after. And he easily persuaded the Europeans, then scarcely emerged from barbarism, to fall in with his opinions. See John Morin, *de Sacris Ecclesie Ordinationibus*, pt. ii. p. 367, &c. But in the seventeenth century, many writings having been brought to light which had been unknown, the learned in great numbers abandoned this Portuguese conjecture, and agreed that Prester John must have reigned in Asia; but they still disagreed as to the location of his kingdom and some other points. Yet there are some even in our times, and among the most learned men, who choose to give credit to the Portuguese, though supported by no proofs and authorities, that the Abyssinian emperor is that mighty Prester John, rather than follow the many contemporary and competent witnesses. See Euseb. Renaudot, *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 223. 337. Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Histoire des Découvertes des Por-*

tugais, tom. i. p. 58, and tom. iii. p. 57. *Henr. Le Grand, Diss. de Johanni Presbyt.* in Lobo's *Voyage d'Abyssinie*, tom. i. p. 295, &c. [See above, note¹, p. 242, and Mosheim's *Historia Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 16, &c. Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1177, § 55, gives us the title of an epistle written by pope Alexander III. to Prester John, which shows that he was an Indian prince and a priest: "Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem," *Tr.*—That the Dalai Lama was the Prester John, is denied by Paulsen, the real author of Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Ecclesiastica*. Yet more recently Joh. Eberh. Fischer, in his Introduction to the *History of Siberia*, p. 81, (in German,) has maintained this opinion; and endeavoured to show, that the Dalai Lonna (Lama) and Prester John are the same person; and that the latter name is a fictitious word, which the Europeans did not correctly understand. And whoever is sensible, how low a people may sink under the influence of superstition, will not deem the idolatry of the Thibetians full proof, that the Grand Lama and Prester John could not be the same person. At least, if reliance may be put upon the account of the Augustinian eremite George, (of which Gatterer's *Algem. Hist. Bibl.* contains an extract,) it was in the beginning of the twelfth century, that the regal power in Thibet was first joined with that of the Grand Lama; which is a new argument in favour of Fischer's opinion. See the *Hist. Bibl.* vol. viii. p. 191. *Schl.*—But this hypothesis of Fischer seems to be fully subverted by the arguments of Mosheim and Paulsen, *Hist. Tartaror. Eccles.* p. 137, &c. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 192. *Tr.*]

boasting of the vain-glorious man, the Nestorians laboured with all their power to confirm. He was succeeded by his son or brother, whose proper name was *David*, but was also generally called *Prester John*. This prince was vanquished and slain, near the close of the century, by that mighty Tartar emperor, *Genghiskan*.

§ 8. The new kingdom of Jerusalem in Syria, established in the preceding century by the French, seemed at the beginning of this century to flourish and to stand firm. But this prosperity was soon succeeded by adversity. For most of the crusaders, having returned home, and the Christian generals and princes that remained in Palestine being more attentive to their private advantages than to the public good, the Mahumedans recovered from their sudden terror and consternation, and collecting troops and resources on every side, attacked and harassed the Christians with perpetual wars. During many years they opposed the enemy with valour; but when *Atabec Zenghi*⁴, after a long siege, had taken the city of Edessa, and seemed disposed to attack Antioch, the courage of the Christians began to fail. They therefore implored the succour of the Christian kings of Europe, and with tears supplicated for new armies of crusaders. The Roman pontiffs favoured these petitions, and left no means untried to persuade the emperor and other sovereigns to undertake another expedition to Palestine.

§ 9. This new crusade was long a subject of debate in some of the popular assemblies, and in the councils. At length, under pope *Eugene III.*, the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux in France, *St. Bernard*, a man of immense influence, brought the question to an issue. For as he, in the year 1146, *preached the cross* (as the phrase then was) in both France and Germany, but especially in a public assembly of the French at Vezelay, and promised, in the name of God, great victories, and a most prosperous issue of the enterprise, *Lewis VII.*, king of the French, his queen, and a vast number of nobles who were present, devoted themselves to the sacred war. *Conrad III.*, emperor of the Germans, at first resisted the admonitions of *St. Bernard*: but after some delay he followed the example of the

⁴ Atabec was an official title given by the Seljukian emperors or Sultans to the lieutenants or viceroys whom they placed over certain provinces. The Latin historians of the crusades, of whom

a catalogue is collected by Jac. Bongarsius, call this Atabec Zenghi, *Sanguinus*. See Barth. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, article *Atabek*, p. 142.

French king. Both, therefore, proceeded towards Palestine, with very numerous armies, by different routes. But the greater part of both armies perished miserably on the road, either by famine or by shipwreck, or by the sword of the Mahumedans; to whom they were betrayed by the perfidious Greeks, who feared the Latins more than they did the Mahumedans. *Lewis VII.* left his country in the year 1147, and arrived at Antioch in the month of March in the following year, with a small army, and that exhausted by its sufferings. *Conrad* commenced his march in the month of May, 1147, and in November of the same year joined *Lewis* at Nice, having lost the greater part of his troops by the way. Both proceeded to Jerusalem in the year 1148; and they led back to Europe the few soldiers that survived, in the year 1149. For these princes were unable to effect any thing, among other causes, on account of the disagreement between them. The only effect of this second crusade was, to drain Europe, in a most unhappy manner, of a great portion of its wealth, and of a vast number of its inhabitants.⁵

⁵ Besides the historians of the crusades mentioned by Bongarsius, see Jo. Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451, &c. Jac. Gervais, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239, &c. This Suger, a famous abbot of St. Denys, was left by Lewis VII. to govern his kingdom during his absence. Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86, &c. Jo. Jac. Mascov, *de Rebus Imperii sub Conrado III.* [The French army of crusaders consisted of nearly 100,000 armed men, of whom 70,000 were mounted cuirassiers, and the rest infantry. The German army was of about the same number. The emperor moved first, pursuing a direct course through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, to Constantinople, where he was to wait for the arrival of the king. But the Greek emperor received him coldly; and by artifices induced him to cross the Dardanelles, and proceed towards Palestine. The Grecian guides assigned him, led him into defiles and dangerous positions in Lycaonia, where the Mahumedans attacked and nearly destroyed his army. After the loss of all his baggage, he was obliged to turn back with but a handful of men. The French army proceeded from Metz, crossed the Rhine at Worms, and the Danube at Ratisbon,

passed through Hungary, and arrived safely at Constantinople. There they were told the German army had proceeded on, and were very successful against the infidels. Lewis now passed the straits, and was at Nice when Conrad returned with the remnant of his ruined army. The sovereigns continued together for a few days, and commenced their march southerly along the coast. But the emperor thinking it not honourable for him to attend a camp in which he had no command, returned to Constantinople, and afterwards embarked for the Holy Land. Lewis led his army through Asia Minor, bending his course into the interior, to avoid passing the large rivers near their mouths. The Mahumedans hovered around him, cut off his supplies, and at length attacked him in the mountains of Laodicea to great advantage, destroyed a large part of his army, and came near to capturing the king himself. At length he arrived with the wreck of his army at Attalia, the capital of Pamphylia, where the Greeks drained them of their resources, and so embarrassed their proceeding by land, that the king, with part of his troops, was obliged to embark on board the few vessels he could obtain, leaving the remainder of his army to fight their way by land, if they could. Those he

§ 10. The unfortunate issue of the second crusade did not, however, make the Christian cause in the East absolutely desperate. If the Christian princes had attacked the enemy with their combined strength, and acted in harmony, they would have had little to fear. But all the Latins, and especially their chiefs, abandoning themselves without restraint to ambition, avarice, injustice, and other vices, weakened each other by their mutual contentions, jealousies, and broils. Hence a valiant general of the Mahumedans, *Salaheddin*, whom the Latins call *Saladin*, viceroy, or rather king, of Egypt and Syria, assailed the Christians in the most successful manner, captured *Guy* of Lusignan, the king of Jerusalem, in the fatal battle of Tiberias, A. D. 1187; and in the same year reduced Jerusalem under his power.⁶ After this ruinous campaign, the hopes of the Christians in the East rested wholly on the aid to be derived from the kings of Europe. This aid the Roman pontiff obtained after many and varied solicitations; but the event was not answerable to his counsels, wishes, and efforts.

§ 11. The third crusade was commenced by the emperor *Frederic I.*, surnamed *Barbarossa*; who traversed the provinces of Greece with a large army of Germans, in the year 1189, and after surmounting numerous difficulties in Asia Minor, and vanquishing the forces of a Mahumedan king resident at Iconium, penetrated into Syria. But the next year, he perished unhappily in the river Saleph, which passes by Seleucia, it is uncertain how; and a great part of his soldiers returned to Europe. The others continued the war, under *Frederic*, son of the deceased emperor: but the plague swept off very many of them, and, at length, their general, the emperor's son, in the year 1191; when the rest dispersed, and very few of them returned to their own country.⁷

thus left, all perished. He and those with him arrived safe at Palestine. The emperor also rejoined him with a few troops. Their united forces formed but a small army; yet they would have been able to reduce Damascus if the Christian princes of the East had not disagreed, and thus embarrassed their operations. The siege was abandoned; the sovereigns visited Jerusalem as pilgrims, and at length returned to Europe, with less than a tenth part of the men that had enlisted in the crusade. *Tr.*]

⁶ See the Arab Bohadin's *Life of Saladin*; which Alb. Schultens published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, Lugd. Bat. 1732, fol. c. xxxiv. &c. p. 60, &c. Add Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, artic. *Salaheddin*, p. 742, &c. and Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289, &c.

⁷ These events are best illustrated by the celebrated count Henry de Bünaui, in his life of *Frederic I.* written in German, p. 278. 293. 309. 333, &c.

§ 12. The emperor *Frederic* was followed, in the year 1190, by *Philip Augustus*, king of France and *Richard*, surnamed the *Lion-hearted*, king of England. Both these went by sea, and reached Palestine, with a chosen army, in the year 1191. Their first battle with the enemy was not unsuccessful: but in July of that year, after the reduction of the city of Acre, the king of France returned to Europe; leaving, however, a part of his troops in Palestine. After his departure, the king of England prosecuted the war with vigour, and not only vanquished *Saladin* in several battles, but also took Jaffa and Cæsarea, cities of Palestine. But being deserted by the French and Italians, and moved also by other reasons of great weight, he concluded a truce with *Saladin*, in the year 1192, for three years, three months, and three days; and soon after left Palestine with his troops.⁸ Such was the issue of the third crusade; which drained Germany, England, and France, both of men and money, but afforded very little advantage to the Christian cause in Asia.

§ 13. During these wars of the Christians with the Mahumedans for the possession of the holy land, arose the three celebrated equestrian or military orders; whose business it was to clear the roads of robbers, to harass the Mahumedans with perpetual skirmishes, to afford assistance to the poor and the sick among pilgrims to the holy places, and to perform any other services which the public exigencies seemed to require.⁹ The first of these orders, the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, derived their name from an hospital in the city of Jerusalem consecrated to *St. John the Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were accustomed to receive and afford relief to the needy and the sick visitants of Jerusalem. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, this hospital gradually acquired, from the liberality of pious persons, larger revenues than were requisite for the object of relieving the poor and the sick; and its president or *master*, *Raymund du Puy*, about the year 1120, with his brethren, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Mahumedans, at his own expense. The king approved the plan: and the Roman pontiff's

⁸ Gabr. Daniel, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426, &c. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 251, &c. [Hume's *Hist. of England*, ch. x. vol. i.

p. 403, &c.] Marigny, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285, &c.

⁹ The writers who treat of these three orders, though not all, are enumerated

confirmed it by their authority. Thus at once, and to the surprise of all, from being administerers to the poor and the sick, who were removed from all bustle and noise, they became military characters; and the whole order was divided into three classes, *knights*, or soldiers who were of noble birth, and whose business it was to fight for religion; *priests*, who conducted the religious exercises of the order; and *serving brethren*, that is, soldiers of ignoble birth. This order exhibited the greatest feats of valour; and thus procured immense wealth. After the loss of Palestine, the knights passed into the island of Cyprus: subsequently they occupied the island of Rhodes, and held it a long time: when expelled from Rhodes by the Turks, they obtained from *Charles V.* the possession of the island of Malta, where their grand master still resides.¹

§ 14. The second order was wholly military; that is, it did not embrace both soldiers and priests. It was called the order of *Templars*, from a house situated near the *temple* of Solomon in Jerusalem, which *Baldwin II.*, king of Jerusalem, gave to the knights, temporarily, for their first residence. The order commenced A. D. 1118, at Jerusalem; and had for its founders *Hugo de Paganis*², *Godfrey de S. Amore*³, and seven others, whose names are not known. Its full establishment and its rule it obtained A. D. 1128, from the council of Troyes in France.⁴

by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465, &c.

¹ The most recent and best history of this order, is that composed by Renat. Aubert de Vertot, by order of the knights, and published first at Paris, and afterwards at Amsterdam, 1732, 5 vols. 8vo. Add Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72, &c. [In the year 1798, the knights of Malta betrayed the island to the French fleet, then carrying Buonaparte to Egypt. The English immediately after commenced a blockade of the island, which lasted two years; when the island fell into the hands of the English, who have held it ever since. The order lost the greater part of its revenues during the French revolution; and from the time Malta was surrendered to the French, has been sinking into insignificance; and is now, A. D. 1830, nearly, if not altogether extinct. *Tr.*]

² [Hugues des Payens. *Tr.*]

³ [Or St. Omer. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159, &c. [Mabillon there

says, "Their *rule* was taken almost verbatim from that of St. Benedict, and consisted of the same number of chapters, viz. 72. Many persons suppose that it was drawn up by St. Bernard." Their rule received modifications from time to time: but their earliest regulations were the following.—The knights shall attend the entire religious services, by day and by night: and if any one is prevented from attending, by his military duties, he shall repeat thirteen Pater nosters, in place of matins, nine in place of vespers, and seven in place of each of the minor canonical hours. For each deceased brother, 100 Pater nosters shall be said daily for seven days; and his allotment of food and drink (his rations) during forty days shall be given to some poor person. The knights may eat flesh thrice a week, on the Lord's day, Tuesdays, and Thursdays; the other four days they must abstain from flesh; and on Fridays must be content with quadragesimal fare. Each knight may have three horses, and one squire. No one

These knights were required to defend the Christian religion by force of arms, to guard the highways, and to protect the pilgrims to Palestine from the cruelties and robberies of the Mahomedans. By its valour this order likewise acquired great fame and vast wealth; but at the same time, by its pride, luxury, cruelty, and other vices, incurred peculiar odium; which rose so high at last, that the order was wholly suppressed by a decree of the pontiff and of the council of Vienne.⁵

§ 15. The third order, that of the *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*, was similar to the first, by requiring care of the poor and the sick, as well as warfare. It originated A. D. 1190, at the siege of Acre or Ptolemais: yet some place its obscure beginnings a little earlier, and at Jerusalem. During this siege some pious and benevolent Germans undertook to provide accommodations for sick and wounded soldiers; and the undertaking so pleased the German princes who were present, that they concluded to establish an association for that object, to be composed of German knights. The Roman pontiff, *Celestine III.*, afterwards approved of the society, and confirmed it by formal enactments. None were to be admitted into this order except Germans of noble birth; and those admitted were to devote themselves to the defence of the Christian religion and the holy land, and to the care of the poor and the sick. At first, the austerity of the order was very great, clothing and bread and water being the only recompense of the knights for the labours which they endured. But this rigour soon ceased, as the wealth of the society increased. When the order retired from Palestine, it occupied Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallia; and though it lost those provinces at the Reformation, yet it retained a part of its estates in Germany.⁶

may either hawk or hunt. See Fleury's *Histoire de l'Eglise*, liv. lxxvii. cap. 55. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 56, &c. for an account of the origin of the order. Peter du Puy, *Histoire de l'Ordre militaire des Templiers*, which was republished with many additional documents, Brussels, 1751, 4to. Nic. Gürtler, *Historia Templariorum Militum*, Amstel. 1691, 8vo. [For a list of more recent writers, see Winer's *Landb. d. Theologischen. Literatur*, Leips. 1826, p. 184. *Tr.*]

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⁶ In addition to Raymond Ducll's *Historia Ordinis Teutonici*, Vindob. 1727, fol. see Peter von Dusberg's *Chronicon Prussiae*, edited with the notes of Christopher Hartknoch, Jenæ, 1679, 4to. Hipp. Helyut, *Historia des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 149, &c. The *Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici*, in Ant. Matthæi *Anabeta Veteris Ævi*, tom. v. p. 621, 628, ed. nova. The *Prælegata Ordinis Teutonici*, in Jo. Peter Von Lützow's *Königliche Manuscript*, tom. vii. p. 43.

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Adverse events in the West.—§ 2. In the East.—§ 3. Prester John slain.

§ 1. NEITHER the Jews, nor the polytheists, could give the Christians of the West so much trouble as formerly. The former were accused by the Christians of various crimes, pretended or real; so that their efforts were directed, not so much to make opposition to the Christians, as to defend themselves, in the best manner they could, against their attacks. Such of the polytheists as remained in the North of Europe,—and they were considerably numerous in several places,—frequently made great slaughter among the Christians.¹ But the Christian kings and princes, who were in their vicinity, gradually brought their rage under restraints; and did not cease from waging war upon them till they had deprived them both of their independence, and of their religious freedom.

§ 2. The writers of that age are filled with complaints of the cruelty and rage of the Saracens against the Christians in the East. Nor is there any reason to question their veracity. But most of them have omitted to state the great causes of this cruelty, which were, for the most part, on the side of the Christians. In the first place, the Saracens had a right, according to the laws of war, to repel violence by violence: nor is it easy to see with what face the Christians could require of this nation, which they attacked with large armies and slaughtered, that it should patiently receive blows and not return them. Besides, the Christians in the East committed abominable crimes, and did not hesitate to inflict the most exquisite sufferings and distress upon the Saracens. And can any think it

¹ Helmold, *Chronicon Slavor.* lib. i. c. 196. 201. Peter Lambecius, *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.
Lindenbrog, *Scriptor. Septentrion.* p. 195,

strange that they should deem it right to retaliate? Lastly, is it a new and surprising thing that a people, not remarkable for mildness and gentleness of temper, when provoked by the calamities of wars, denominated holy, should be severe upon their subjects, who were united in religion with their enemies?

§ 3. A vast change in the state of the Christians, in northern Asia, took place near the close of this century, in consequence of the victories of the great *Genghiskan*, commander of the Tartars. For this descendant of the Mongals, or Moguls, a hero who has had few equals in any age, attacked *David*, or *Ungchan*, the brother, or son, or at least the successor of the celebrated *Prester John*, and himself called by that name, and having conquered him in battle slew him²: then assailing the other princes, who ruled over the Turks, the Indians, and the inhabitants of Cathay, he either slew them, or made them tributary; and after this, invading Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracenic empire, and established that of the Tartars in those countries.³ From this time the reputation of the Christian religion was greatly diminished in the countries which had been subject to *Prester John*, and his successor *David*; nor did it cease to sink, and to decline gradually, till it was wholly overwhelmed by either Mahumedan errors or the fables of paganism. Yet the posterity of *John*, for a long time after this, held, in the kingdom of Tangut, in which his original sect was, some degree of power, though much restricted, and not independent; and these continued to adhere to the Christian religion.⁴

² Respecting the year in which Genghiskan invaded and conquered Prester John, the Greek, Latin, and oriental writers disagree very much. Most of the Latin writers fix on the year 1202; and thus refer the event to the thirteenth century. But Marco Paulo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. 51, 52, 53, and others, state that it took place in the year 1187, and their authority I choose to follow. Demetrius Cantimir, prince of Moldavia, deviates from both; and in his preface to the *History of the Ottoman empire*, p. xlv. tom. i. French ed., states, on the authority of the Arabians, that Genghiskan

did not invade the territories of his neighbours till the year 1214.

³ Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghiz Can*, Paris, 1711, 12mo, p. 120, 121. Barthol. Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, artie. *Genghizkhan*, p. 378. Jos. Sam. Asseman, *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 101 and 295, &c. Jean du Plan Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*, cap. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

⁴ Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 500, &c. [Mosheim, *Historia Tartaror. Eccles.* cap. ii. p. 29, &c. *Tr.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1, 2. State of learning and science among the Greeks.—§ 3, 4. Among the Latins.—§ 5. Study of the civil law.—§ 6. Canon law.—§ 7. Philosophy among the Latins.—§ 8. Disagreements among the Philosophers. § 9. Contests of the dialecticians. The realists and nominalists.

§ 1. AMONG the Greeks, though the times were calamitous, and revolutions and intestine wars were very frequent, the study of literature and the liberal arts was highly honoured. This was attributable to the patronage and the literary zeal of the emperors, especially the *Comneni*; and likewise to the vigilance of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, who feared, lest the Greek church should want defenders against the Latins, if her priests were given up to ignorance. The learned and luminous commentaries of *Eustathius*, bishop of Thessalonica, upon *Homer* and *Dionysius*¹, show that men of the best talents applied themselves diligently to the study of classic literature and antiquities.² And the many respectable historians of the events of their own times, *John Cinnamus*³, *Michael Glycas*⁴, *John Zona-*

¹ [*Periegetes. Tr.*]

² [Eustathius was archbishop of Thessalonica in the year 1185, when his eloquence saved that city from demolition by its Sicilian conquerors. He was alive in 1194. His excellent commentary on *Homer* was published, Rome, 1550, 4 vols. fol. and Basil, 1560, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote a good commentary

on the geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes, Gr. Paris, 1577, fol. He wrote nothing on theology, so far as is known. *Tr.*]

³ [John Cinnamus was secretary to Manuel Comnenus, a grammarian and a soldier, who flourished A.D. 1160, and was alive A.D. 1183. He wrote the history of the two Comneni, John and

*ras*⁵, *Nicephorus Bryennius*⁶, and others⁷, are proof that neither the disposition to benefit succeeding ages, nor the ability to write with skill, was wanting to many among the Greeks.⁸

Manuel, comprising events from A.D. 1118 to A.D. 1176. The first part is very concise; the latter a full history; and both are written with fidelity, and in a good style. The best edition is that of Car. du Fresne, in six books, Paris, 1670, fol. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Michael Glycas was a native of Sicily, and flourished A.D. 1120. His *Annales Quadripartiti* is a work not only historical, but also philosophical, and theological. Part I. describes the creation of the world in six days; Part II. extends from the creation to the birth of Christ; Part III. to Constantine the Great; and Part IV. to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. It was published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Labbe, Paris, 1660, fol. Glycas also wrote *Disputatiuncule II.*; and likewise many epistles, of which fragments are preserved. *Tr.*]

⁵ [John Zonaras, who flourished about A.D. 1118, was a native of Constantinople, and for many years in public civil life; but being bereft of his wife and children, he retired to a monastery, and solaced himself by writing for posterity. His *Annals* or *Compendious History*, is in three parts: the first treats of the Jews, from the creation to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; the second gives the Roman history from the founding of Rome to Constantine the Great, abridged chiefly from Dion Cassius; the third part brings the history of the Greek empire down to the death of Alexius Comnenus, A.D. 1118. The best edition is that of Car. du Fresne, Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1686, 2 vols. fol. Zonaras also wrote commentaries on the apostolic canons, on some canonical epistles of the Greek fathers, and on the canons of the councils; all of which were published Gr. and Lat. Paris, 1618, and with Beveridge's notes, in his *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, fol. Some tracts and epistles of Zonaras have likewise been published. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Nicephorus Bryennius was the husband of the celebrated female historian, Anna Comnena, and of course son-in-law to the emperor Alexius Comnenus, who raised him to the rank of Cæsar. He was much concerned in the public transactions from A.D. 1096 till

A.D. 1137, the probable year of his death. He wrote the Byzantine history, in four books, from A.D. 1057 to A.D. 1081, published Gr. and Lat. with notes by Peter Poussin, Paris, 1661, fol. and by Car. du Fresne, subjoined to the history of John Cinnamus, Paris, 1670, fol. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, a woman of superior talents and learning, was born, A.D. 1083, lost her mother in 1118, and her husband in 1137. After this, she commenced writing her history of her father's reign, from A.D. 1069 to 1118, which is properly a continuation of her husband's history. She completed it A.D. 1148, and called it *Alexias*, or *de Robus ab Alexio patre gestis*, libri xv. It is a well-written history; and important, as giving a minute account of the first crusaders, of whom she had personal knowledge. The best edition is that of Poussin, Gr. and Lat. with a Glossary, Paris, 1651, fol. or rather its reprint by Du Fresne, subjoined to Cinnamus, Paris, 1670, fol.

Constantinus Manasses, about A.D. 1150, wrote a compendious history, or Chronicon, in verse, from the creation to A.D. 1081, which he addressed to Irene, the sister of the emperor Manuel Comnenus: published Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1616, 4to, and Paris, 1655, fol.

Neophytus, a Greek presbyter and monk, who flourished A.D. 1190, composed a narrative of the calamities of Cyprus, when taken by the English crusaders, A.D. 1191; published Gr. and Lat. by Cotelier, *Memoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Grace*, tom. ii. p. 457.

The preceding list contains the most noted Greek historians of this century. *Tr.*]

⁸ [If the term be taken in its greatest latitude, including not merely the historians of the Greek empire, and in the Greek language, but also historians of the Greek church; then it must include the monk Nestor, the father of Russian history; who flourished at Kiow, in the latter part of the eleventh century, and first part of the twelfth, and whose annals have procured reputation to professor Schlozer. See his *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen and Götting, 1768, 8vo. *Schloz.*]

§ 2. No one took more pains to excite and cherish the love of philosophy than *Michael Anchialus*, patriarch of Constantinople.⁹ The philosophy to which he was attached appears to have been that of *Aristotle*: for the cultivators of philosophy among the Greeks were chiefly employed in expounding and improving this; as appears, among other specimens, from *Eustratius*' exposition of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Analytics*.¹ Yet the Platonic philosophy was not wholly neglected. On the contrary, it appears that many, and especially those who embraced the principles of the mystics, much preferred this philosophy to the peripatetic; and they considered *Plato* as suited to men of piety and candour, *Aristotle* to wranglers and the vain-glorious. And their disagreement soon after gave rise to the noted controversy among the Greeks, respecting the comparative merits of the Platonic and the Aristotelian philosophies.

§ 3. In a great part of the western world extraordinary zeal was awakened in this age for the prosecution of literature, and the cultivation of every branch of learning: to which some of the pontiffs, and kings and princes, who could see the utility of learning in improving and establishing society, contributed by their authority and their munificence. Hence associations of learned men were formed, in many places, for teaching the various branches of human knowledge; and as the youth resorted to them in great numbers, eager for instruction, by degrees those higher schools were organised, which the next age called *Universities*. Paris exceeded all the other cities of Europe in the number of its learned men, and of its schools of various kinds, as well as in the concourse of its students. Hence, in this city, about the middle of the century, sprang up the pattern of our

⁹ Theodorus Balsamon, *Præfat. ad Photii Nomocanonem*; in Henry Justell's *Bibliotheca Juris Canon. veteris*, tom. ii. p. 814.—[Michael Anchialus was patriarch of Constantinople from A. D. 1167 to A. D. 1185. According to Balsamon, he was a consummate philosopher: and it is certain that he was a fierce antagonist of the Latins. He has left us five synodal decrees; published Gr. and Lat. in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii. p. 227. He also composed a Dialogue, which he had with the emperor Manuel Comnenus, upon occasion of the arrival at Constantinople of legates from the Ro-

man pontiff; some extracts from which are published by Leo Allatius, *de Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 3, § 2, c. 5, § 2, and c. 9, § 3. *Tr.*]

¹ [Eustratius was metropolitan of Nice, about A. D. 1110; and was reputed a learned man, as well as a distinguished theologian. His comments on Aristotle's *Ethics*, and on the latter part of his *Analytics*, have been published. His tract against Chrysolanus, *de Processione Sp. Sancti*, still exists in MS. besides (as is said) some other tracts on the same subject. *Tr.*]

own literary institutions, though as yet rude and imperfect; but which time gradually moulded into form and made complete.² Nearly contemporaneous was the foundation of a distinguished school at Angers, for various branches of learning, by the care and efforts of *Ulger*, the bishop; though here jurisprudence appears to have held the first rank.³ There was already at Montpellier a very celebrated school for the civil law, and for medical science.⁴ In Italy the school of Bologna, which seems to have had its commencement anterior to this century, was now gaining high renown. It was chiefly resorted to by the students of the Roman law, both civil and ecclesiastical; and especially after the emperor, *Lotharius II.*, re-instated it, and conferred on it new privileges.⁵ In the same country the medical school of Salerno, which had before been very celebrated, now allured an immense number of students. While so many schools were rising up in Europe, the sovereign pontiff, *Alexander III.*, enacted a special law in the council of Rome, A. D. 1179, requiring schools to be every where set up, or to be re-instated, if they had before existed, in the monasteries, and in the cathedral churches: for such of them as had formerly flourished, were either wholly gone, or much decayed, through the negligence of the monks and bishops.⁶ But the daily increasing fame and glory of the higher schools, or universities, rendered this law of little effect: for the majority flocking to those new seats of learning, the monastic and cathedral schools gradually came to nothing.

§ 4. Among the benefits derived from these many literary

² Cas. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 463, &c. Steph. Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. c. xxix. Peter Lambecius, *Historia Biblioth. Vindob.* lib. ii. c. v. p. 260. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 60—88.

³ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 215. Pocquet De la Livonière *Diss. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21, &c. Angers, 1736, 4to.

⁴ *Histoire Générale de Languedoc, par les Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 517, &c.

⁵ The inhabitants of Bologna tell us, their university was founded as early as the fifth century, by Theodosius II., and they show the diploma of that emperor, by which he enriched their city with such an ornament. But most writers

contend that this diploma is a fabrication; and they adduce strong proofs, that the school of Bologna was not more ancient than the eleventh century, and that its principal enlargement was in the twelfth century, particularly in the time of Lothaire II. See Car. Sigonius, *Historia Bononiensis*; as published with notes among his works: Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23. 884. 898, and especially the very learned God. Ge. Keutiel's elegant *History of the University of Bologna*, written in German, Helust. 1750, 8vo. Compare Just. Henr. Böhmér's *Prof. ad Corpus Juris Canonici*, p. 9, &c.

⁶ See Böhmér's *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. iv. p. 705. *Tr.*]

associations, at their very commencement, was this, that not only were the boundaries of human knowledge extended, but likewise a new division of the branches of it took place. Hitherto all learning had been confined to what were called the *seven liberal arts*; three of which, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, comprised what was called the *Trivium*; and the other four, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, were called the *Quadrivium*. Most persons were contented with the *Trivium*; but those who wished to be thought learned men of the first rank, ascended to the *Quadrivium*. To these⁷ arts were now added, besides the study of languages, (for which few had much taste,) *theology*, — not, however, the old and simple theology, which was destitute of system and connexion, and rested solely on texts of Scripture, and sentences from the ancient fathers, but *philosophical*, or *scholastic* theology; also, *jurisprudence*, or civil and canon law; and lastly, *medicine*, or *physic*, as it was then called.⁸ For, as peculiar schools were now devoted to these sciences, they were of course placed in the list of studies which merited the attention of men of erudition. And when this was done, the common distribution of the sciences was to be changed. Hence the seven liberal arts were gradually included under the term *philosophy*; to which were added, *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *medicine*. And thus these four *Faculties*, as they are called, were, in the next century, formed in the *universities*.

§ 5. In Italy the reputation and authority of the old Roman jurisprudence revived, and caused all other systems of law then in use to go into desuetude, after the capture of Amalphi, A. D. 1137, by the emperor, *Lothaire II.*, when the celebrated copy of the *Pandects*, or *Digest*, of which there had been very little knowledge for many centuries, was discovered and came into the hands of the Pisans.⁹ From this time the learned began to study Roman jurisprudence with more eagerness; schools were soon opened for learning it in the university of Bologna; an example which was followed by degrees in other cities both

⁷ [Seven liberal. *Tr.*]

⁸ ["The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was in the twelfth century applied particularly to medicinal studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language." *Macl.*]

⁹ [The original manuscripts of the famous *Pandect* of Justinian was found in the ruins of Amalphi or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in the year 1137, and presented to the inhabitants of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. *Macl.*]

within Italy, and without. The consequence was, that whereas men had previously lived under various laws, and every gentleman had been at liberty to choose which he would obey, whether the Salic laws, the Lombardic, the Burgundian, or some other, the Roman laws gradually obtained the ascendancy, through the greater part of Europe, and excluded all the rest. It is an old opinion, that *Lothaire II.*, at the Instigation of *Irnerius*, or Guarnerus, the first teacher of the Roman law in the university of Bologna, published a decree, that all should thenceforth obey the Roman law only, the others being abrogated. But learned men have shown, that this opinion is supported by no solid evidence.¹

§ 6. The civil law being placed among the sciences to be taught in the schools, the Roman pontiffs and their friends deemed it not only useful but also necessary that the *canon law*, or that which regulates the affairs of the church, should have the same privilege. There existed, indeed, some collections of *canons*, or ecclesiastical laws; but there was not one among them that was complete and fit to be expounded in the schools; in consequence both of their want of arrangement and their deficiency in copiousness of matter. Hence *Gratian*, a Benedictine monk, born at Chiusi, and now residing at Bologna, in the monastery of St. Felix and Nabor, about the year 1130, compiled from the writings of the ancient doctors, the epistles of the pontiffs, and the decrees of councils, an *epitome of canon law*, suitable for the instruction of youth in the schools.² The

¹ See Herm. Conringius, *de Origine Juris Germanici*, cap. xxiii. Guido Grandus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69, ed. Florence, 1737, 4to. Henr. Brœnemann, *Historia Pandectarum*, p. 41, &c. Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Præf. ad Leges Longobardas*; in his *Scriptores Rerum Italianarum*, tom. i. pt. ii. p. 4, &c. and in his *Antiquit. Ital. Mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285, &c. On this subject, George Calixtus had a warm controversy with Barth. Nihusius, who adhered to the common opinion respecting Irnerius and Lotharius. The history of this controversy is given by Jo. Mollerus, *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. iii. p. 142, &c.

² [Of Gratian himself, nothing more is known than is stated in the text. He completed his *Decretum* about A.D. 1151. It is divided into three parts. The first

part is subdivided into *one hundred and one Distinctions*; in which he treats of law in general, and canon law in particular, in the first teaching *Distinctions*; and then proceeds to treat of the different orders of the clergy, their qualifications, ordination, duties, and powers. The second part is subdivided into *thirty-six Causes*, each embracing several Questions, which are treated of in one or more chapters. This part probably contains the rules and principles of proceeding in the ecclesiastical courts, in all the varieties of causes that occur. The third part is much shorter than either of the preceding. It is divided into *five Distinctions*; and treats of the consecration of churches, worship, the sacraments, fasts and festivals, images, &c. This work (which, with the *De-*

Roman pontiff, *Eugene III.*, was highly pleased with the work: and the doctors of Bologna received it with applause, and immediately adopted it as their guide in teaching; and their example was followed, first by the university of Paris, and then by the other universities. The most learned men of the Romish church acknowledge that *Gratian's Decretum*, as it is commonly called, or his *Concordia discordantium Canonum*, as the author himself called it, is full of numberless faults and mistakes.³ Yet, as it admirably strengthens and supports the power of the Roman pontiffs, it has become in a measure sacred, and still retains the high authority which it unreasonably acquired in that illiterate and barbarous age.⁴

§ 7. All the Latins who wished to rank among learned men eagerly studied philosophy. Most people, by the middle of the century, divided *philosophy*, taking the word in its broadest sense, into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. Under *theoretical* philosophy was comprehended *theology*, so far as it is attainable under the guidance of reason, that is, natural theology; also *mathematics* and *physics*. To *practical* philosophy belonged *ethics*, *economics*, and *politics*. *Mechanical* philosophy

cretals of Gregory IX. in five books, the *Liber sextus Decretalium* of Boniface VIII., the *Constitutions* of Clement V. and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. and others, constitutes the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and forms more than one half of the whole,) is a compilation from genuine and spurious canons, decrees, and decisions, without much discrimination; and is so carelessly made, that the authors are frequently confounded, and one cited for another. It is therefore no great authority; nor is it regarded as such by modern canonists. Though favourable to the pretensions of the Roman pontiffs in the main, yet it is against their claims in several particulars; and this may have tended to sink its credit with both Roman Catholics and Protestants. After all, it was noble work for the age in which it was compiled, and justly entitles its author to the appellation of the father of canon law. *Tr.*]

³ See, among others, Anton. Augustinus, *de Emendatione Gratiani, cum Observationibus Steph. Baluze et Gerh. van Mastricht*, Arnheim, 1678, 8vo. [Numerous errors and mistakes having been discovered in the *Decretum* of Gratian

on which Augustinus wrote a treatise, it was subjected to a careful revision, by order of the court of Rome, and then published with all the corrections that could be ascertained, by authority of Gregory XIII. A. D. 1580. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Gerh. van Mastricht, *Historia Juris Ecclesiastici*, § 293, p. 325, and Just. Henr. Böhmer, *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. i. p. 100, &c. and especially, his Preface to his new edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Halle, 1747. 4to. Alexand. Machiavel, *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem*, tom. iii. *Opp.* Sigonii, p. 128, &c. He here adduces many new things, respecting Gratian and his labours, from a very ancient *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*: but these statements are much questioned. Nor has that famous *Kalendarium* yet been published, of which the Bolognians tell us so much, and of which they have repeatedly promised to give the world a copy, and thus end controversy respecting it. This fact increases suspicion; and, if I do not misjudge, the fragments of the *Kalendarium*, which have been published, bear manifest marks of pious fraud.

embraced the seven arts of common life, including navigation, agriculture, and hunting. *Logic* they divided into *grammar*, and the art of reasoning: and the latter they sub-divided into *rhetoric*, *dialectics*, and *sophistics*. Under the head of *dialectics* they included that branch of metaphysics which treats of general ideas. This distribution of the sciences was generally approved; yet some wished to separate *mechanics* and *grammar* from philosophy: but others opposed this, because they would have all science to be included under the name of philosophy.⁵

§ 8. But the teachers of these several branches of philosophy were split into various parties and sects, which had fierce contests with each other.⁶ In the first place, there was a three-fold method of teaching philosophy. (I.) The *old and simple* method, which did not go beyond *Porphyry*, and the *Dialectics* ascribed to St. Augustine; and which advised, that few persons should study philosophy, lest divine wisdom should become adulterated with human subtleties. (II.) The *Aristotelian*, which explained and elucidated the works of *Aristotle*. For Latin translations of some of the books of Aristotle were now in the hands of the learned⁷; though these translations were rude, obscure, and ambiguous, so that those who used them in teaching, often fell into strange incongruities and absurdities. (III.) The *free* method, by which men attempted to investigate latent truth, by their own ingenuity, aided, however, by the precepts of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. But those who pursued this method, commendable as it may be in itself, for the most part, misemployed their ingenuity, and wearied themselves and their

⁵ These statements we have derived from several sources; but especially from Hugo of St. Victor, *Didascal.* lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 7, &c. *Opp.* tom. i. and from the *Metalogicum* of John of Salisbury, in various passages.

⁶ See Godofr. De S. Victor's, poem on the sects of philosophers in this age; published by William Le Boeuf, *Diss. sur l'Histoire Ecclés. et Civile de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 254, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 562, &c. Ant. Wood, *Antiquitates Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 51. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicum*, and *Polygraphicon*, passim.

⁷ Robert Du Mont, *Appendix ad Siebert. Gemblacensem*; published by Luc. D'Achery, subjoined to the *Opp.*

Guilberti de Norwinto, ad. ann. 1128, p. 753. "Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis, et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Analyt. priores et posteriores, et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eodem libros haberetur." Thomas Becket, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454, ed. Bruxell. 1682, 4to. "Itero precor, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi. — Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatenus in Operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretum aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audiui, minus tamen fuit in Grammatica institutus."

disciples with idle questions and distinctions.⁸ These various opinions, contests, and defects of the philosophizers, induced many to hold all philosophy in contempt, and to wish to banish it from the schools.

§ 9. But none disputed more subtly, or contended more fiercely, than the *dialecticians*; who, being occupied exclusively with *universals*, as they were called, or general ideas, confined their whole science to this one subject, and explained it in different ways.⁹ There were, at this time, two principal sects among them, *Realists* and *Nominalists*; each of which was subdivided into several minor parties. The *Nominalists* of this age were, indeed, inferior in numbers, and in authority, to the *Realists*; yet they were not without followers. To these was added a third sect, that of the *Formalists*; which took, in a sense, middle ground between the disputants. But they really did no good; for they cast no light on the subject, and therefore only furnished new matter for controversy.¹ Those devoted to the study of the medical art, astronomy, mathematics, and the kindred sciences, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in Spain: and many books of the Arabians were translated into Latin.² For the high reputation of the Arabic learning,

⁸ See John of Salisbury, *Polygeraticon*, p. 434, &c. and *Metalogicum*, p. 814, &c. and *passim*.

⁹ John of Salisbury, an elegant writer of this century, pleasantly says, in his *Polygeraticon, seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. "He (the philosopher) is prepared to solve the old question about genera and species; and while he is labouring upon it, the universe grows old: more time is consumed upon it, than the Cæsars spent in conquering and subduing the world: more money is expended, than all the wealth which Croesus ever possessed. For this single subject has occupied many, so long, that after consuming their whole lives upon it, they have not understood either that or any thing else."

¹ John of Salisbury, *Polygerat.* lib. vii. p. 451, 452. "Some, (the Formalists,) with the mathematicians, abstract the forms of things; and to them refer whatever is said about universals. Others (the Realists) examine men's sensations of objects; and maintain, that these go by the name of universals. There were also some, (the Nominalists,) who held that words constitute the genera and

species; but their opinion is now exploded, and, with the authors of it, has disappeared. Yet there are still some treading in their steps, (though they blush to own their master and his opinions,) and adhering *only to names*, what they take away from things and from sensations, they attribute to words."—The sect of *Formalists*, therefore, is more ancient than John Duns Scotus, whom the learned have accounted the father of the Formalists. See also John of Salisbury's *Metalogicum*, lib. ii. c. xvii. p. 814, &c., where he recounts the contests of these sects. "Alius (says he, among other things,) consistit in *vocibus*, licet hæc opinio cum Roscelino suo fere jam evanuerit; alius *sermones* intuetur; alius versatur *intellectibus*," &c.

² Gerhard of Cremona, a celebrated Italian astronomer and physician, removed to Toledo in Spain, and there translated many Arabic books into Latin. See Muratori, *Antiq. Italica Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937. Peter Mirnet, a French monk, went among the Saracens in Spain and Africa to learn geography. See La D'Achery, *Spicileg. Vet. Scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443, old ed. Dan Merley or

joined with zeal for the conversion of the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, induced many to apply themselves to the study of the Arabic language and literature.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Lives of the clergy.—§ 2. Efforts of the pontiffs to aggrandize themselves. The contest respecting investitures.—§ 3, 4, 5. Its progress.—§ 6. Compromise between the pontiff and the emperor.—§ 7. Two popes: Anacletus and Innocent.—§ 8. The other pontiffs of this century.—§ 9. Renewal of the contest under Hadrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa.—§ 10, 11. Contests in the election of pontiffs.—§ 12. Contest of Alexander III. with Henry II.—§ 13. Alexander advances the Roman see by various arts.—§ 14. His successors.—§ 15, 16. The rest of the clergy and their vices.—§ 17. Contentions between the Cistercians and Cluniacensians.—§ 18. Lives of the canons.—§ 19. New monastic orders.—§ 20. Præmonstratensians.—§ 21. Carmelites.—§ 22. The Greek writers.—§ 23. The Latin writers.

§ 1. WHEREVER we turn our eyes, traces meet us of dishonesty, ignorance, luxury, and other vices; with which both the church and the state were contaminated, by those who wished to be regarded as presiding over and taking the lead in all religious matters. If we except a few individuals, who were of a better character, and who lamented the profligacy and vices of their order; all of them, disregarding the salvation of the people, were intent on gratifying their lusts, increasing their wealth and honours, encroaching and trampling upon the rights of sovereigns and magistrates, in short, on pampering the

Morlach, an Englishman, fond of mathematics, went to Toledo in Spain, and thence brought away to his own country many Arabic books. See Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oronenses*, tom. i. p. 66, &c. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, went into Spain, and having learned the Arabian language, translated into Latin the Koran, and a life of Mahumed. See

Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. p. 345. And this Peter (as he himself tells us, *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* p. 1109,) found in Spain, on the Ebro, Robert Retenensis, an Englishman, and Herman, a Dalmatian, as well as others, pursuing the study of astrology. Many other examples of the kind may be collected from the records of this century.

body. Such as have any desire to know particulars, may consult *Bernhard's* five books of Meditations addressed to the pontiff *Eugene*, and his Apology addressed to the abbot William; in the first of which works, he censures and deplors the shameful conduct of the pontiffs and bishops, in the other, the disgraceful habits of the monks.¹

§ 2. The Roman pontiffs, who were at the head of the Latin church, laboured during the whole century, though not all with equal success, as well to retain their existing acquisitions of wealth and authority, as likewise to extend them still further, while on the contrary, the emperors and kings exerted themselves to the utmost to diminish their opulence and power. Hence arose perpetual jarring and warfare between the *empire* and the *priesthood*, (as it was then expressed,) which were a source of great public calamity. *Pascal II.*, who was created pontiff at the close of the preceding century, reigned securely at the commencement of this; nor was the opposing faction, that sided with the emperors, sufficiently powerful to fix an imperial pontiff in the chair of the deceased *Guibert*.² *Pascal*,

¹ Gerhous, *de corrupto Ecclesie statu*; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 63, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. Append. tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 490. 690, &c. where he treats at large of the morals of the ecclesiastics and cenobites. [Hume (*History of Eng.* ch. x. A. D. 1189,) says of Richard I., king of England, when about to enter on his crusade to Palestine, that he "carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious sins, particularly his *pride*, *avarice*, and *voluptuousness*, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. *You counsel well*, replied Richard, *and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates.*" Such a sarcasm from a monarch, shows the notoriety of clerical vice, as well as the peculiar direction it took in the principal classes of clerical persons. In the preceding chapter, A. D. 1189, Mr. Hume says, "We are told by Giraldus Cambrensis (cap. 5, in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.) that the monks

and prior of St. Swithun threw themselves, one day, prostrate on the ground and in the mire, before Henry II., complaining, with many tears, and much doleful lamentation, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off *three dishes* from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. *Ten only*, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never have more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number." *Tr.*]

² [On the death of Guibert, or Clement III., the antipope, A. D. 1100, his friends chose one Albert for his successor. But he was taken, the very day of his election, and confined by Pascal in the monastery of St. Lawrence. Theodoric was next chosen in his place, who also fell into Pascal's hands, 105 days after his election, and was shut up in the monastery of Cava. The friends of Guibert then chose Magrinulph, or Sylvester IV., for pope: but he was obliged to leave Rome, and died shortly after. Thus Pascal was soon left in quiet possession of St. Peter's chair. See Bower's *Lives of the Popes*, vol. v. p. 350, ed. Lond. 1761. *Tr.*]

therefore, in a council at Rome, A. D. 1102, renewed the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, excommunicated *Henry IV.* anew, and stirred up enemies against him wherever he could. *Henry* resolutely withstood these menaces and machinations: but two years after, A. D. 1104, his own son, *Henry V.*, took up arms against his father, under pretence of religion; and now all was over with him. For after an unsuccessful campaign, he was compelled by his son to abdicate the throne, and died friendless and forsaken at Liege, A. D. 1106. Whether the son was induced to engage in this war with his father, by his ambition of reigning, or by the instigation of the pontiff, does not appear. But it is certain, that *Pascal* absolved the son from his oath of obedience to his father, and very zealously supported and defended his cause.³

§ 3. But this political revolution was far from answering the expectations of *Pascal*. For *Henry V.* could by no means be induced to give up the right of investing bishops and abbots, although he conceded to the colleges of *canons* and *monks* the power of electing them. Hence the pontiff, in the councils of Guastalla in Italy and Troyes in France, A. D. 1107, renewed the decrees which had been enacted against *investitures*. The controversy was now suspended for a few years; because *Henry* was so occupied with his wars that he had no leisure to pursue it. But when his wars were closed, A. D. 1110, he marched with a large army into Italy, to settle this protracted and pernicious controversy at Rome. As he advanced slowly towards Rome, the pontiff, finding himself destitute of all succour, offered to compromise with him on these conditions; that the king should relinquish the investiture with the staff and the ring, and the bishops and abbots should restore to the emperor the *beneficiary royalties*⁴, which they had obtained since the times of *Charlemagne*, such as, the power of levying tribute, holding lordships, coining money, and the like. *Henry V.* acceded to these terms, in the year 1111: but the bishops, both of Italy and Germany, vigorously opposed them. A violent conflict having taken place, in the very church of St. Peter, at Rome, *Henry* caused the pontiff to be seized, and conducted as

³ We have here consulted, in addition to the original sources, those excellent historians, whom we mentioned in the preceding century. [See note ², p. 309.—Hermann De Tournay (*Narratio*, &c. in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. ii.

p. 914.) states, that the pontiff wrote a letter to young Henry, criminating his father, and exhorting him to aid the church against him. *Tr.*]

⁴ Beneficia regalia.

a prisoner to the castle of Viterbo. When he had lain there some time, a new convention was entered into, as necessity bade, in which the pontiff conceded to the king the right of giving investiture to bishops and abbots, with the staff and ring. Thus, peace being concluded, the pontiff placed the imperial diadem upon the head of *Henry*.⁵

§ 4. This peace, which force and arms extorted, was followed by greater commotions, and more painful conflicts. In the first place, at Rome, violent tumults were raised against the pontiff, who was accused of betraying the interests of the church, and of basely shrinking from his duty. To quiet these tumults, *Pascal* assembled a council in the Lateran palace, A. D. 1112, before which he humbly confessed his fault in the agreement that had been made with the emperor, and submitted the matter to the pleasure of the council. The council rescinded the compact formed with the emperor.⁶ After this, in various synods and councils, both of France and Germany, *Henry* was excluded from communion, and was even classed among the *heretics*, than which nothing at that day was more to be dreaded.⁷ The princes of Germany likewise made war upon him in several places in behalf of the church. To bring these many and great evils to a termination, *Henry* again marched an army into Italy, in the year 1116, and held a convention at Rome A. D. 1117, the pontiff having escaped by flight to Benevento. But the Normans came to the aid of the pontiff, and *Pascal* boldly prepared for war against the emperor, and made preparations for an assault upon the city of Rome. Important events were now anticipated, when the pontiff closed his life in the year 1118.

§ 5. A few days after the death of *Pascal*, *John Cajetan*, another Benedictine monk from the monastery of Monte Cassino, and chancellor of the Roman church, was created pontiff, and assumed the name of *Gelasius II*. In opposition to him *Henry* set up another pontiff, *Maurice Burdin*, archbishop of

⁵ Besides the writers already mentioned, Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 681, and tom. vi. p. 1, deserves to be consulted, and on each of the years of these and the subsequent transactions.

⁶ Here again, this pontiff, like Gregory VII., in the Berengarian controversy, placed his authority in subordi-

nation to the decisions of a council, and acknowledged a council to be his superior. The council also disapproved of the acts of the pontiff.

⁷ See Jac. Gervaise, *Diss. sur l'Hérésie des Investitures*; which is the fourth of those he had prefixed to the History of the abbot Suger, p. lix.

Braga in Spain, who chose the name of *Gregory VIII.*⁸ *Gelasius*, therefore, finding himself not safe at Rome, or in Italy, retired into France; and soon after died there, at Cluny. The cardinals who had accompanied him, as soon as he was dead, elected *Guido*, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, and a relative of the emperor, for sovereign pontiff, and he took the name of *Calixtus II.* It was fortunate, both for the church and the state, that this man was made head of the church. A man of noble birth, and of elevated views, he prosecuted the contest with the emperor with no less vigour than success, both by decrees of councils and by other means; reduced Rome under his power; took the emperor's pontiff prisoner, and cast him into prison; and fomented civil wars in Germany. At the same time possessing more liberal views than his predecessors in the papal chair, and having no obstinacy of character, he did not reject moderate councils, and could relax something of the demands of his predecessors for the sake of restoring peace now so ardently desired.⁹

§ 6. Thus, after multiplied efforts, contests, excommunications, and threats, peace was ratified between the pontiff's legates and the emperor in the diet of Worms, A. D. 1122, on the following conditions: that, hereafter, bishops and abbots should be freely chosen by those whose right it was to elect; but in the presence of the emperor or of his representative¹: that if the electors disagreed among themselves, the emperor should interpose, and using bishops as his counsellors should end the contest: that the person elected should take the oath of loyalty to the emperor, receive what were called the *regalia* from his hand, and perform the duties due to him on account of them; and that the emperor should use a different mode of

⁸ See Steph. Baluze, *Vita Mauricii Burdini*; in his *Miscellanea*, tom. iii. p. 471, &c.

⁹ If I do not greatly misjudge, this unhappy contest between the emperors and the pontiffs, respecting the investiture of bishops and abbots, would not have been carried on with so much asperity, nor have been protracted so long, if men of liberal views and education had been at the head of the church. But during half a century, five monks had governed the church—men born in obscurity, of coarse manners, and inca-

pable of yielding at all, that is, possessing the characteristic fault of monks, an inflexible obstinacy and pertinacity. But as soon as a man of a better character and of a liberal mind ascended the chair of St. Peter, things assumed a different aspect, and there was a prospect of peace.

¹ From this time, therefore, the people in Germany have been excluded from the election of bishops. See Peter De Marca, *de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. vi. c. ii. § 9, p. 783 ed. Böhmeri.

conferring the *regalia* from that before practised, and should no longer confer human prerogatives by the *staff* and the *ring*, which were the emblems of sacred or divine power, but by a sceptre.² This *Concordat*, as it is commonly called, was solemnly confirmed the next year in the Lateran council; and it continues in force to our times, although there has been some dispute between the pontiffs and the emperors respecting its true import.³

§ 7. *Calixtus* did not long survive this pacification; for he died A. D. 1124. His place was filled by *Lambert*, bishop of Ostia, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Honorius II.* Nothing memorable was done by him. At his death, A. D. 1130, there was a schism in the church of Rome; for a part of the cardinals chose *Gregory*, the cardinal of St. Angelo, whose pontifical name was *Innocent II.*; but another part of them created *Peter de Leon* pontiff, who was called *Anacletus II.* The party of *Innocent* was the weaker one at Rome and in Italy; wherefore he fled into France and remained there two years. But he had the stronger party out of Italy; for, besides the emperor *Lothaire*, the kings of France, England, and Spain, and some others, induced chiefly by the highly-famed *St. Bernard*⁴, the particular friend of *Innocent*, joined themselves to his party; while *Anacletus* had for supporters only the kings of Sicily and Scotland. The schism was terminated by the death of *Anacletus* A. D. 1138; after which *Innocent* reigned alone, till the year 1143, and celebrated several councils, among which was the second Lateran, A. D. 1139.⁵

§ 8. After the death of *Innocent*, *Guido*, cardinal of St. Mark, under the name of *Cælestine II.*, reigned during five months in peace. His successor, *Lucius II.*, who formerly was *Gerhard*, a regular canon, governed the church during eleven months, but not prosperously. For he was disturbed in various ways by the tumultuous Romans; and in attempting to quell one of their insurrections, he was killed by the stroke of a stone. His successor, *Eugenius III.* formerly *Bernhard*, a Cistercian

² See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii* *Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76. Jo. Schilterus, *de Libertate Eccles. German.* lib. iv. c. iv. p. 545, &c. Cæs. Rasponus, *de Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295, &c.

³ It was contested among other things, whether the consecration should precede, or follow, the collation of the *regalia*.

See Jo. Hil. Hoffmann, *ad Concordatum Hen. V. et Callisti II.* Wittemb. 1739, 4to.

⁴ [Mosheim writes this name Bernhard. *Ed.*]

⁵ In addition to the common historians of the popes, see Jo. De Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris, 1741, 8vo.

monk, and a very distinguished disciple of the celebrated *St. Bernard*, abbot of Clairvaux, came to the government of the church A. D. 1145, and during nine years encountered similar troubles and dangers, until his death 1152. For he was repeatedly driven from Rome, and at one time passed a long exile in France.⁶ *Anastasius IV.*, previously *Conrad*, bishop of Sabino, had a more tranquil reign; but it was of short duration; for he died A. D. 1154, after filling the chair one year and four months.

§ 9. Under his successor, *Hadrian IV.*, who was an Englishman, and a regular canon, and whose true name was *Nicolas Breakspear*, the contentions between the emperors and the Roman pontiffs, which were apparently settled in the times of *Calixtus II.*, broke out anew. *Frederic I.*, surnamed *Barbarossa*⁷, as soon as he was chosen emperor, A. D. 1152, explicitly declared his intention to maintain the dignity and rights of the Roman empire, not only every where, but especially in Italy; and to bring within a narrower compass the immense power and wealth of the pontiffs and of the clergy at large. Perceiving this intention, *Hadrian* felt sure that it was his duty to defend the authority and majesty of the church. Hence, when the emperor was to be crowned, A. D. 1155, first, a contest arose from the pontiff's desire that *Frederic* should act as master of the horse.⁸ Then followed other disputes and controversies between them in relation to public matters, which were fiercely agitated by letters. These contests being in a measure settled, others followed of equal magnitude and difficulty, in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to set bounds to the daily increasing wealth of the pontiff, the bishops, and the monks, made a law that no *fiefs* should be transferred to another person without the knowledge and consent of the lord of whom they were held⁹; and also exerted all his

⁶ [These tumults at Rome originated from a strong party of citizens, who adopted the principles of Arnold of Brescia, (see cap. v. § 10, below,) and wished to shake off the yoke of priestly government, and restore the ancient form of the Roman empire. After an unsuccessful application to the emperor of Germany, to make Rome his residence, and to there exercise the same powers as the old Roman emperors had done, they determined to restore the ancient Roman republic, and to reinstate the Roman senate in all its ancient grandeur.

Such being their object, all their movements were of course sedition against the pontiffs as temporal sovereigns. See G. J. Planck's *Geschichte d. Christl. Kirchl. Gesellschaftsverfassung*, vol. iv. p. 324, &c. and the authors referred to in note ⁶, chap. v. § 10, of this century. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Red-Beard. *Tr.*]

⁸ *Lis de statoris munere, quod obire volebat Pontifex Fridericum.* [Hold the pope's stirrups when he mounted or dismounted his horse. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Muratori, *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239, &c. where

powers to reduce the minor states of Italy under his authority. An open rupture seemed about to take place, when the pontiff was removed by death, on the first of September, A. D. 1159.¹⁰

§ 10. When a new pontiff was to be elected, the *cardinals* were divided into two factions. The one, which was the more numerous, created *Roland* of Siena pontiff; the other, the less numerous, elected *Octavian*, cardinal of St. Cæcilia. *Roland* assumed the name of *Alexander III.*: his competitor, that of *Victor IV.* The emperor, who, for various reasons, disliked *Alexander*, gave his support to *Victor*. The council of Pavia, summoned by the emperor, A. D. 1160, decided according to the emperor's pleasure. *Victor*, therefore, prevailed in Germany and Italy; and *Alexander* had to quit Rome and Italy, and to retire to France. In the midst of the commotions and strife, *Victor* died at Lucca, A. D. 1164. But another pontiff was immediately elected by order of the emperor; namely, *Guido* cardinal of St. Calixtus, who assumed the name of *Pascal III.*, and who was acknowledged by the princes of Germany, in the diet of Würzburg, A. D. 1165. *Alexander*, however, returned from France to Italy, prosecuted his cause with some success, and in the Lateran council at Rome, A. D. 1167, deposed the emperor, whom he had before repeatedly excommunicated, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. But not long after, Rome was taken by the emperor, and *Alexander* was obliged to flee to Benevento, and leave the chair of St. Peter in the hands of *Pascal*.

§ 11. The prospects of *Alexander* seemed to brighten up, when the emperor, after losing the greater part of his army by a pestilential disease, was obliged, against his inclinations, to retire from Italy, and when *Pascal* was removed by death, A. D. 1168. But his expectations were soon disappointed. For the opposite faction elected *John*, abbot of Struma, pontiff, with the title of *Calixtus III.*; and the emperor, though absent in Germany and occupied with various wars and contests, supported the new pontiff as far as he was able. And after settling a degree of peace in Germany, the emperor, A. D. 1174, marched

he shows, that by this and other laws, Frederic first opposed a barrier to the power of the clergy.

¹⁰ These events are carefully investi-

gated by the illustrious count Bünau, *History of Frederic I.* written in German, p. 45, 49, 73, &c. 99, 105, &c.

again into Italy with a fine army; intending to chastise the cities and republics which had revolted from him. If success had attended this expedition of the emperor, he would doubtless have compelled *Alexander* to give place to *Calixtus*. But he met with disappointments and reverses; and after several years spent in alternate defeats and partial victories, being discouraged by adversities and difficulties, he concluded a peace with *Alexander III.*, and a truce with his other enemies, at Venice, in the year 1177.¹ Some tell us, that the pontiff, placing his foot upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, repeated the words of David, Ps. xci. 13.² But most of the moderns consider this account as entirely unsupported.³

§ 12. *Alexander III.*, whose conflict with *Frederic I.* procured him fame, had also another contest, and not a light one, with *Henry II.*, king of England, in the case of *Thomas Becket*, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, A. D. 1164, several regulations were enacted, by which the regal power, over the clergy, was more accurately defined, and the rights of bishops and priests were circumscribed within narrower limits.⁴

¹ These transactions are well illustrated by count Bünau, in his *Historia Frederici I.* p. 115—242. To which add, Fortunatus Olmi, *Istoria della venuta a Venetia occultamente nel an. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III.* Venice, 1629, 4to, and Lud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Mediæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 249, &c. *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April, p. 46, in the life of Hugo, abbot of Bonneval; and tom. ii. April, p. 596, in the Life of Gaddinus of Milan; which two ecclesiastics acted as arbiters and legates in negotiating this peace.

² ["Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." *Ed.*]

³ See Bünau's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242. Char. Aug. Heumann, *Paviles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145. *Biblioth. Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5. 16, and the writers mentioned by Casp. Sagittarius, *Introd. in Historiam Eccles.* tom. i. p. 639, tom. ii. p. 609.

⁴ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 82, 83. 101, 102. 104. Dav. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britannicæ*, tom. i. p. 434, &c. [These articles of Clarendon, or *Constitutions*, as they are called, were drawn up by the king, and ratified in a

full assembly of the great lords, barons, and prelates of the nations. The civilians yielded a ready assent to them; and most of the prelates were disposed to do the same. But Becket long refused, and at last, very reluctantly, subscribed to them. And of this compliance he afterwards repented, and obtained absolution from the pontiff, who, at the same time, disapproved most of the articles, and pronounced them null and void. The articles, as exhibited in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1607, &c. with the papal approbation or disapprobation subjoined to each, are as follow.

1. If any controversy respecting an advowson and right of presentation to churches, shall arise between laymen, or between clergymen and laymen, or between clergymen only, it shall be tried and determined in the court of our lord the king. *Condemned by the pontiff.*

2. Churches belonging to a fief of our lord the king, cannot be conferred in perpetuity, without his consent and approbation. *Tolerated by the pontiff.*

3. Clergymen cited and accused of any matter, or notification by the king's judiciary, must appear in his court, and answer there to whatever the king's

Thomas refused to submit to these regulations; because, in his opinion, they were prejudicial to the divine rights, both of the

court shall require him to answer. So also whatever the king's justiciary shall send into the court of the holy church to see how it is there treated. And if a clergyman shall be convicted or shall confess guilt, the church must no longer protect him. *Condemned.*

4. It shall not be lawful for archbishops, bishops, or parsons, to go out of the kingdom without license from our lord the king. And if they go out, and our lord the king see fit, they shall give security, that they will not, while going, while absent, or while returning, bring any evil or damage to our lord the king, or to the realm. *Condemned.*

5. Excommunicated persons ought not to give bonds to remain [where they are], nor to promise by oath [to do so], but only to give bond or a pledge to abide by the decision of the church, that they may be absolved. *Condemned.*

6. Laymen ought not to be accused, except by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop: (yet so that the archdeacon may not lose his right, nor any thing accruing to him thereby.) And if the characters inculpated are such that no one dares, or is willing, to accuse them; the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall cause twelve lawful men of the vicinage or the village, to swear before the bishop that they will discover the truth according to their conscience. *Tolerated.*

7. No one who holds of the king *in capite*, nor any one of the barons his servants, shall be excommunicated, nor the lands of any one of them be laid under an interdict, till application has been made to our lord the king, if he is within the realm, or to his justiciary, if he be out of it, that he may see justice done: and so, that what belongs to the king's court may be there decided, and whatever belongs to the ecclesiastical court may be remitted to it for decision. *Condemned.*

8. Appeals, should they be made, ought to be from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop should fail to do justice, recurrence should be had, lastly, to our lord the king, that so the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court, by a precept from the king, and so that it go no

further without the king's consent. *Condemned.*

9. If a challenge arise between a clerk and a layman, or *vice versâ*, concerning any tenement which the clergyman would have to be an eleemosynary, and the layman a lay fee, it shall be determined by the award of twelve lawful men, before the king's justiciary, whether the tenement be an eleemosynary, or a lay fee. If the award be that it is eleemosynary, the plea shall be in the ecclesiastical court: but if a lay fee, then, unless both claim tenure under the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in the king's court; but if both claim to hold of the same bishop or baron, the plea shall be in his court; but so that the party which before had seisin, shall not lose his seisin on account of the award made. *Condemned.*

10. Whoever belongs to any royal city, castle, borough, or manor of the king, if cited by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime for which he is amenable to them, if he will not make satisfaction upon their summons, they may indeed place him under an interdict; but they may not proceed to excommunicate him till application has been made to the king's chief officer of the village, that he may, by law, bring him to make satisfaction. And if the king's officer fail in his duty, he shall lie at the king's mercy, and thenceforward the bishop may coerce the accused according to ecclesiastical law. *Condemned.*

11. Archbishops, bishops, and all persons of the realm who hold of the king *in capite*, are to look on their possessions as baronies from the king; and therefore are to be responsible to the king's justiciaries and officers, and are to follow and perform all the customs and duties prescribed by the king; and, like other barons, they ought to be present as other barons are, at the trials in the king's court, till the proceedings come to relate to deprivation of life or of limbs. *Tolerated.*

12. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory, in the king's dominions, becomes vacant, it ought to be in his hands; and he shall receive all its rents and issues, just as of his own demesnes: and when the church is to be provided for, the king is to send his mandate to the chief dignitaries of the

church at large and of the Roman pontiffs. Hence a quarrel arose between the king and the archbishop; and the latter fled into France to *Alexander III.*, who was then an exile there. The pontiff and the king of France procured a sort of reconciliation, and *Thomas* returned to England. But, as no means could induce him to yield to the wishes of the king, four of the courtiers, doubtless with the king's privity, assassinated him in the church, before the altar, in the year 1170.⁵ The king, after

church, and the election is to be made, in his chapel, with his assent, and by advice of the chief men of the realm whom he shall call together for that purpose. And the person elected, before he is consecrated, shall there do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for his life and limbs and earthly honour, saving however the honour of his order. *Condemned.*

13. If any one of the great men of the kingdom shall refuse justice to an archbishop, a bishop, or an archdeacon, in regard to himself or those that belong to him, the king is to enforce justice. And if it should happen that any one wrongs the king of his rights, the archbishops, or bishops, and archdeacons ought to enforce justice, [by their ecclesiastical decisions,] so that satisfaction may be made to the lord the king. *Tolerated.*

14. The chattels of those found guilty of high crimes in the king's courts, (*qui sunt in regis forisfacto*,) are not to be retained in any church, or churchyard, to the obstruction of justice to the king; because those chattels belong to the king, whether they are found in churches or out of them. *Tolerated.*

15. Pleas of debt are to be made in the king's court, whether due upon contract or not. *Condemned.*

16. The sons of tenants in villanage are not to be ordained, without the consent of the lord on whose manor they are found to have been born. *Tolerated.*

See Guthrie's *General History of England*, vol. i. p. 509, and Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1607.]

⁵ Guil. Stephanides, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis*, in Tho. Spark's *Scriptores Rerum Anglicar.* London, 1723, fol. p. 4. Christ. Lupus, *Epistole, et Vita Thomæ Cantuar. Epistole, item, Alexandri III., Ludovici VII., Henrici II., in hac causa*, ex MS. Vaticano, Bruxellis, 1682,

2 vols. 4to, and in the Works of Lupus, Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Historie Eccles. Capita*, sæc. xii. diss. x. p. 833, &c. Thomas Stapleton, *Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori*, Colon. 1612, 8vo. — [Thomas was the son of a London Merchant, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Having entered into the service of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, he was sent to Bologna to study canon law. On his return, he was made archdeacon of Canterbury; and not long after, the king called him to court, and made him lord chancellor of England. On the death of Theobald, A.D. 1162, the king made him archbishop of Canterbury. While chancellor, he had served the king with great ability, and lived in great splendour. But he now assumed an austere mode of life, and became a strenuous defender of the pretended rights of the church, and a rigid disciplinarian. To restrain the usurpations of the clergy, the king caused the constitutions of Clarendon to be enacted. Against these, and all other attempts of the king to reform abuses, Thomas made strenuous opposition; and exerting his high powers as primate of all England, and possessing great and shining talents, and at the same time being supported by the pope and by the king of France, he was able to thwart all the plans of king Henry. The king therefore caused him to be prosecuted for malconduct while chancellor. He was also arraigned for contempt of the king, and condemned, in a grand council of the nation, at Northampton, A.D. 1164. Becket now appealed to the pope, contrary to the laws of the realm; and soon after fled to France. Protected by the pontiff and the king of France, he treated Henry with insolence; and at length, through the mediation of the pontiff and the king of France, Henry and Becket were so

various altercations, had to make such expiations for this crime as the pontiff dictated; and the assassinated *Thomas* was in the year 1173 enrolled among the martyrs, or glorified saints of the highest order.⁶

§ 13. *Alexander III.* employed not only arms but also art, and the influence of councils and laws, to establish the independence of the church, and especially to confirm the power of the Roman pontiffs. For (I.) in a council at Rome, A. D. 1179, called the third Lateran council, in order to avoid the commotion so often produced by the election of a new pontiff, he ordained that the right of voting should belong exclusively to the *cardinals*; and that the person who had the votes of two-thirds of the college of cardinals should be considered the legitimate pontiff. This constitution has continued to the present time. Thus, from that period, the election of pontiffs assumed the forms which it still retains; and not only the people, but also the clergy of Rome, were wholly excluded from any participation in it. (II.) He was the first of all the pontiffs, who, in the same council, sanctioned a crusade against *heretics*, who were then troubling the church at large, and especially certain pro-

far reconciled, that the latter was permitted to return to his see. But he now carried matters with a high hand, dealt out his anathemas and censures, and resisted all attempts of the king to restrain the exorbitant power of the clergy. The king was now in Normandy. The archbishop of York, and several noblemen, whom Becket had excommunicated, repaired to the king, complaining of the treatment they received from Becket. The archbishop remarked to him, that, so long as Becket lived, the king could never expect to enjoy peace and tranquillity. The king, being violently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the machinations of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, overhearing the exclamation, immediately formed the resolution to assassinate Becket. They asked leave to go to England, and set out forthwith, without apprising the king of their designs. Soon after they were gone, the king conjectured, from some circumstances and remarks of the men, what they intended to do; and he

sent messengers after them, commanding them not to lay hands upon the primate. But the messengers arrived too late; the deed was done. The king was now greatly distressed, and took every possible means to clear himself of suspicion, and to pacify the pope. The assassins fled to Rome, did penance, and obtained absolution from the pope, on condition of perpetual exile. The king also made his submission to the pope; and with much difficulty obtained absolution some years after. See Hume's *History of England*, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 322—361, ed. Philad. 1810. Rapin de Thoyras, *Hist. of Eng.* and Collier's *Eccles. Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 370.—The works of Becket consist of his correspondence, or Letters in six Books, collected by John of Salisbury, and edited by Christian Lupus, Brussels, 1682, 4to, with a *Quadriologus*, or the fourfold life of Becket, by Heribert his chaplain. William of Canterbury, Alan, abbot of Deoche, and John of Salisbury. *Tr.*]

⁶ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328, &c. and for his festival, p. 397. Dom. Colonia, *Histoire Littér. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249, &c.

vinces of France.⁷ (III.) He took from bishops and councils the right of designating the persons who might be worshipped as *saints*; and placed *canonization*, as it is called, among the *greater causes*; that is, such as are to be decided solely by the pontiff.⁸ (IV.) Omitting some things of minor importance, we add this only, that he actually put in operation the power, claimed by the pontiffs since the time of *Gregory VII.*, namely, that of creating kings. For in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king on *Alphonsus I.* duke of Portugal, who had previously, under *Lucius II.*, made his territory tributary to the church of Rome.⁹

§ 14. *Lucius III.*, who was previously *Ubal*d, bishop of Ostia, was the first pontiff elected solely by the *cardinals*, according to the regulations of *Alexander III.* His reign, which commenced A.D. 1181, was a turbulent one; for he was twice driven from Rome by the citizens; who, doubtless, would not bear with a pontiff, elected contrary to the ancient custom, or without the concurrence of the *clergy* and people. He therefore died an exile, at Verona, A.D. 1185. His successor, *Hubert Crivelli*, bishop of Milan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Urban III.*, died of grief, on account of the conquest of Jerusalem by *Saladin*, A.D. 1187, after performing nothing of much importance.¹ The next pontiff, *Gregory VIII.*, previously *Albert* of Benevento, and chancellor of the church of Rome, died in the second month of his pontificate. After him, *Clement III.*, previously *Paul*, bishop of Palestrina², reigned longer; for he continued to the fourth year, and died A.D. 1191: yet few of his

⁷ See Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, sæcul. xii. diss. ix. p. 819, where he treats at large of this council; also Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1671, &c. [Dr. Maclaine is stumbled that Mosheim and others should call this the *third* Lateran council; when it appears there had been six or eight councils previously held there. But there was no mistake made by Mosheim. This was the *third general* council of the Lateran; all the preceding, except *two*, having been *provincial* councils. *Tr.*]

⁸ The subjects of pontifical elections and *canonization* were discussed under the eleventh century, p. 339, and notes ^{2 3}.

⁹ Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1179. Innocent III. *Epistola*, lib. i. ep. 49.

tom. i. p. 54, ed. Baluze. [It should be remembered, that Alexander III. only *confirmed* the title of king to Alphonsus; it having long before been applied to him by his army, and by some neighbouring princes. See Pagi, *Critica in Baron.* ad ann. 1139, § 23. *Tr.*]

¹ [He was the personal enemy of the emperor Frederic I., and quarrelled with him till the day of his death. But he could not coerce him, because the German bishops adhered to the emperor. He once resolved to excommunicate Frederic, but the people of Verona, where he resided, would not allow of such a transaction in their city. See Schmidt's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. vi. p. 249, &c. *Tr.*]

² [Praeneste, near Rome. *Tr.*]

deeds are worth the notice of posterity.³ More famous was *Cælestine III.*, who was, before his election, *Hyacinth*, a Roman and cardinal deacon: for in the year 1194, he laid under an interdict the emperor *Henry VI.* and *Leopold*, duke of Austria, for having imprisoned king *Richard* of England, on his return from the holy land; and also, *Alphonso X.*, king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage: and he commanded, though without effect, *Philip Augustus*, the king of France, to receive back his repudiated wife *Ingelburga*.⁴ But this pontiff, and nearly all the others of the present century, were outdone and eclipsed by the pontiff elected near the end of the century, A.D. 1198, namely, *Lothaire*, count of Signi, a cardinal deacon, who assumed the pontifical name of *Innocent III.* But his reign will properly be described under the following century.

§ 15. To the flagitious conduct, the frauds, the ignorance, and the corruption of the inferior bishops, the priests, and the deacons, the whole history of these times, and the laws of the ecclesiastical councils, afford ample testimony.⁵ It is not

³ [The most important of his acts, was his compromise with the citizens of Rome, by which he gave the city a new form of government, yet retained the supreme power in his own hands. He therefore made Rome the place of his residence; whereas his three immediate predecessors had been unable to reside there. See Baronius, *Annales*, ad ann. 1183, no. 23. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Though the king did not retreat when the interdict was laid on him, yet as the pope, and the king of Denmark, who was brother to Ingelburga, continued to prosecute the matter, Philip concluded to end the contest by restoring his queen. See Daniel's *Hist. of France*, in Eng. vol. i. p. 426, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ ["The ecclesiastics of that age had renounced all immediate subordination to the magistrate; they openly pretended to an exemption in *criminal* accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in *civil* causes. *Spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences*: and as the clergy had extremely multiplied in England, and many of them were consequently of very low characters, *crimes of the deepest dye, murders, robberies, adulteries, rapes, were daily*

committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. It had been found, for instance, on inquiry, that no less than a *hundred murders* had, since the king's accession," [A.D. 1154—1163.] "been perpetrated by men of that profession who had never been called to account for those offences; (*Neubr.* p. 394.) and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities. A clerk in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had at this time proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to attempt the remedy of an abuse which was become so palpable, and to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. (*Fitz-Steph.* p. 33, *Hist. Quad.* p. 32.) Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; and confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment *could* be inflicted on him than degradation. And when the king demanded that immediately after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man *twice* upon the same accusation, and for the same offence." Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. i.

strange, therefore, that the monks were in higher repute than the secular clergy; for, being bound by their vows and by their respective rules of life, they had fewer opportunities of committing crimes. And yet these monks, who claimed pre-eminence in the church, and despised and inveighed against both the *secular clergy* and the *regular canons*⁶, had in most places departed entirely from their institutions and rules, and exhibited to the public patterns of vice and wickedness, rather than of virtue.⁷ The *Cluniacensians* were for a long time the best and most devout among the Benedictines: but under their abbot *Pontius*, being loaded with wealth and riches by the liberality of the pious, they entirely laid aside their former strictness, and lived scandalously like other Benedictines. And although some of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to cure the evil, their efforts fell far below their wishes and their expectations; nor could the primitive sanctity of Cluny ever be restored.⁸

§ 16. Among the *Cistercians*, who were neither so old nor so rich an order as the *Cluniacensians*, there was far more appearance of innocence and sanctity. Hence a large share of the respectability which the *Cluniacensians* had enjoyed, was transferred to the *Cistercians*; and they increased daily in numbers, wealth, and power. No man in this age contributed more to the advancement of this order, than *St. Bernard*, the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, in France, a man of immense influence throughout Christian Europe, one who could effect whatever he pleased, often merely by his word or nod, and could dictate even to kings what they must do. He is therefore justly called the second parent and founder of the Cistercian order: and this order, both in France and in Germany, was called from him the *Bernardine* order.⁹ A hundred and

chap. viii. reign of Henry II. p. 333, 334. *Tr.*]

⁶ See the epistle of Rupert Tuitiensis, in Edm. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 285, &c. who places the monks before the apostles themselves.

⁷ See Nigel Wireker, an English poet of much wit, who lived about the middle of this century, in his *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*; a poem often published, and in which he severely lashes the several orders of monks of his age, sparing almost none except the Carthusians. [This poem, among other editions,

was published at Frankf. 1602, and at Wolfenbuttle, 1662, 8vo. In it an ass is represented as wishing to exchange his short tail for a long one; indicative of a monk aspiring after an abbey. *Sell.*] Also Bernhard's *Considerationes ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. c. 4.

⁸ See, besides many others, Edm. Martene's *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum Veterum*, tom. ix. p. 1119.

⁹ See Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. vi. passim; and in his life of St. Bernard, prefixed to his edition of Bernard's works. Angelus Mauriquez, *Annales Cistercienses*; nearly through-

sixty monasteries owed their origin or their regulations to him; and when he died he left seven hundred monks in his monastery of Clairvaux. Among his disciples, besides many archbishops and bishops, there was even one sovereign pontiff, *Eugene III.*

§ 17. But this prosperity of the *Cistercians* excited the envy of the *Cluniacensians*, and produced, first strong dislike, and afterwards open quarrels, between these two opulent and powerful orders. Each of them followed the rule of *St. Benedict*; but they differed in dress, and in the regulations superadded to the rule. The *Cluniacensians* accused the *Cistercians* of too great austerity; and, on the other hand, the *Cistercians* taxed the *Cluniacensians* with having abandoned their former sanctity and regular discipline; which was strictly true. *St. Bernard*, the oracle and guardian of the *Cistercians*, in the year 1127, first attacked the *Cluniacensians* in writing. *St. Peter Maurice*, abbot of Cluny, replied to him with much modesty. The controversy was now propagated further, and extended over other countries of Europe.¹ To this contest, another of greater warmth was added, respecting tithes. In the year 1132, *Innocent II.*, among other new privileges conferred on the *Cistercians*, exempted them from the payment of tithes on their lands: and as many of these lands had paid tithes to the *Cluniacensians*, they were greatly offended at this indulgence of the pontiff, and entered into warm controversy, both with the *Cistercians*, and with the pontiff himself. In the year 1155, this controversy was in some way adjusted; but how, does not clearly appear.²

§ 18. Of the *regular canons*, whose origin was in the preceding century, many spent their time much better than the crowd of monks did; and they were not unserviceable to the church by keeping schools, in various places, and by performing

out the *second* vol. and in a part of the *third*.

¹ S. Bernardi *Apologia*, (for so his book is entitled,) among his *Opera*, tom. i. p. 523—533. The reply of Peter Cluniacensis, surnamed Venerabilis, is extant among his epistles, lib. i. ep. 28, in the *Biblioth. Cluniacens.* tom. i. p. 657—695. Add the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*; published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 573—1613. Compare Mabillon, *An-*

nales Bened. tom. vi. p. 80, &c. and Manriquez, *Annales Cisterciens.* tom. i. p. 28. &c. [Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiast.* liv. lxvii. § 49, 50. *Tr.*]

² See Angel. Manriquez, *Annales Cisterciens.* tom. i. p. 232, &c. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 212, 479, and his preface to the *Opp.* S. Bernardi. Jo. de Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68, &c. 79, &c. Jo. Nic. Hertius, *de Exemptione Cisterc. a decimis.*

other offices.³ For these reasons the pious and the good treated them with much kindness, and as they were often put in possession of the goods of the vicious monks, the latter loaded them with abuse. The *canons*, on the contrary, assailed the monks both orally and in writings; and maintained, that they ought to be excluded from sacred offices and honours, and to live in their cloisters, withdrawn from the intercourse of men. Hence a long and bitter controversy arose between the monks and the canons respecting their comparative merits and rank; in which both parties went to extremes.⁴ On the side of the monks, among others, the following eminent men, in particular, engaged ardently in the contest, namely, *Peter Abelard*, *Hugo* of Amiens, and *Rupert* of Duytz: the cause of the canons was defended, among others, by *Philip Harveng*, abbot of Good Hope.⁵ The relics of this old controversy are visible at the present day.

§ 19. To the Benedictine order, a new sect was added, near the commencement of this century; namely, the *order of Fontevraud*⁶, so named from the place where its first monastery was erected, on the confines of Anjou and Touraine, then a wild spot beset with thorns. Its founder was *Robert* of Arbriscelles, first an eremite, and then a monk; who prescribed for his followers, of both sexes, the rule of *St. Benedict*; but with the addition of some singular and very austere regulations. Among these regulations, one very noticeable, and altogether peculiar, was, that he united the monasteries for the two sexes, and subjected both the men and women to the government of a female; professedly in accordance with the example of *Christ*, who commended *St. John* to the care of his mother, and would have him to obey her as a mother.⁷ *Robert* was equally suc-

³ See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112, &c.

⁴ See Lamberti *Epistola*; in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 329, &c.

⁵ Abælardi *Opp.* p. 228, ed. Paris, 1616, 4to. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 970. 975. 1614, &c. and his *Amplissima Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972. Phil. Harvengii *Opera*, p. 385, Duaci, 1621, fol.

⁶ Ordo Fontis Ebraldi.

⁷ Peter Abelard, *Opera*, p. 38, whose testimony is confirmed by the form still retained by the order, and is placed be-

yond all doubt; notwithstanding Jo. Mabillon, from his zeal for the Benedictine fraternity, labours after a sort to invalidate it; in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. Concerning this Robert, and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 593, &c. Dion. Sammarthianus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311, &c. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. art. *Fontevraud*, p. 1187, &c. Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83. On the present state of Fontevraud, see Moleon. *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108, &c. and Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, pt. ii. p. 1, &c. [What

cessful with the other founders of new [monastic] sects in those times: for the novelty of the institution, and the singularity of its form, allured great numbers to embrace it. But he fell under strong suspicion of an excessive and illicit familiarity with the females; from which his modern disciples use all the means in their power to vindicate his character.⁸

§ 20. *Norbert*, a German, and subsequently archbishop of Magdeburg, attempted to restore the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was now sinking in many places, and wholly prostrate in others. For this purpose, in the year 1121, he established a new sect, at *Premontré* in Champagne⁹; which recommending itself by sobriety of life and manners, and cultivating literature and the useful arts, at once extended itself throughout Europe, and in a little time acquired immense riches.¹ But this prosperity of the order soon extinguished

remains of the once famous abbey of Fontevraud, where Henry II. and Richard I. of England were buried, is now used as a prison. Care has been taken of the royal monumental effigies. *Ed.*]

⁸ The Epistles of Godfrey of Vendôme, and of Marbod, in which Robert is severely censured, are well known. In what manner these accusations are answered by the monks of Fontevraud, may be learned from Jo. De la Mainferme, *Clypeus nascentis Ordinis Fontevraldensis*, Paris, 1684, 8vo, and his *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello*, Salmurii, 1682, 8vo. There was a dispute on this subject with Peter Bayle. See the *Dissertation Apologétique pour le Bienheureux Rob. d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle*; Anvers, 1701, 8vo, not to mention Mabilion, *Annales Bénédict.* tom. v. and vi. p. 9, 10, and many others.—[“In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into England, at the desire of Henry II., who gave them the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltshire. They had two other houses here; the one at Eaton, and the other at Westwood in Worcestershire.” *Macl.*—The founder of this order, Robert, or Rodbert, was born about A.D. 1047, at Arbrissel, seven leagues from Rennes; became doctor of divinity at Paris in 1074; assisted the bishop of Rennes; was made arch-priester in 1085; formed a college of regular canons in 1094, became famous as a preacher; resigned an abbacy in 1098,

to travel and preach; set up the monastery of Fontevraud in 1100; and employed several succeeding years in travelling about France, and establishing monasteries, till his death in the year 1117. His order was confirmed by the pontiff in 1113; and Bertrade (formerly queen of France) was the first lady abbess. She died in 1115. About A.D. 1700, the order was divided into four provinces, those of France, Aquitaine, Auvergne, and Bretagne; which collectively contained fifty-seven priories. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Fontevraud*. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Premontré, the original seat of this order, is placed by Dr. Mosheim and by Helyot, in Champagne; by Dr. Maclaine, in Picardy; and by some maps, in the Isle of France. It is situated, indeed, near the borders of all three; but according to Busching's *Geography*, (vol. ii. p. 373, ed. 5, Hamb. 1764,) the last mentioned is the true location; for Premontré belongs to the Laonnois, a dependence of the government of the Isle of France. *Von Einem.*]

¹ [“The *religious* of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above a hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of

their primitive zeal, and plunged the *Præmonstratensians* into all kinds of vice. They follow the rule, which is called *St. Augustine's*, but with some slight alterations, and the addition of certain severe laws, the authority and influence of which, however, did not long survive their author.²

§ 21. About the middle of the century, one *Berthold*, a Calabrian, with a few companions, migrated to mount *Carmel*³, and in the place where the prophet *Elias* of old is said to have hidden himself, built a humble cottage, with a chapel, in which he and his associates led a laborious and solitary life. As others continued to unite themselves with these residents on mount *Carmel*, *Albert*, the patriarch of Jerusalem, near the commencement of the next century, prescribed for them a *rule* of life; which the pontiff's afterwards sanctioned by their authority, and also changed in various respects, and when it was found too rigorous and burdensome, mitigated considerably.⁴ Such was the origin of the celebrated order of *Carmelites*, or,

time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to 1000 abbeys, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in Protestant countries, of 65 abbeys that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining."

Mack.]

² See Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156, and the writers cited by him. Chrysostom van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensium Patriarchæ*, Antw. 1658, 8vo, Ludov. Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*; Luxemb. 1704, 4to. Add Jo. Launoy, (though sometimes uncandid,) *Inquisitio in Privilegia Ordinis Præmonstrat.* cap. 1, 2, in his *Opp.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 448, &c. On the present state of the place and the monastery of Premontré, see Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 49, &c. ["The Præmonstratenses, or monks of Premontré, vulgarly called White Canons, came first into England, A.D. 1146. Their first monastery, called New-House, was built in Lincolnshire, by Peter de Saulia, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of Edward I. the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in England." *Mack.*]

³ [In Palestine. *Tr.*]

⁴ I have here followed, principally, Dan. Papebroch, an accurate writer on this subject, and well supported by authorities in the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp, mense Aprili, tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known that the Carmelites moved a great contest with this learned Jesuit, at the court of Rome, for disparaging the dignity and antiquity of their order. The history of this long contest is given by Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 282, &c. It was terminated in the year 1698 by Innocent XII., who imposed silence on both parties. [The Carmelites accused Papebroch before the pontiff, Innocent XII., alleging that the volumes of the *Acta Sanctor.* which bore his name, were full of errors. The pontiff referred the case to the Congregation of the Index. The Carmelites, being in high repute in Spain, brought these books before the Inquisition of that country, in the year 1681: and by that tribunal, the 14 volumes for March, April, and May, were condemned, A.D. 1695. Papebroch and his friends, however, obtained liberty to offer to the Inquisition a vindication of the volumes; but all their controversial writings with the Carmelites were in the year 1697 proscribed by the Inquisition. The next year, the pope interposed, commanding both parties to be silent, and to drop the whole controversy. *Tr.*]

as it is commonly called, the order of *St. Mary of mount Carmel*, which subsequently passed from Syria into Europe, and became one of the principal *mendicant* orders. The *Carmelites* themselves reject with disdain this account of their origin, and most strenuously contend, that the holy prophet *Elias*, of the Old Testament, was the parent and founder of their society.⁵ But they are able to persuade very few, (or rather none, out of their society,) that their origin was so ancient and illustrious; and many, even in the Romish communion, hear of such pretensions with very little patience.⁶

§ 22. I will now mention the principal writers, both Greek and Latin. Among the former, the most noted in after times were, *Philip Solitarius*, whose *Dioptra*, or dispute between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known.⁷ *Eustratius*, who defended the cause of the Greeks against the Latins, and explained some books of Aristotle.¹ *Euthymius Zigabenus*, who, on account of his *Panoply against all heretics*, and his expositions of the scriptures, may be ranked among the principal writers of the age.² *John Zonaras*, whose *Annals*, with

⁵ Of the many Carmelite writers who have treated upon this subject, the most concise and neat is Thomas Aquinas, a French Carmelite; in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophete Elie vindicatur*; Paris, 1632, 8vo. The modern writers on this controversy with Papebroch, are far more tedious.

⁶ See J. Harduin's *Opp. Posthuma*, p. 642, &c. Jo. Baptist Labat, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87. Courayer, *Examen des Défauts Théologiques*, tom. i. p. 455, &c. [The pretensions of the Carmelites to an antiquity reaching back to the times of Elijah, are ridiculous in the extreme; and it is astonishing that they should dare hazard their reputation, by advancing such pretensions. The rule prescribed to them by Albert, A.D. 1205, consisted of sixteen articles: and it required them to confine themselves to their cells, except when at work, and to spend their time in prayer; to possess no individual property; to fast from the feast of the holy cross till Easter, except on Sundays; to abstain from eating flesh altogether; to labour with their hands; and to observe total silence from vespers till the tierce of the next day. This rule was mitigated

considerably by Innocent IV. On the conclusion of peace with the Saracens, A.D. 1229, the Carmelites left Syria. Some of them went to Cyprus; others to Sicily; and others to France. They came to England in 1240; and had about forty houses in that country. In the 16th century, St. Theresa, a Spanish lady, undertook to reform the order. This divided them into two classes. The *Carmelites of the ancient observance* were called the *migrated* or *moderate*; the reformed, or those of the *strict observance*, were called *bare-footed Carmelites*, because they went *bare-footed*. The former were distributed into forty provinces, subject to one general. The latter quarrelled among themselves, and became divided into the *congregation of Spain*, containing six provinces, and the *congregation of Italy*, embracing all the rest. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Little is known of this Grecian monk, who flourished about A.D. 1105. His *Dioptra*, or Dialogue between the soul and the body, on the principles which should regulate man's life, is extant only in the Latin translation of Pontanus, Ingoldstadt, 1604, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. *Tr.*]

¹ [See note ¹, p. 408. *Tr.*]

² See Richard Simon's *Critique de la*

some other works, are still preserved.³ *Michael Glycas*, who also devoted himself to history and to some other species of writing.⁴ *Constantine Harmenopolus*, a respectable writer on both civil and canon law.⁵ *Andronicus Camaterus*, a strenuous polemic against the Latins and the Armenians, his nation's enemies.⁶ *Eustathius* of Thessalonica, the most learned Greek of his times, and the well-known commentator on Homer.⁷ *Theodore Balsamon*, who expended much labour in expounding and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks.⁸

Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclés. par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 318. 324. [Euthymius was a monk, highly esteemed by Alexius Comnenus for his erudition, and flourished about A. D. 1116. The *Panoplia dogmatica orthodoxæ fidei adversus omnes Hæreses*, is a compilation from the Fathers, made by order of the emperor, and with the aid of several assistants, in defence of the doctrine of the Greek church against all its opposers. It is divided into two parts, and twenty-four *tituli*, or chapters; published (but not entire) by Gregoras, at Tergovist in Wallachia, 1710, fol. His commentaries on the Psalms, and on the four Gospels, were published together in Gr., Verona, 1530, and the latter, by Matthæi, Leips. 1792, 8vo. All his works, ever published, are extant in the Latin, in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xix. *Tr.*]

³ [See Note⁵, p. 407. *Tr.*]

⁴ Some have placed Glycas as late as the fifteenth century. See Jo. Lami, *Diss. de Glyca*; prefixed to his *Delicia Virorum eruditor.* tom. i. [See a notice of him in note⁴, p. 407. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Constantine Harmenopolus was a learned civilian and judge at Thessalonica. Cave and others supposed he flourished A. D. 1150; but some place him two centuries later, or about A. D. 1380. His best work is his *Πρόχειρον νόμων*, or manual of civil law, edited, Gr. and Lat. with notes, Geneva, 1587, 4to. His *Epitome Divinorum Sacrorumque Canonum*, Gr. and Lat., is in Leunclav's *Jus Gr.* tom. i.] So also his *Liber de Sectis Hæreticis*, and some other tracts. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Andronicus Camaterus was prefect at Constantinople, and filled other high offices under Manuel Comnenus, A. D. 1156, and was distinguished for

his erudition and eloquence. He wrote *Adversus Latinos Liber*, or a Dialogue between Manuel and the Roman cardinals then at Constantinople, respecting the procession of the Holy Spirit; also a dispute of the emperor with Peter, an Armenian doctor; and a tract on the two natures of Christ, and other subjects. *Tr.*]

⁷ [See note², p. 406. *Tr.*]

⁸ For a fuller account of all these writers, see Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*. [Theodorus Balsamon was deacon, nomophylax, chartophylax, and librarian of the great church at Constantinople; and afterwards patriarch of Antioch, though he never took possession of his see, it being in the hands of the Latins. He flourished A. D. 1180, and lived till A. D. 1203, or longer. He was the most learned Greek of his times, and a powerful adversary against the Latin church. His works are commentaries on the apostolic canons, the councils and canonical epistles of the fathers: (edited, Gr. and Lat., by Justell, and still better by Beveridge, Oxon. 1672, fol.)—Commentaries on the *Nomocanon* of Photius, (edited, Gr. and Lat., by Justell, 1615, 4to, and in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii.) A collection of ecclesiastical constitutions (in the *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii.), and several other treatises on particular points and questions in ecclesiastical law; which were published by Leunclav, and Cotelier.

The other Greek writers of this century were the following.

Nicetas Seidus, an antagonist of the Latins, A. D. 1110; from whom Leo Allatius has made some extracts; *de Consensu*, &c. lib. i. c. 14. &c.

Nicetas Byzantinus, a philosopher, i. e. a monk, A. D. 1120; who wrote a *De-*

§ 23. The following may be considered as the principal Latin writers. — *Bernard*, abbot of Clairvaux, from whom the Cistercian monks took the name of *Bernardins*. He was a man of genius and taste, and of correct views in many respects, yet of a superstitious and ill-controuled mind; one who was able to conceal a great thirst for dominion under the garb of extraordinary piety, and who did not scruple to load with false accusations such as happened to incur his displeasure.⁹ *Inno-*

fence of the synod of Chalcedon against the prince of Armenia; which is quoted by Leo Allat. *ubi supra*, and published entire, Gr. and Lat., in the *Gr. Orthod.* tom. i.

Georgius, metropolitan of Corcyra, A. D. 1136, distinguished himself as a writer, and negotiator in the controversy with the Latins.

Antonius Melissa, a Greek monk, A. D. 1140; author of *Libri ii. Locorum Communium, de virtutibus et vitiis*; compiled from the fathers; edited, Gr. and Lat., by Gesner, Tiguri, 1546, fol. and Geneva, 1609, fol.

Isaac, patriarch of the greater Armenia, flourished, perhaps, A. D. 1150; author of two Invectives against the Armenians; Gr. and Lat. in *Auctar. Nov.* tom. ii.

Lucas Chrysoberges, a monk and patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1155, (alii, 1148) to 1167; author of some Synodal decrees at Constantinople, A. D. 1166; published by Leunclav, *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii.

Basil Achridenus, metropolitan of Thessalonica, A. D. 1155; author of an epistle to pope Hadrian IV.; who solicited him to renounce the Greek church, and connect himself with the Latin; extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. v.

Michael, a rhetorician and protedictus of the great church at Thessalonica, A. D. 1160; who fell into the heresy of the Bogomils, and afterwards renounced it. A short confession of his faith is published by Leo Allat. *de Consensu*, &c. lib. ii. c. 12.

Alexius Aristenus, Nomophylax and Œconomus of the great church of Constantinople, A. D. 1166. A *Synopsis Canonum*, with the scholia of this ecclesiastic, is in Beveridge's *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, fol.

Theorianus, a Greek theologian, sent by the emperor Manuel Comnenus, A. D. 1117, to bring the Armenians to the

Greek faith. His successful discussion with Nauses, the Armenian patriarch, put into the form of a dialogue, was published Gr. and Lat., by Leunclav, 1578, 8vo, and then in Ducæus, *Auctarium*, Paris, 1624, tom. i.

Simeon, Magister and Logotheta, about A. D. 1170. To him some ascribe the *Synopsis Canonum*, on which Alexius Aristenus wrote *Scholia*; but the work, probably, was written before their day.

John Phocas, a native of Crete, first a soldier, and then a monk, and a married presbyter. In the year 1185 he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the holy places; and on his return, wrote a concise and accurate account of what he saw, entitled *Compendiaria descriptio locorum ab urbe Antiochia usque Hierosolymam, nec non Syriæ et Phœnicia*; edited, Gr. and Lat., by Leo Allat. *Symmict.* pt. i. p. 1. Colon. 1653, 8vo.

George Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1193—1199; was author of *Decretum de Juribus Territoriorum*; extant, Gr. and Lat., in the *Jus Gr. et Rom.* lib. i. p. 283.

John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1199—1206. His *Decretum de Nuptiis Consobrinorum* was published, Gr. and Lat., by Leunclav, in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* liv. iv. p. 285. *Tr.*]

⁹ The works of St. Bernard have been splendidly edited by Jo. Mabillon, with learned prefaces to his treatises, containing much valuable information; and an appendix containing the ancient biographies of him: [printed at Paris, 1666, 2 vols. fol. and 8 vols. 8vo, and A. D. 1690, 6 vols.—St. Bernard was born of honourable parentage, at Fontaine, near Dijon, A. D. 1091, and educated at Châtillon, where he distinguished himself much as a scholar. At the age of twenty-two he renounced the world and became a Cistercian monk. In the year 1115, he was cre-

cent III., the Roman pontiff, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religion and discipline of the age.¹ *Anselm* of Laon², a man of acuteness and a skilful dialectician. By him was educated *Abelard*, famous, in that age for the acuteness and elegance of his genius, the extent of his erudition, his dexterity as a disputant, and the misfortunes which befel him.³ *Godfrey*, or *Geoffry*, of Vendôme, who has

ated abbot of the newly-erected monastery of Clairval or Clairvaux, in the territory of Langres, where he spent the remainder of his life, and acquired an influence almost unbounded throughout Europe. He was remarkably austere in his mode of living, and wholly absorbed in practical religion. His eloquence was bold, thrilling, and irresistible; for his conceptions were vivid, his language clear and strong, and his zeal determined and unyielding. In the year 1127, he attended the council of Troyes, and did much to procure the establishment of the order of Knights Templars. From the year 1130, he espoused the cause of Innocent II. against his competitors; and for ten years supported that pontiff, and at last procured him a complete triumph. In the year 1140, he assailed Abelard, and contributed much to destroy his reputation and influence, and to reduce him to a state of wretchedness. In 1146, he set himself to rouse Europe to a new crusade, and actually persuaded the king of France, and the emperor of Germany, to march large armies to the holy land. The complete failure of the crusade, contrary to his predictions, much lowered his reputation. But he defended himself, by ascribing the failure to the sins of the crusaders. In 1147, he procured the condemnation of the heresy of Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers. The same year, he assailed the Petrobrusians, and drew off many persons from that heresy. He also attacked and routed the Apostolici. In 1151, he exposed the arrogance and pride of the Roman pontiffs. He died A. D. 1153, in the sixty-third year of his age; was sainted; and reported to have wrought innumerable miracles, both before and after his decease.—A prolix life of him was written by several of his contemporaries. The best modern history of his life is that of Aug. Neander, Berlin, 1813, 8vo, in German, entitled *St. Bernard and the age in*

which he lived. Milner's *Life of Bernard*, which makes up nearly the whole of his church history of the twelfth century, is worth reading, though written with partiality. His works are nearly all on practical religion, and consist chiefly of letters and discourses. *Tr.*]

¹ The Epistles of Innocent III. were republished by Steph. Baluze, in 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1682. [He was pontiff from A. D. 1198 to 1216; and will be noticed more particularly in the following century. Besides his Letters, he wrote a number of Tracts and Discourses, chiefly of a practical and devotional character; also a commentary on the seven penitential Psalms; three Books on the contempt of the world; and six Books on the mysteries of the mass. But none of these are now of much value. *Tr.*]

² [Anselm of Laon was schoolmaster, and dean of the cathedral of Laon, about A. D. 1103, and died A. D. 1117. Abelard, his pupil, represents him as neither learned nor discriminating, but a man full of words, without much meaning. (See Abelard's *Hist. of his own sufferings*, c. 3.) He was author of the *Glossa interlinealis*, or interlinear and marginal notes to the Old and New Testaments, derived from the writings of the fathers; often published; e. g. Lugduni, 1528, Antw. 1634, &c. The commentaries on Matthew and John, on the epistles of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Canticles, published among the works of Anselm of Canterbury, are by some ascribed to Anselm of Laon. *Tr.*]

³ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Abelard*, tom. i. p. 18, and tom. iii. art. *Paraclet*, p. 2174. Jac. Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abelard, Abbe de Ruys, et de Héloïse*, Paris, 1728, 2 vols. 8vo. The works of Abelard, comprised in one volume 4to, were published by Francis Amboise, Paris, 1616. But a collection twice, or even thrice as large

left us epistles and some dissertations.⁴ *Rupert* of Duytz, the

might be made: for, *cui non dictus Hylas?*—[Abelard was born of noble parentage, at Palais, near Nantes, A. D. 1092. He first studied under Roscelin, founder of the sect of Nominalists. Distinguished as a scholar, he removed to Paris, at the age of twenty, to study dialectics under William de Champeaux. After a while he began to dispute with his teacher; and, as many of his fellow-students awarded to him the victory in several cases, his master became jealous of him, and they parted. In A. D. 1099, he opened a school of his own at Melun, ten leagues from Paris; and his school being thronged, he removed it to Corbeil, to be nearer Paris. The school of his former master, and present rival, declined fast. But soon after, the health of Abelard failed; and he had to retire for two years. On resuming his school at Corbeil, he completely ran down his rival Champeaux. Abelard next removed to Laon to study theology under Anselm. Here again the pupil outshone the master, and became his rival. He now came to Paris, and lectured with vast applause on theology and philosophy, to a great concourse of students from different countries. But now, at the age of forty, he seduced the celebrated Heloise, a fatherless girl of eighteen, who was placed under his instruction. She bore him a son; and to pacify her enraged relatives, he privately married her. She, however, denied the marriage, lest it should destroy his prospects in the church, and retired to a monastery. Her uncle now hired ruffians, who entered his chamber by night, and inflicted on his person a disgraceful and cruel mutilation. Heloise then took the veil, and Abelard became a monk at St. Denys. He now resumed lecturing, and also published his "Theology." This work brought on him the charge of heresy, and was burned by order of the council of Soissons, A. D. 1121.—Still Abelard was popular as a lecturer. But having asserted that St. Denys, the founder of the church at Paris, was not the Dionysius of Athens, mentioned in the book of Acts, a new persecution commenced; and he retired from St. Denys, A. D. 1122, to a forest near Nogent in Champagne, where he lived in retirement. But students gathering around him there, a new monastery grew up,

called that of the Paraclete. He had now six hundred pupils. Next, he was chosen abbot of St. Gildas de Ruys, near Vannes, where he spent many years. The convent of Argenteuil, where Heloise was, being dispersed, Abelard gave her the convent of the Paraclete, where she spent the rest of her life, a devout Abbess. Now the famous correspondence between Abelard and Heloise took place; a correspondence which Mr. Pope has transformed and altered greatly in his poetic version. Abelard was again accused of heresy by St. Bernard and others, appealed to the pope, was condemned unheard, set out for Rome, A. D. 1140, reached Cluny, where Peter, the Venerable received him kindly, procured from the pope his acquittal, and also effected a reconciliation between him and St. Bernard. Abelard passed two years at Cluny, with reputation for piety and learning, and delivered acceptable lectures, though in declining health. He died there, in 1142, aged sixty-three years. The learned and candid Du Pin, in his *Lives of Eccles. Authors*, cent. xii. ch. vii., after examining the fourteen charges of erroneous doctrine imputed to him, pronounces them all false, or frivolous, except the two following, namely, the eleventh, that the Jews who crucified Christ, did no sin by that act; and the twelfth, that the power of binding and loosing belonged only to the inspired apostles, and extended only to the church militant. The Roman Catholics, generally, according to Bayle, have been less severe upon Abelard's character than the Protestants. His seduction of his pupil all must condemn. It appears, also, that he was both vain and selfish. Neither do his writings display those masterly talents which his reputation as a lecturer would lead us to expect.—His printed Works contain four Epistles to Heloise; seven Epistles to others; a history of his life, till A. D. 1134; his apology, or confession of faith; expositions of the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed and the Athanasian creed; a reply to queries of Heloise; a tract against heresies; Commentaries on Romans, in five books; thirty-two sermons; directions for the nuns of the Paraclete; and his Introduction to Theology, in three books. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Godfrey was abbot of Vendôme from A. D. 1093, till after A. D. 1129.

most famous expositor of the scriptures among the Latins of this century; a man generally of a sound judgment, and not destitute of imagination and taste.⁵ *Hugo* of St. Victor, a man of prolific mind, who has written on nearly all the branches of knowledge then cultivated, both sacred and profane, and who has said many things well.⁶ *Richard* of St. Victor, the *coryphæus* of the *mystics* of that age; whose *Arca mystica*, in particular, containing the marrow of this sort of wisdom, was received with avidity.⁷ *Honorius* of Autun, a theologian and philosopher not without reputation.⁸ *Gratian*, a monk, to

He was a zealous supporter of Urban II., who created him a cardinal; and held an extensive correspondence with pontiffs, cardinals, and bishops. His works, comprising epistles in 5 books, 18 tracts, and 15 sermons, were published by Jac. Sirmoud, Paris, 1610, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. *Tr.*]

⁵ Concerning *Rupert* of Duytz (*Tuertiensis*), besides the common historians, *Jo. Mabillon* treats particularly in his *Annales Bénédict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296; and also states the controversies into which he was brought. [*Rupert* was a German monk of St. Lawrence, near Liege, and then abbot of Duytz, near Cologne. He commenced author, A. D. 1111, and died 1135. He was known as a polemic in his day; and was accused of not holding the doctrine of transubstantiation; but perhaps falsely. He is chiefly known to us as a commentator on nearly the whole Bible; but he also wrote twelve books on the rites of worship through the year; on the conflagration of Duytz; contemplations on death, 2 books; tracts on the will and omnipotence of God; the lives of some saints, &c. His works have been repeatedly printed; e. g. Paris, 1638, 2 tom. fol. *Tr.*]

⁶ See the *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. His works were printed together, in 3 volumes fol., Rouen, 1648. *Derlangius* has written expressly of him in his *Diss. de Hugone à St. Victore*, Helmst. 1746, 4to. Add *Martene's Voyage Littéraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92. [*Hugo* of St. Victor was born A. D. 1096; but whether at Ypres in the Netherlands, or in Lower Saxony, has been contested. He was an Augustinian canon in the monastery of St. Victor, at Paris, where he died A. D. 1140, aged 44. So fully

did he enter into the theological views of St. Augustine, and so exactly did he express them in his writings, that he was called *Augustine the Second*, and also the *Mouth of Augustine*. He commented largely on all parts of the Bible, wrote on *Dionysius Areop.*, and composed many tracts and works on philosophical, theological, and practical subjects. But a considerable part of the works ascribed to him, and published as his, have been adjudged to other authors. *Tr.*]

⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669. [*Richard* of St. Victor was a Scotchman, but spent his life at Paris, being first a regular canon, and then for nine years prior of St. Victor, near the walls at Paris, till his death, A. D. 1173. He was the intimate friend of St. Bernard, and of *Hugo* of St. Victor. His writings are numerous tracts and treatises on practical and experimental religion and on biblical and theological subjects; in all of which he spiritualizes almost continually. The best edition of his works is said to be that of Rouen, 1650, in 2 vols. folio. *Tr.*]

⁸ This celebrated writer is usually called *Honorius of Autun*; but *Jac. le Bœuf* has shown that he was a German, in his *Diss. sur l'Histoire Française*, tom. i. p. 254. [He was a presbyter and schoolmaster in the church of Autun in Burgundy, and flourished about A. D. 1130. His works are an account of the ecclesiastical writers, compiled from *Jerome*, *Gennadius*, *Isidore*, and *Bede*; commentaries on the books of *Solomon*; a dialogue on predestination and free will; *Gemma Animæ*, or on the mass and its ceremonies; on the visible creation, three books; *Elucidarium*; on Heresies; on the philosophy of the world, four books; on the properties of the sun; a catalogue

whom canon law was indebted for a new form and higher respectability.⁹ *William* of Rheims, who composed various tracts to subserve the cause of piety.¹ *Peter Lombard*, often called *Master of the sentences*, because he collected and arranged scientifically the theological opinions and decisions of the Latin fathers.² *Gilbert de la Porrée*, a theologian and philosopher, who is said to have explained some points in theology erroneously.³ *William* of Auxerre, much celebrated for his *Summa Theologica*, or system of theology.⁴ *Peter* of Blois, whose

of the popes; all published in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xx. besides many pieces never published. *Tr.*

⁹ [See note², p. 411.]

¹ [William of Rheims was, perhaps, first a monk of Clairvaux under Bernard, and certainly was abbot of St. Thiery, near Rheims, and then, during nine years, abbot of St. Nicosius at Rheims. In the year 1153, he resigned his abbacy, and became a Cistercian, in the monastery of Signi. His works are, *de Vita solitaria Liber*; *Speculum Fidei*; *Ænigma Fidei*; *Meditationum Liber*; *de contemplando Deo Liber*; *de Natura Corporis et Animi Libri ii.*; *Disputatio contra Petrum Abalardum*; *de Erroribus Gulielmi de Conchis Liber*; *de Sacramento Altaris Tractatus*; *Expositio in Cantica Cantecorum*; *Commentarius in Epist. ad Romanos*; and *de vita Sti Bernardi, Liber*. All, except the last, are in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, tom. iv. *Tr.*]

² *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68. [Peter Lombard was born at a village near Novara in Lombardy; whence his surname of Lombard. He first studied at Bologna, and then went to France to study theology, being recommended to the notice and kind offices of St. Bernard. At Paris he acquired high reputation as early as A.D. 1141; was made professor of divinity there; and, 1150, bishop of Paris, till his death, A.D. 1164. Besides his notes or commentary on the Psalms, and his collections from the fathers on the epistles of Paul, he composed a very celebrated system of divinity, extracted from the fathers, especially from Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, entitled the *Sentences*, and divided into four books. This work was the text-book in theology for some ages; and in its general arrangements, has served for a model nearly to the present day. The basis of his distribution is the maxim of Augustine, that all knowledge is either of *things*

or of *signs*; and that things are divisible into such as are to be *enjoyed*, and such as are to be *used*. Accordingly, in the first book he treats of *things* which are to be *enjoyed*; viz. *God*, the supreme good of man, his nature, attributes, and subsistence in three persons. In the second book he treats of *things*, to be *used*; viz. the *creation*, its production by the power of God; the formation of angels and men, the apostacy of angels, and the fall of man; of grace and free will, original and actual sin; &c. In the third book he treats of the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, redemption, faith, charity, and good works, as conditions of salvation. The fourth book treats of the *signs* or sacraments of the church; except that in the seven last sections he treats of the day of judgment and the future state. See Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, century xii. cap. xv. *Tr.*]

³ [Gilbert de la Porrée (Porretanus) was a Frenchman of Aquitaine, rector of the school at Paris, canon, and, A.D. 1141, bishop of Poitiers, till his death, A.D. 1154. This distinguished scholar and philosopher advanced some views in theology, and particularly respecting the Trinity, which were new and strange to his contemporaries, and which caused him to be charged with heresy. See the next chapter, § 11. His notes on the Psalms, commentaries on the epistles of Paul, and treatise on the Trinity, are said to exist in manuscript. All that has been published, is his epistle to the abbot of St. Florentius, appended to the works of Guibert by D'Achery. *Tr.*]

⁴ Le Bœuf, *Diss. sur la Somme Théologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*; in P. Malet's *Continuation des Mémoires d'Histoire et de Littérature*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 317. [He was archdeacon of Beauvais, and died at Rome, A.D. 1230. *Schl.*

epistles and numerous tracts are still read with some advantage.⁵ *John* of Salisbury, a man of genius and learning, who united eloquence with the study of philosophy and theology; as is manifest from his *Metalogicus*, and his books *de Nugis Curialium*.⁶ *Peter Comestor*, author of the *Historia Scholastica*, or that epitome of the history contained in the Old and New Testaments, which was formerly studied by the youth in the schools.⁷ The names and merits of the other Latin writers may be learned from the works devoted to this subject.⁸

—But Schroeckh, (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxviii. p. 157.) places him near the end of the *thirteenth* century. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Peter of Blois (*Blesensis*) was born at Blois, studied the liberal arts at Paris, civil and canon law at Bologna, and theology at Chartres under John of Salisbury. Perhaps he was made a canon at Chartres. In 1167 he went to Sicily, and became tutor, and afterwards secretary to William II., king of Sicily. Soon after, on the banishment of his friend the archbishop of Palermo, he returned to France, and was invited over to England, where he was made archdeacon of Bath, archdeacon of London, and chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury. After a life of industry and virtue, he died in England, A.D. 1200. His works, consisting of 183 epistles, 65 sermons, and 17 tracts on various subjects then exciting interest, were published, Paris, 1667, fol. He also continued the history of Ingulphus of Croyland, to the year 1118. Several other works of his are lost. See Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, cent. xii. ch. xi. *Tr.*]

⁶ [John of Salisbury, in Wiltshire, England, one of the brightest geniuses of the age. He was a pupil of Abelard in 1136, and afterwards an intimate friend of Thomas Becket, whom he accompanied in his exile for seven years; but he disapproved of Becket's resistance to the king of England. He returned to England; but on the death of Becket, A.D. 1172, he again went to France; and in 1179, was made bishop of Chartres, where he died three years after. His works are, *Polycraticus*, or on the fopperies of courtiers, in eight books; in which he displays much knowledge of the world, great wit, and very just views of men and things; *Metalogicum*, in four books, an acute and learned treatise on logic, philology, and philosophy; the life

of St. Thomas of Canterbury; several hundreds of epistles; and a commentary on Paul's epistles. These works have been published separately; but never all together. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Peter Comestor was a native of Troyes, and a priest and dean in that city; then chancellor of the university of Paris. Toward the close of life he retired to the monastery of St. Victor, where he died, A.D. 1188. Numerous manuscript sermons of his still exist. *Historia Scholastica* is a biblical history of the world, from the creation to the end of the book of Acts, in sixteen books. *Tr.*]

⁸ [The Latin writers of this century omitted by Dr. Mosheim, are the following.]

Gilbert, or Gislebert, surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bec, at the commencement of this century. He travelled to Rome, and had a dispute with a Jew, which he afterwards committed to writing, and entitled *de Fide Ecclesiæ contra Judæos*. He also wrote *contra Judæos Liber*; and a great number of Homilies, which are still preserved in manuscript. He died A.D. 1117.

Leo Marsicanus, librarian of Monte Cassino, and cardinal deacon, A.D. 1101. He died after A.D. 1115, having been very active and devoted to the holy see. He left a chronicle of the monastery of Cassino, in three books, from the time of St. Benedict, to A.D. 1055; also some sermons and lives of saints which were never published.

Guibert, or Gilbert, abbot of St. Mary at Nogent, in Laonnois; flourished A.D. 1101, and died A.D. 1124. He wrote a tract on the composition of sermons; morals on Job; *de Pignoribus sanctorum*, libri iii., several other tracts; and *Gesta Dei per Francos*, or history of the crusades, from their commencement to A.D. 1100, in

nine books; published in Bongarsius' Collection, tom. i.

Robert, a Benedictine monk of St. Remigius, at Rheims. He was in the first crusade; and wrote a history of it from A. D. 1095 to 1099, in nine books; extant in Bongarsius' Collection, tom. i.

Hugo, abbot of St. Flavinius, in Burgundy; flourished A. D. 1101. He wrote *Chronicon Virdunense*, in two parts; the first, from the birth of Christ to A. D. 1002, and the second, to A. D. 1102, published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. i.

Rodulphus Ardens, chaplain to William IV., duke of Aquitaine, A. D. 1101. He left sermons on the lessons for the year; published, Cologne, 1604. 2 vols. 8vo.

Theodoric, abbot of St. Trudo, in the diocese of Liege, who died in exile, at Ghent, A. D. 1107. He wrote the life of St. Trudo; and of four or five other saints.

Sigebert Gemblacensis, a monk and writer at Gemblours, A. D. 1101, a partizan of the emperor Henry IV. in his contests with the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from A. D. 381, where Jerome ends, to A. D. 1112; printed among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1585, fol. and by Aub. Miræus, Antw. 1608, also *de Scriptores Ecclesiasticis*; *Epistola pro Ecclesiis Leodiensi et Cameracensi, adv. Ep. Paschalis Papæ*; a life of Sigebert king of France; and some lives of saints. He died A. D. 1113.

Ælnoth, an Englishman, or Dane, a monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury; who spent most of his life in Denmark, and about A. D. 1105 wrote the life and passion of St. Canute, king of Denmark.

Odo of Cambray, a schoolmaster at Orleans, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, chosen bishop of Cambray, A. D. 1105, but refused investiture from the emperor Henry IV. He wrote an exposition of the canon of the mass; and several other tracts, extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Petrus Alfonsus, once Moses, a distinguished Spanish Jew. After his conversion, A. D. 1106, he wrote a dialogue against the Jews; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Stephen Harding, an English monk of Sherborne. He travelled in Scotland, France, and Italy; became first a Benedictine, then a Cistercian in France, where he was made abbot, A. D. 1109, and died A. D. 1134. He composed re-

gulations for the Cistercians, and some other monastic pieces.

Peter, Grossolanus or Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan, A. D. 1110—1116, which office he was obliged to abdicate. He was sent as a papal legate to Constantinople; and has left us an oration, addressed to the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, on the procession of the Holy Spirit: extant, Latin, in Baronius, *Annal.* ann. 1115, and Greek and Latin, in Leo Allat. *Orthod. Græca*, tom. i.

Gille, or Gillebert, an Irish bishop, who died A. D. 1139. He has left us *Libellus de statu ecclesiæ; et Epistole II.* in Ussher's *Epistolar. Hibernicar. Sylloge*, p. 77.

Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximin, without the walls, Treves; flourished about A. D. 1110. He wrote *de Laude et Inventione Crucis Dominicæ*; and several monastic discourses; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xii.

Franco, a schoolmaster, Benedictine monk, and abbot, at Laon; about A. D. 1111. He wrote *de Gratia Dei Libri XII.* (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.) and some other pieces, among which was a tract on the quadrature of the circle, and another on the principles of arithmetic.

John, archbishop of Lyons, who, A. D. 1112, had a contest with his suffragans respecting lay-investitures, which he wished to suppress. His epistle to them on the subject is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1919.

Stephen I. bishop of Augsburg, A. D. 1113—1129; and then a monk of Cluny. He wrote a tract *de Sacramento Altaris*, &c. in the *Biblioth. Patrum*. tom. xx. p. 1872.

Baldric, a native of Orleans, and a monk and abbot of Angers, A. D. 1095; and archbishop of Dol, A. D. 1114—1131. He wrote, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in four books. It is a history of the first crusade, from A. D. 1095 to 1100; and is extant among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and among the *Historici Francici* of Duchesne, tom. iv. He wrote also the life of Hugo, archbishop of Rouen; and the life of Robert d'Arbrissell, founder of the order of Fontevraud.

Earnulph, a monk of Beauvais, whom Lanfranc invited over to England, where he was successively prior of Canterbury, abbot of Peterborough, and bishop of Rochester; and died A. D. 1124, aged eighty-four. He wrote *de incestis Conjugiis*, and *de corpore et sanguine Domini*; in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. ii.

Hermann, a converted German Jew, of Cologne, who was persecuted by his unbelieving friends, became a canon, was contemporary with St. Bernard, and an intimate of Rupert of Duytz. He has left a tract respecting his own conversion; published by Bened. Carpov. Lips. 1687.

Gelasius II. pope, A. D. 1118, 1119. He was nobly born at Gaeta, in Naples, educated at Monte Cassino, made chancellor and cardinal deacon at Rome. He had to fight for St. Peter's chair, and to abandon Rome; and died in France. He has left us six epistles, and a life of St. Erasmus.

Florentius, called Bravonius, an English monk of Worcester, who died A. D. 1118. That year he completed his chronicle, from the creation to A. D. 1118; chiefly borrowed from Marianus Scotus; he also wrote a genealogy of the English kings; both published, Lond. 1592, 4to.

Callistus II. pope, A. D. 1119—1124, has left us thirty-five epistles, published in the Collections of Councils, besides five more in Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. ii. and five sermons in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xx.

Guigo, or Guido, of Dauphiny, a Carthusian monk, and prior, who flourished A. D. 1120. He wrote *Scala Claustralium*, seu *de modo orandi*; several epistles; a life of St. Hugo of Gratianopolis, &c.

Rodulph, abbot of St. Trudo, near Liege; about A. D. 1120. He wrote *Chronicon Monasterii Sti Trudonis*, in thirteen books; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. vii.; also a life of St. Liébert, bishop of Cambrai; *ibid.*

Albert, or Alberic, a canon of the church of Aix, A. D. 1120. He wrote, from the account of others, *Historia Hierosolymitane expeditionis sub Godofrido Bullionao et aliis*, in twelve books, a very good history of the first crusade, from A. D. 1095 to 1120; published by Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 184.

Guaterius, or Galterius, styled the Chancellor, a Frenchman, A. D. 1120. He wrote a history of the capture of Antioch by the Christians, A. D. 1115; and their loss of it, in 1119, when Guaterius was taken prisoner; extant in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 441.

Hugo a Benedictine monk of Fleury, A. D. 1120. He wrote a *Chronicon*, in six books, from Ninus, king of Assyria, to Lewis the Meek, A. D. 840; and an Epilogue, embracing the transactions of Lewis the Meek: also two Books

de Regia Potestate, et Sacerdotali Dignitate.

Robert, surnamed Retensis, an English student and traveller, who flourished A. D. 1120. He travelled through France, Italy, Dalmatia, and Greece, into Syria, where he stayed long, and acquired the Arabic language. Returning, he settled in Spain, studied astrology, and was made archdeacon of Pampeluna. He abridged the Koran, and translated it into Latin. Huet pronounces the translation a wretched one.

Eadmer, Edmer, Ediner, or Edmund, an English Benedictine monk, of Canterbury; the pupil, and friend, and biographer of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. He flourished A. D. 1121; and was for a time bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland; but resigned the see about A. D. 1124, and spent his old age at Canterbury. He wrote *Historia Novorum, sive sui sæculi*, in six books, from A. D. 1066 to 1122; which has been highly extolled; the life of St. Anselm, in two books; and a few tracts on moral subjects. All the above are printed with the works of Anselm. He also wrote the life of St. Wilfred, archbishop of York, extant in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* sæcul. iii. pt. i. Numerous other tracts, historical and religious, are said to exist in manuscript, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Peter Maurice, the Venerable, born of a noble French family; first a soldier, and then a monk of Cluny, where he was abbot from A. D. 1123 to 1156. Pontius, the former abbot of Cluny, gave him trouble, during the first years of his abbacy. In 1126, he commenced preaching and writing against Peter De Bruis. In 1140, he received Abelard, and reconciled both Bernard and the pope to him. He visited Italy on important business, in 1145 and 1150, and was highly honoured by pope Eugene, and the citizens of Rome. He wrote *Epistolarum Libri vi.* Tracts against the Jews; against heresies, and Islamism; against the Petrobrusians; on the transfiguration of Christ; on a translation of the *Koran*, procured by him; and a few other pieces; all published in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, and the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii.

Fulcherius Carnotensis, a monk, or presbyter, who accompanied Robert, duke of Normandy, in the first crusade; of which he wrote a history, entitled *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem peregrinan-*

tium, ab anno 1095 ad annum usque 1124, composed in a coarse style. It was published, imperfect, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and complete in Duchesne's *Scriptores Francici*, Paris, 1640, tom. iv. p. 816.

Honorius II. pope, A. D. 1124—1130, has left us eleven epistles.

Herveus, a Benedictine monk, of Dol, A. D. 1130, wrote a commentary on the epistles of Paul; attributed to St. Anselm, and printed among his works.

Innocent II. pope, A. D. 1130—1143, has left us fifty epistles.

Simeon, an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where he taught philosophy and theology. Afterwards, he became a Benedictine monk, and præcentor in the cathedral of Durham. Here he examined carefully the remains of the library, which the Danes had much injured; and collecting materials from every quarter, became an author. He flourished A. D. 1130; and wrote a history of the church of Durham, from A. D. 635 to 1096; which another hand continued to A. D. 1154; a tract concerning the archbishops of York; another on the siege of Durham; and a history of the English and Danish kings, from A. D. 730 to 1130, which John De Hexham continued to 1155, and from which Roger Hoveden took nearly the whole of his history. These works of Simeon were published by Twisden, in his *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Alger, a deacon and schoolmaster at Liege, during many years, and then a monk of Cluny, under Peter Maurice. He flourished A. D. 1130; and wrote *de Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, adversus Berengarium*, Libri iii. extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. besides some other things, not published.

William of Malmesbury, was a native of Somersetshire, a Benedictine monk, and librarian and preceptor of the monastery of Malmesbury, where he flourished, from 1130 to 1143. He wrote a history of the kings of England, in five books, from the first arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449, to the twentieth year of Henry I. A. D. 1127: a continuation of it in two books, to A. D. 1143; a history of the English bishops, from the arrival of Augustine to his own times, in four books. These works were collected and published by Savile, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601. His life of St. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherburn, is in Maillon's *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. sæcul. i.* p. 1. Some other works of this cele-

brated English historian, are said to exist still in manuscript. [His life of Aldhelm, is also printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 1. There is an *Abbreviation of Amalarius* by him, in MS. in a splendid volume of liturgical tracts, presented by Henry VI. to All Souls college, Oxford. (W. W. IV. 2.) This contains the attack upon Raban Maur, extracted in the Editor's *Bampton Lectures* (p. 414); an important passage, because it is evidence of Malmesbury's adherence to the divinity imported under Lanfranc, and, therefore, a clue to his treatment of Elfric. *Ed.*]

Philip, bishop of Tarentum from A. D. 1136 to 1138, when he was deposed for not adhering to Peter Leonis, the anti-pope, went to France, and became a monk at Clairvaux, under St. Bernard. In 1150, he was made prior, and 1156, abbot of a convent in the diocese of Chartres; which, however, he resigned before his death, and returned to Clairvaux. He has left us 25 epistles, published by Charles Du Visch, subjoined to his *Scriptores Ordinis Cisterciensis*, p. 336.

Peter, born at Rome, A. D. 1110, a student and monk at Monte Cassino, A. D. 1115—1137, then legate to the emperor Lotharius, who employed him at his court till his death. He wrote *de viris illustribus monasterii Casinensis Libri ii.*; *Liber quartus Chronici Casinensis* (A. D. 1086—1138.) *de notis literarum Romanarum*; besides numerous tracts never published.

Guerric, a disciple of St. Bernard, a canon and schoolmaster at Tours, and then a Cistercian abbot in the diocese of Rheims; died A. D. 1157. He wrote sermons on the lessons for the year; printed in an appendix to the works of Bernard, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Philip Herveng, called Eleemosynarius, abbot of Good Hope, in Hainault, A. D. 1140; died 1180. He wrote twenty-one epistles; a mystic commentary on the Canticles; Morals on the Canticles; on Nebuchadnezzar's dream; on the fall of man; on the condemnation of Solomon; six tracts on the dignity and virtues of clergymen; a life of Augustine; and lives of eight other saints; all published, Douay, 1620, fol.

Oderic Vitalis, an Englishman, born at Attingham (in Shropshire), A. D. 1075, sent to Normandy at the age of eleven, where he became a monk, deacon, and presbyter, and flourished about A. D. 1140.

He wrote an Ecclesiastical History, in twelve books, from the birth of Christ to A. D. 1142; published by Du Chesne, among his *Scriptores Normanici*, Paris, 1619, fol. p. 321.

Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, A. D. 1141. He accompanied Lewis, king of France, in his crusade to Palestine, A. D. 1147; was made papal legate to England, in 1160, and much employed in public business, till near his death, A. D. 1182. Many of his sermons, epistles, and epigrams, were published at Paris, 1585, 8vo, and then in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii. Some others have since been published.

Cœlestine II. pope, A. D. 1143, 1144, has left us three epistles.

Lucius II. A. D. 1144, 1145, has left us twelve epistles.

Amedeus, bishop of Lausanne, A. D. 1144—1158. He wrote eight homilies in praise of the Virgin Mary; in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xx.

Otho, or Otto, of Frisingen; of royal German extract; and uncle to the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. He studied at Paris, became a Cistercian monk and abbot, was made bishop of Frisingen A. D. 1138, engaged in the second crusade A. D. 1147, resigned his bishopric in 1156, and died two years after. He wrote a chronological history of the world, from the creation to A. D. 1146, in eight books; with an eighth book on the general consummation; also the life and reign of Frederic Barbarossa, in two books. Both have been often published, and particularly among the German historians, A. D. 1585 and 1670, tom. i.

Robert Pullen, or Pullus, a distinguished English theologian and scholar. He was made archdeacon of Rochester; but, to avoid the confusion of a civil war, retired to Paris, and studied there some time. He returned in 1130, and read lectures at Oxford for five years, and preached every Sunday. He afterwards returned to Paris; and being deprived of the revenues of his archdeaconry, he appealed to the pope, A. D. 1144, who invited him to Rome, and made him a cardinal. He died A. D. 1150. His only work, that has reached us, is *Sententiarum de Trinitate Libri viii.* It is a system of theology; but, unlike Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, it is not a mere compilation from the fathers, but a biblical and argumentative treatise, in which he shows himself a profound and orthodox divine. It was published by Mathoud, Paris, 1655, fol.

Eugene III. pope, A. D. 1145—1153, has left us eighty-nine epistles.

John Burgundio, a native of Pisa, flourished A. D. 1148, died 1194. He translated many homilies of Chrysostom, John Damascenus *de fide Orthodoxa*, and Nemesius' eight books on philosophy.

Anselm, bishop of Havelburg in the duchy of Brandenburg, A. D. 1149, author of three dialogues against the Greeks; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. xiii.

Gilbert Folioth, an Englishman, abbot of Leicester, and A. D. 1149, bishop of Hereford, and, A. D. 1161—1187, bishop of London. He was competitor with Thomas Becket for the see of Canterbury; and ever after, sided with the king against Becket. The king employed him much. He was twice excommunicated by the pope, which he did not regard. His Commentary on the Canticles was published by Junius, Lond. 1638, 4to, and eight of his epistles are among the epistles of Becket, ed. Brussels, 1682.

Henry of Huntingdon, the son of a married English priest, canon of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Huntingdon; flourished A. D. 1150. He wrote *Historia Anglorum, ab ipsis gentis primordiis usque ad Stephani regis mortem*, (A. D. 1154,) *Libris viii.* published by Savile, Lond. 1596, fol. and Francf. 1601.

Ailred, Ealred, or Ælred, either a Scot, or an Englishman; a Cistercian monk and abbot of Revesby, in Lincolnshire; flourished A. D. 1150, and died in 1166. He wrote the life and miracles of St. Edward, king and confessor; genealogy of the kings of England; *de Bello Standardii Tempore Stephani regis; Historia de Sanctimoniali de Watum*; published by Twisden, Lond. 1652. Also sermons on the lessons for the year; thirty-one sermons on Isaiah; *speculum charitatis, libri iii.*; *Tractatus de puero Jesu duodecenni; de spirituali amicitia, libri iii.*; published in the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, tom. v. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Alanus De Insulis, a Fleming, and monk of Clairvaux; an abbot, and, A. D. 1151—1167, bishop of Auxerre; but he resigned his bishopric, and retired to Clairvaux, where he died A. D. 1182. He wrote a life of St. Bernard, published by Mabillon, in the *Opera Bernardi*.

Galfred, called also Arthur, bishop of St. Asaph, A. D. 1151—1175 (Geoffrey of Monmouth): author of a history of Britain, from the earliest times to his own age, in twelve books, a work not

in much repute; published, Paris, 1517, 4to, and among the *Scriptores Britannicæ minores*, Heidelb. 1587, fol.

Potho, a Benedictine monk, of Prum in the diocese of Treves, A. D. 1152. He wrote *de statu domus Dei libri v.* and *de domo sapientiæ liber*; in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xxi.

Nicolaus, a Cistercian monk of Clairvaux, and secretary to St. Bernard; but being accused of forging letters in Bernard's name, he fled into Italy, and long aspersed the character of Bernard. A book of his epistles is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi.; also a book of his sermons in the *Biblioth. Cisterciensis*, tom. iii.

Anastasius IV. pope, A. D. 1153, 1154, has left us thirteen epistles.

Hadrian IV. (Nicolaus Breakspear), the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne. Disappointed of an English monastery, he went to France, studied at Paris, became an Augustinian monk, prior and abbot, at St. Rufus, near Valence. Going to Rome on business, Eugene III. created him a cardinal, and bishop of Alba. In 1148, he was papal legate to Norway and Denmark. In 1154, he succeeded to the papal chair, till his death in 1159. He has left us forty-four epistles.

Elizabeth, a German Benedictine nun, and abbess of Schönaugen, in the diocese of Treves, where she died A. D. 1165, aged thirty-six years. She wrote her *Visions or Revelations*, in three books; and a book of epistles; published, Cologne, 1628.

Ecbert, a German Benedictine monk, and abbot of St. Florin, in Schoonhoven; flourished A. D. 1154; and wrote thirteen Discourses against the Cathari; and the life of Elizabeth, his sister, the abbess of Schönaugen. His discourses are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

Radulphus Niger, a Benedictine monk, in the diocese of Beauvais, who flourished A. D. 1157 (and not in the preceding century, as some suppose). His commentary on Leviticus, in twenty books, published in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xvii. has been much commended. The commentary on the Canticles, ascribed to St. Gregory, and printed with his works, was the production of Radulph.

Zacharias, bishop of Chrysopolis, or a Præmonstratensian monk of St. Martin of Tours; A. D. 1157. He wrote four books of commentaries on the *Μοϋσῆος-ᾠδῶν*, or Harmony of the four Gospels, by Ammonius of Alexandria; published,

Cologne, 1535, fol. and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xix.

Alexander III. pope, A. D. 1159—1181, has left us 337 epistles.

John De Hexham, a native of Hexham, in Northumberland, and an Augustinian monk, A. D. 1160. He continued the history of Simeon Dunelmensis, from 1130 to 1155. See above, p. 444.

Folmar, head of the monastery of Trieffenstein, in Franconia; about A. D. 1160. He opposed the received doctrine of transubstantiation for a time; but recanted. Some of his epistles were published by J. Gretser, subjoined to his *Scriptores cœtaneæ adv. Waldenses*, Ingolst. 1613, 4to.

Adam, a Scot, and regular canon of the order of Præmonstrants; flourished A. D. 1160, and died about A. D. 1180. He wrote a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; a tract on the triple tabernacle of Moses; on the three kinds of meditation; and forty-seven sermons; published, Antw. 1659, fol.

John Belthus, rector of the theological school at Paris, A. D. 1162, (alii, A. D. 1328.) author of *Rationale divinarum officiorum*; published, Antw. 1570, 8vo, Lyons, 1583, and 1592, 8vo.

Arnold Carnotensis, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bonneval, in the diocese of Chartres; an intimate friend of St. Bernard, and still living A. D. 1162. He wrote a number of treatises on practical religion; published at the close of Cyprian's works, ed. Oxon. 1682.

Bonacarsus of Milan, teacher among the Cathari, A. D. 1163. His *Vita Catharorum Hæreticorum* is in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. xiii.

Helmold, a presbyter of Lubec, and a canon; died A. D. 1170. He wrote *Chronicon Sclavorum*, from the times of Charlemagne, to A. D. 1168; published by Hen. Bangert, Lubec, 1659, 4to.

Godfrey Viterbiensis, an Italian of Viterbo; a presbyter, and secretary to the successive emperors, Conrad III., Frederic I., and Henry VI. He travelled much during forty years; and became acquainted with Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. His death was in 1186. He wrote a universal history, entitled *Pantheon*, or *Chronicon universale*, dedicated to pope Urban III.; extending from the creation to A. D. 1186: a work of vast compass; published by J. Pistorius, *Scriptores rerum Germanicar.* Francf. 1584.

Saxo Grammaticus, a Dane, born of an honourable family in Zeeland, dean

of the cathedral of Roschild, and much esteemed by Absalom, archbishop of Lund, who sent him to Paris on business, and prompted him to write his history of Denmark. He flourished A. D. 1173; and died A. D. 1204. His *Historiæ Danicæ libri xvi.* from the earliest times to A. D. 1186, is written in a florid style, and is highly esteemed; best edited by S. J. Stephanus, Soræ, 1644, fol.

Hildegardis, a German abbess of St. Rupert on the Rhine; born at Spanheim A. D. 1098, and died A. D. 1180. Her visions or revelations were solemnly approved and sanctioned by St. Bernard, by many leading bishops of France and Germany, by three different popes, and by a council at Troyes. She wrote *Scivias, seu Visionum sive Revelationum libri iii.*; life of St. Robert, a confessor; thirty-eight epistles; Miscellanies; and an exposition of the rule of St. Benedict; published, Cologne, 1566; and most of them also, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

William of Tyre. Whether born in France, Germany, or Palestine, he is supposed to have been related to the kings of Jerusalem. He was made archdeacon of Tyre, A. D. 1167; soon after was sent on business to Constantinople; in 1169, undertook a journey to Europe; on his return was tutor to Balduin, the prince; and, A. D. 1174, archbishop of Tyre. In the year 1178, he was at the council of the Lateran; and he spent some months at Constantinople. In 1188, Jerusalem being taken by the Saracens, he went to Europe to solicit aid of the kings of England and France. He opposed the election of Heraclius to the bishopric of Jerusalem; who compassed his death by poison, but in what year is unknown. He wrote a history of the crusades to Palestine, from A. D. 1095 to the year 1180, in twenty-three books (very highly esteemed); and published, Basil, 1549, and 1660, and by Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. i. p. 625.

Hugo Etherianus, a Tuscan, who went to Constantinople, and was patronized by the emperor Manuel. He flourished A. D. 1177, and wrote and disputed strenuously against the Greeks. His tract on the intermediate state of the soul, and his three books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Greeks, were published, Basil, 1543, and in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxii.

Richard Hagulstadiensis, a monk and

prior of Hauston (Hexham) in Northumberland, England; flourished A. D. 1180, and died in 1190. He wrote *Historia de statu et episcopis Hagulstadiensis (Hauston) ecclesiæ*; *Historia de gestis regis Stephani*; and *de bello Standardii*, A. D. 1135; published by Twisden, *Scriptores X. Angliæ*, Lond. 1652.

Lucius III. pope, A. D. 1181—1185, has left us two epistles.

Peter Cellensis, abbot of the monastery of Celles, near Troyes; and then of St. Remigius, at Rheims; and, A. D. 1182—1187, bishop of Chartres. He wrote *de panibus liber*; *Mosaici Tabernaculi mystica expositio, libri ii.*; *de conscientia libri*; *Epistolarum libri ix.*; *de disciplina claustrali liber*; and sermons on the lessons for the year; all published by the Benedictine monks, Paris, 1671.

Gaufrid, a French monk, prior and presbyter of Limoges, A. D. 1183; and author of a *Chronicon*, relating especially to the history of France from A. D. 996 to 1184; published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. ii.

Balduin, an English schoolmaster, a Cistercian monk and abbot; bishop of Worcester, A. D. 1181; and archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1185—1191. He accompanied king Richard I. in his crusade, and died in the siege of Ptolemais. He wrote sixteen tracts on practical religion; *de Commendatione Fidei, et de sacramento altaris*; all extant in the *Biblioth. Cisterciens.* tom. v.

Urban III. pope, A. D. 1185—1187; has left us five epistles.

Gregory VIII. pope, A. D. 1187—1187; has left us three epistles.

Clement III. pope, A. D. 1187—1191; has left us seven epistles.

Cælestine III. pope, A. D. 1191—1198; has left us seventeen epistles.

Stephen, a monk and abbot of Orleans, and of Paris; one of the council of regents, during the crusade of Philip Augustus, A. D. 1190; and bishop of Tournay, A. D. 1192—1202. He wrote, between A. D. 1163 and the time of his death, two hundred and seventy-eight epistles; published, Paris, 1682, 8vo; also thirty-one sermons, chiefly on the festivals; and a commentary on the *Decretum* of Gratian; which are still in manuscript.

William Neubergensis, or Neubrigensis, surnamed Parvus; born at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, A. D. 1136; a regular Augustinian canon in the monastery of Bridlington; where he died A. D.

1208, aged 72. He wrote, in a good Latin style, *de rebus Anglicis sui temporis libri v.* from A. D. 1066 to the year 1197; best edited by J. Picard, Paris, 1610, 8vo.

Radulphus de Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, London. He was a traveller; flourished A. D. 1197; and wrote a brief Chronology from the creation to A. D. 1198; and *Imagines Historiarum ab anno 1148 ad annum 1200*; both published by Twisden, *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

John Brompton, an English Cistercian monk and abbot, near York, A. D. 1198; the reputed author of the *Chronicon ab anno 588 ad annum 1198*; published by Twisden, *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652.

Roger de Hoveden, a native of York,

of illustrious English descent, one of the household of king Henry II., and then chief professor of theology at Oxford; flourished A. D. 1198; author of *Annalium Anglicanorum libri ii.* from A. D. 731 (where Bede ends) to A. D. 1202; published by Savile, *Historici Anglici*, Lond. 1595, fol. and Francaf. 1601.

Galfrid, or Gualter Vinesauf, (de Vino Salvo,) a Norman English poet and historian, who flourished A. D. 1199; author of *Historia, sive Itinerarium Richardi Anglorum regis in terram sanctam*; and *Poemata de glorioso rege Richardo*; published among the *Historie Anglicanæ Scriptores*, Oxford, 1687, tom. ii. also of some other works never published. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corrupt state of religion.—§ 2. Corruption of the mass of people, and extreme superstition, shown by examples.—§ 3. Scandalous traffic in indulgences.—§ 4. The pontiffs soon claim a monopoly of it.—§ 5. Biblical theology.—§ 6. Doctrinal theology.—§ 7. The proper *scholastics*.—§ 8. The biblical and dogmatic theologians.—§ 9. Opposers of scholastic theology.—§ 10. Its principal antagonist, St. Bernard.—§ 11. And others.—§ 12. State of moral or practical theology.—§ 13. Polemic theology.—§ 14. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins.—§ 15. Slighter contests among the former.—§ 16. Their controversy respecting John xiv. 28.—§ 17. Concerning the God of Mahumed.—§ 18. Controversy among the Latins, respecting the Lord's supper.—§ 19. Concerning the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin.

§ 1. So many causes conspired to debase religion, and to tarnish and obscure its lustre, by the numberless inventions of human ingenuity, that the preservation of its seeds from total extinction may seem a wonder. In the first place, the Roman pontiffs would have nothing taught, which militated against their proud supremacy. They, therefore, insisted upon having religion explained and modified in subserviency to that form of government which they found marked out by their predecessors. Those who would not obey their laws, or showed that they

regarded holy Scripture more than Roman authority, were most cruelly destroyed with fire and sword. In the second place, the priests and monks, finding it for their interest that the people should be entirely without light and knowledge, amused them with a sort of theatric show, and placed all religion in empty ceremonies, corporeal austerities, and reverence for the clergy. The scholastic doctors united the precepts of the dialecticians with the declarations of the fathers, as constituting a standard of truth; and did not so much explain the principles of revealed religion, as cut them up piecemeal. Their opposites, the *mystics*, maintained that the soul of one truly pious does not move spontaneously, but by a divine impulse; and thus they did not set bounds to human ability, but destroyed it altogether.

§ 2. Hence, instead of religion, astonishing superstition and ignorance reigned everywhere among the people. Most persons placed more reliance upon relics—generally false, or at least dubious and uncertain—than upon *Christ*, or his merits, and upon prayers founded on his mediation.¹ The rich, who were able themselves to build churches, or to contribute money to their erection and repair, esteemed themselves very happy, and the favourites of heaven: and the poor, who were unable to do so, cheerfully submitted to the offices of beasts, in transporting stones and drawing carts, whenever a church was to be built; and they expected eternal salvation for these voluntary hardships.² Departed saints had more supplicants than God himself, and the Saviour of mankind: nor was there much inquiry (as there was in after times) how glorified spirits obtain a knowledge of the prayers addressed to them. For the old notion, derived by the Christians from the pagans, that the celestials often descend to this lower world, and linger about the places to which in their lifetime they were attached, prevailed universally, until the *scholastic* doctors gave this subject a particular discussion.³ If any man or woman, either from a

¹ See Guibert of Nogent's three books, *de pignoribus* (thus they styled *relics*) *sanctorum*; in his works, published by D'Achery, p. 327, &c., where this discerning man assails the superstition of his age.

² See the tract of the abbot Haymo on this very custom; annexed by Mabillon to the sixth volume of his *An-*

nals Benedictini; and also those *Annals*, p. 392, &c.

³ That I may not be thought to give a false representation, I will quote a very explicit passage from the life of St. Almann, bishop of Passau; in Sebastian. Tegnagel's *Collectio veter. monumentor.* p. 41. "Vos licet, Sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis—haud tamen

disordered state of mind, or from a design to deceive, laid claims to divine revelations, the people at large unhesitatingly believed, that God himself conversed with him, in order to instruct the world. This is manifest from the examples of the celebrated German prophetesses, *Hildegardis*, abbess of Bingen, and *Elizabeth*, abbess of Schönaugen.⁴

§ 3. This ignorance and superstition of the people, the rulers of the church basely abused for their own emolument, or to extort money: and each order of the clergy had its own peculiar artifices for spoiling the people of their property. The *bishops*, when they had occasion to raise money, either for good and laudable objects, or for bad and illicit ones, allowed transgressors to buy off the penalties, imposed canonically upon sinners, by advancing money for certain religious purposes: that is, they published *indulgences*: and, what mighty enterprises, and what expensive works, were accomplished in this age, by means of *indulgences*, is known to all.⁵ The *abbots* and the *monks*, who had not this power, resorted to other means for raising money. They travelled about the villages, and through provinces, carrying in solemn procession the carcasses and relics of holy men, which they allowed the people to see, to handle, and to kiss, by paying for the privilege. In this way, they often amassed as great gains as the bishops by their *indulgences*.⁶

§ 4. The Roman pontiffs, perceiving what advantages the inferior bishops derived from their *indulgences*, concluded that the power of the bishops to remit ecclesiastical penalties, ought to be circumscribed, and the prerogative be almost wholly transferred to the Roman see. Accordingly, they began, as the necessities or convenience of the church, or their own interests required, to publish, not merely the common and ordi-

crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis, quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illie degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere.”

⁴ See Mabillon's *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431. 529. 554. [See the notice of these prophetesses in the preceding chapter, note ^a, p. 446 and 447. *Tr.*]

⁵ Stephanus *Obazinensis*; in Baluze,

Miscellanea, tom. iv. p. 130. Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

⁶ Innumerable examples of this mode of extorting money may be collected from the records of this age. See the *Chronicon Centulense*, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354; the life of St. Romana; *ibid.* p. 137. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342. 644. *Acta Sanctor. mensis Maii*, tom. vii. p. 533, in the acts of St. Marculus; where a long journey of such

nary, but likewise the entire and absolute, or the *plenary*, remission of all finite or *temporary* penalties: and they cancelled not only the punishments which the canons and human tribunals inflict, but also those to be endured after death; a stretch of power on which the bishops had never ventured.⁷ They first made use of this authority for the sake of promoting the crusades, and were sparing in the use of it; but afterwards, they exerted it for objects of far less importance and of various kinds, and very often merely for their private emolument.⁸ Upon the introduction of this new system, the ancient system of canonical and ecclesiastical penances was wholly subverted; and *penitential books* and *canons* being laid aside, the reins of moral discipline were everywhere relaxed. To support this proceeding of the pontiffs, an unheard-of doctrine was exco-
 gitated in this century, which *St. Thomas* in the next century improved and perfected: namely, that there is an immense treasury of good works, performed by holy men over and above what duty required; and that the Roman pontiff is the keeper and the distributor of this treasure; so that he is able, out of this inexhaustible fund, to give and transfer to every one such an amount of good works as his necessities require, or as will suffice to avert the punishment of his sins. This miserable and pernicious fiction, it is to be lamented, is still retained and defended.

§ 5. This century abounded in expositors of the holy Scriptures, if one may judge from the multitude of works profess-
 edly of this character; but if we estimate them by their skill and ability, they were almost none at all. For very few in-
 quired after the literal sense of the Scriptures; and even these were destitute of the requisite means of ascertaining it.⁹ Both

relies is described. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 519, 520, and tom. ii. p. 732.

⁷ Jo. Morin, *de Administratione sacramenti, penitentiae*, lib. x. cap. 10, 21, 22, p. 768, &c. Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. 33, p. 371. Jo. Mabillon, Preface to the 5th century of his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened.* p. lxxi. &c. I designedly refer to none of the Protestant writers.

⁸ Laud. Ant. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi*, tom. v. p. 761, &c. Franc. Pagi, *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. ii.

p. 60. Theod. Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II.* in his *Opp. posthum.* tom. iii. p. 333.

⁹ [One considerable cause of this incompetence was, that the monks, among whom nearly all the learning of the age was to be found, held it to be unlawful to learn Hebrew from Jewish teachers. A certain monk (as we learn from the statutes of the Cistercians, A.D. 1198, no. 24 in Edm. Martene's *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 1292,) had learned Hebrew from a Jew; and the abbot of Clairvaux was directed to investigate the matter, and to bring the monk to punish-

the Greeks and the Latins were governed entirely by the authority of the fathers; and compiled from their writings, without discrimination or care, whatever seemed to throw light on the inspired volumes. The reader may inspect, among the Greeks, *Euthymius Zigabenus'* exposition of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles; though he offers many remarks of his own which are not contemptible; and among the Latins, the labours of *Peter Lombard*, *Gilbert de la Porrée*, and *Abelard*, on the Psalms of David, and on the Epistles of Paul. Nor is higher commendation due to the best Latin expositors of nearly the whole Bible in this century; such as *Gislebert*, [or *Gilbert*,] bishop of London, called the *Universal*, on account of the extent of his erudition¹; and *Herveus*, a very laborious Benedictine monk.² Somewhat superior to the rest of the Latins was *Rupert* of Duytz, who expounded various books of the Scriptures; and with him may be coupled *Anselm* of Laon, who composed, or rather compiled, a *Glossa*, as it was called, on the sacred books. Those who chose not to tread in the steps of the ancients, and ventured to try the powers of their own genius, disregarding simplicity, searched after mysteries of every sort in the sacred pages. And in this species of interpretation, none excelled more than the *mystic* doctors, as they are called; for they explained the whole Bible in conformity with the visions of their own minds, and the ideal systems of their own formation. Moreover, those interpreters who made dialectics and philosophy their study, pursued the same course in their expositions of the Scriptures. This mode of interpretation may be seen, distinctly, in *Hugo* of St. Victor's *Allegorical explanations of both Testaments*, in *Richard* of St. Victor's *Mystical Ark*, in *William* of Nogent's *Mystical commentaries on Obadiah, Hosea, and Amos*³; and in some others.

ment. The French Benedictines, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. can find among the vast multitude of clergymen who made pilgrimages to Palestine, only three persons who, in that way, acquired a knowledge of the Arabic and Greek; namely, William of Tyre, one Philip, and the Englishman Adelard. See Semler's *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap.* tom. iii. p. 161. *Schl.*]

¹ Concerning him, see Guil. le Bœuf, *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486. [He wrote notes on

all the Old and New Testaments, and likewise commentaries on certain books, none of which were ever published. *Schl.*]

² An ample account of him is given by Gabr. Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 29, &c. Add Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

³ His prologue on Obadiah was published by Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637, &c.

§ 6. The most distinguished teachers of theology resided at Paris: and, of course, students in theology from all parts of Europe resorted to Paris, in order to attend the lectures of theologians who taught there. The professors of theology in France were divided into several sects. One sect was that of the *ancient theologians*, who supported their religious tenets simply by the declarations of holy Scripture, and by the opinions of the fathers and the decisions of councils; and very rarely introduced any thing of human reasoning. Such, in this century, were, *St. Bernard*, *Peter* the Chanter, *Gualter* of *St. Victor*, and others; who strenuously contended against the *philosophic theologians*. Not totally distinct from this sect, was that which was afterwards called by the name of the *Positivi* and the *Sententiarii*: for these, following the example of *Anselm* of *Canterbury*, *Lanfranc*, *Hildebert*, and others of the preceding century, supported religious doctrines principally by citations from Scripture and the writings of the fathers; but also resorted to reason and philosophy, especially for solving difficulties and refuting objections; and in the use of this resort, some of them were more moderate and cautious, and others less so. The first in this century, who thus explained the principles of religion systematically, is said to have been *Hugo* of *St. Victor*; who was succeeded by many others. But the first rank in this species of labour belongs to *Peter Lombard*, that is, the Italian from *Lombardy*, archbishop of *Paris*; whose *four books of Sentences*, having appeared after the year 1162⁴, at once acquired such authority, that all the doctors began to expound them. And some tell us, that all the doctors of much note, except *Henry* of *Ghent*, and a few others, commented upon this *Master of the Sentences*, as *Lombard* was called, on account of this work.⁵

§ 7. These *Sententiarii*, as they were called, though not without faults, nor entirely free from vain and futile speculations, yet resort to dialectical subtleties with moderation, and do not force the doctrines of revelation to yield submission to human sagacity. But, contemporary with them, arose another and more daring sect of theologians, who had no hesitation to

⁴ Erpold Lindenbrog's *Scriptores Rerum Septentrion.* p. 25.

⁵ A host of these interpreters are exhibited by Ant. Possevin, *Biblioth. Selecta*,

tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.—[For a notice of *Peter Lombard*, and his books of the *Sentences*, see note ², p. 440. *Tr.*]

apply the terms and the distinctions of the dialecticians to the truths taught by revelation, and to investigate the nature and relations of those truths by the principles of logic. The author of this mode of treating theology, which was afterwards called the *scholastic*, because it prevailed in nearly all the schools, was *Peter Abelard*, a man of great acuteness, who was first a canon, and a celebrated teacher as well of philosophy as of theology, and afterwards a monk, and abbot of Ruys.⁶ Eager for the applause which he had obtained, others without number, in France, in England, and in Italy, pursued the same course. In this way, the peaceful religion of *Jesus* was soon converted into the science of wrangling. For these men did not explain any thing, but by multiplying divisions and distinctions obscured and perplexed the plainest truths; wearied both themselves and others with useless and abstruse speculations; so argued on both sides of the most important questions, as to leave them undecided; and, as there were many things in religion which were inadequately expressed in the phraseology of dialectics, they gave occasion for idle and vain-glorious disputants to invent new terms, and to perplex themselves and others with enigmatical trifles.⁷

§ 8. From this time, therefore, the teachers of theology began to be divided into two classes, the *biblical*, who were called *veteres* [the *ancient*], and also, *Dogmatici ac Positivi*; and the *scholastic*, who were called the *Sententiarii*, and also, *novi* [the *new*]. The former interpreted the sacred volume in their schools, though for the most part miserably; and explained religious doctrines nakedly and artlessly, without calling reason and philosophy to their aid, and confirmed them by the testimonies of *Scripture* and *tradition*. The latter did nothing but explain the *Master of the Sentences*, or *Lombard*; and they brought all the doctrines of faith, as well as the principles and precepts of practical religion, under the dominion of philosophy, and involved them in endless perplexities.⁸ And as these *philosophical* or scholastic theologians were deemed

⁶ This is acknowledged by Abelard himself; Epist. i. c. 9, *Opp.* p. 20. See also Jo. Launoy, *de Scholis Caroli Magni*, cap. lix. *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 67.

⁷ See Cas. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201, &c. p. 583, &c. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*,

tom. i. p. 58. Jo. Launoy, *de varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187, &c. ed. Elswich, Vitemb. 1720, 8vo.

⁸ See Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657, &c.

superior to the others in acumen and ingenuity, young men admired them, and listened to them with the greatest attention; whereas the *biblical* doctors, or those of the *sacred page*, as they were called, had very few, and sometimes no pupils.⁹ This state of things prevailed generally, in the schools of Europe, down to the times of *Luther*.

§ 9. But before these dialectical and metaphysical doctors could obtain such an ascendancy in the schools, they had to pass through many perils, contests, and disasters. For they were opposed on the one hand by the *ancient divines*; and on the other by the *mystics*, who supposed true wisdom is to be acquired, not by reasoning, but by silence and contemplation, and to be drawn from the inmost recesses of the soul. The old contest, therefore, between *faith* and *reason*, which had long been dormant among the Latins, was now revived, and produced great commotions every where. Among the patrons of the *old theology*, those who most violently assailed the *scholastics*, were *Guibert* of Nogent¹, *Peter Cellensis*², *Peter Cantor*, or the precentor of Paris³, and others; but especially *Gualter* of St. Victor, in his four books against the four labyrinths of France and the new heretics.⁴ Of the *mystics*, *Joachim*, abbot of Flora⁵, *Richard* of St. Victor, and others, inveighed against

⁹ Roger Bacon, in his larger work addressed to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. (published from the manuscript by Sam. Jebb, Lond. 1733, fol.) pt. ii. ch. iv. p. 28, says: "The Bachelor who lectures on the text (of Scripture), gives place to the lecturer on the Sentences, who is everywhere preferred and honoured by all. For he who lectures on the sentences, has the best hour for reading, according to his choice: he has also an associate, and a chamber among the religious; but he who lectures on the Bible wants these, and begs for an hour to read, such as shall please the lecturer on the sentences. Also the man who lectures on the Sentences, disputes everywhere, and is accounted a Master; but the other, who lectures on the text, cannot dispute, as was exemplified this year at Bologna, and in many other places; which is absurd. It is, therefore, manifest that the text is subordinate, in this faculty (theology), to the one dominant *Summa*." — These words clearly show what estimation was then put upon the sacred volume, and

what authority philosophical theology enjoyed. More remarks follow in Bacon well worth reading. He lived in the *thirteenth* century.

¹ *Tropologia in Oseam*; Opp. p. 203.

² *Opuscula*; p. 277. 399, ed. Bened. dict.

³ In his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, sive *Summa*; published at Mons, 1639. 4to, by Geo. Gallopin: cap. iii. p. 6, 7.

⁴ By the four *Labyrinths* of France, he intends Abelard, Gilbert de la Porree Lombard, and Peter of Poitiers, who were the principal dialectic theologians of this century. See, respecting this work, which was never published, Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619—659.

⁵ [Among his writings, is a book against Lombard, *de Unitate seu Essentia S.S. Trinitatis*; which was condemned in the fourth Lateran council, A. D. 1245. See the *Historia de l'Abbe Joachim, surnomme le Prophete*; Paris, 1745, 2 vols. 12mo, and Fabricius, *Historia media et infim. Lat.* lib. ix. p. 197. *Schell.*]

them; and especially against *Lombard*, notwithstanding that he was much more moderate than the true and proper *scholastics*. The contention and discord were so great, that the sovereign pontiff *Alexander III.*, in a very numerous and solemn convention, A. D. 1164, condemned this immoderate licentiousness of disputing on sacred subjects⁶; and in the year 1179, he censured and disapproved of some things in the writings even of *Lombard*.⁷

§ 10. But there was no more potent adversary of the dialectic theologians in this century than *St. Bernard*; whose zeal was immense, and his influence equal to his zeal. He therefore contended against them, not only with words, but also with deeds, with ecclesiastical councils, and positive enactments. Bitter experience of this was felt by *Peter Abelard*, the chief of the dialectic party at that time, and certainly a man of far more learning and acuteness than *St. Bernard*, though much inferior to him in influence. *Bernard* prosecuted him before the council of Soissons in 1121, and before that of Sens, in 1140, accused him of many and very great errors, and at last procured his condemnation.⁸ *Abelard* was said to have greatly corrupted the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead, to have attacked the majesty of the Holy Spirit, to have spoken dishonourably of the offices of Christ and of the union of the two natures in him, to have denied the doctrine of divine grace; in short, to have nearly subverted all religion. On some points, undoubtedly, *Abelard* expressed himself unsuitably and improperly; and his subtlety was not always without fault: but it is also manifest, that *St. Bernard*, wholly ignorant of philosophy, and distinguished rather for genius than for intellect, did not understand some of *Abelard's* propositions, and others of them he designedly perverted. For this good man used no moderation, either in praising or in censuring.⁹

⁶ Ant. Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad ann. 1164, no. xxi. p. 615.

⁷ Matth. Paris, *Historia major*, p. 115. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 402.

⁸ See Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, artic. *Abelard*, p. 18. Jac. Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et de Héloïse*. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Bénédict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395. Edm. Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139; and numerous others.

⁹ See Jac. Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard*,

tom. ii. p. 162. Jo. le Clerc, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ix. p. 352, &c. Dion. Petavius, *Doctrina Theol.* tom. i. lib. v. c. 6, p. 217, &c. and *St. Bernard* himself in many parts of his works, which the index will point out. At last, after numerous vexations and sufferings, of which he himself has left a history, *Abelard* died a monk of Cluny, A. D. 1142. He was a great man, and worthy of a better age, and of better fortune. [See note ³, p. 437. *Tr.*]

§ 11. Nearly the same fate attended *Gilbert de la Porrée*¹, who, after teaching philosophy and theology with much reputation, at Paris and elsewhere, was made bishop of Poitiers. For his two archdeacons, *Arnald* and *Calo*, who had been trained in the schools of the ancient theologians, having heard him speak too metaphysically respecting the divine nature, accused him of blasphemy, before *Eugene III.*, the pontiff, then in France; and to be more sure of success, they engaged *St. Bernard* on their side. *Bernard*, as was usual with him, prosecuted this business with the greatest vehemence, before the pontiff, first in the council of Paris, A. D. 1147, and then in that of Rheims, the following year. In the latter council, *Gilbert*, in order to end the contest, submitted his opinions to the judgment of the council and the pope. All the errors charged upon *Gilbert*, indicate too great fondness for nice distinctions, and a disposition to bring the doctrines and truths of revelation under the empire of dialectics. For he drew subtle distinctions between the divine essence and God himself, the properties of the divine persons and the persons themselves, not indeed really, but only *in conception* (*statu rationis*), as metaphysicians say; and, relying on these distinctions, he denied that the divine nature became incarnate. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather fanciful and useless, than pernicious and false; but which the good *Bernard*, who was unaccustomed to such subtle speculations, could not comprehend.²

§ 12. The state of moral or practical theology must be apparent from what has been stated. Among the Greeks, *Philip* the Solitary has left us a tolerably neat tract, entitled *Dioptra*: in which he makes the soul to hold a dialogue with the body, and advances various thoughts calculated to promote piety. The other Greeks are not worth naming. The Latin divines who treated of the duties of the Christian life, were of two classes; the one *scholastics*, the other *mystics*. The former treated of the virtues, as they did of the articles of faith; that

¹ [Porretanus.]

² See Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 223, 232, &c. Mabillon, *Annales Bénédict.* tom. vi. 343, &c. 415. 433. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. ii. p. 1175. Matth. Paris, *Historia major*, p. 56. Petavius, *Dogmata Theologica*,

tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii. Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147, &c. [The acts of the councils which condemned the opinions of Gilbert, and which evince his great ingenuousness, are in Harduin's *Collection*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1297. See *Id.*]

is, in a dry metaphysical manner; and generally combined moral theology with dogmatic. The latter very often express themselves beautifully, and in a manner suited to move the soul; yet without method or discrimination, and not unfrequently they tarnish Christian gold with the dross of Platonism. Most of those, also, who expounded the holy Scriptures, may be classed among the moral writers. For, neglecting the literal sense, they forcibly accommodated the language of the sacred writers to the inculcation of internal holiness and the regulation of the life. This is manifest from *Guibert's* Morals on Job, Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; as well as from others.

§ 13. The passion for wrangling, philosophy, or dialectics, which had equally seized Greeks and Latins, rendered them both pugnacious. At the same time, it led men far away from the true method of discussing religious subjects. For they did not argue for the sake of elucidating the truth, but to confound and silence an adversary with subtle distinctions, with words without meaning, with the authority of names, and even with sarcasms and fallacies. Among the Greeks, *Euthymius Zigabenus* composed a prolix work against all heresies; which he entitled *Panoplia*. But, to say nothing of his vanity and extreme credulity, nearly all his proofs are derived (as was the common fault of that age) from the declarations of the earlier writers. *Constantine Harmenopulus* wrote a shorter book on the heretical sects. *Zonaras* inveighed against them in verse. Among the Latins, *Honorius* of Autun composed a book on the heresies; and *Abelard* attacked them all. The miserable and persecuted Jews were assailed by many of the Latins; by *Gilbert* of Châtillon³, *Odo* [of Cambray], *Peter Alfonsus*, *Rupert* of Duytz, *Peter Maurice*, *Richard* of St. Victor, and *Peter* of Blois; the merits of whose works can be easily estimated by such as consider the character of that age. Against the Saracens, *Euthymius*, and some others, appeared as polemics.

§ 14. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins, the subjects of which have already been mentioned, were carried on with great spirit on both sides. On the part of the Greeks, *Euthymius*, *Nicetas*, and others; and on the part of the Latins,

³ [Or, Gilbert, surnamed Crispin, a monk of Bee. See note³, p. 441. *Tr.* of which church he was buried. *Ed.*]
— He was the pupil of Anselm, and died

among others, *Anselm* of Havelburg, *Hugo Etherianus*, and others contended with zeal.⁴ Negotiations for a compromise were repeatedly entered upon, both at Rome and at Constantinople; at the instance especially of the Greek emperors of the *Comnenian* family, who thought the friendship of the Latins capable of rendering great services to the Greeks, in the almost desperate state of their public affairs. But as the Latins aimed at nothing short of absolute dominion over the Greeks, and the Greek patriarchs could by no means be persuaded to subject themselves entirely to the Roman pontiffs, and to anathematize their ancestors, these negotiations for peace had the effect rather to irritate the feelings and increase the hostility of the parties, than to produce a reconciliation.

§ 15. The minor contests need not detain us long. The Greeks, by nature prone to contend and dispute, were scarcely ever free from religious controversies. In this century, especially under *Manuel Comnenus*, who was a learned and over-inquisitive emperor, some contests on religious subjects were excited by the emperor himself; and they produced more excitement among the oppressed people, than was consistent with the welfare of the state. In the first place, a long dispute arose, under this emperor, in what sense it might be said, *the incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the sacrificer*. After a protracted discussion, during which the emperor had maintained an opinion at variance with the prevalent belief, he yielded at length, and came over to the opinion that was generally received. The consequence was, that many persons of high respectability who had disagreed with the church were deprived of their offices.⁵ What opinion was maintained by the emperor, and what was held by the church, on this subject, we are nowhere distinctly informed. But it is probable, that the emperor and some other learned men, disagreed with the mass of the Greeks, in respect to the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of Christ in that ordinance.

§ 16. Some years afterwards, a more violent dispute, respecting the import of Christ's words, John, xiv. 28. *My Father is greater than I*, rent Greece into factions. As various explanations of this passage had long existed, and some new ones

⁴ See Leo Allatius, *de perpetua Consensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. &c. p. 644, &c.

⁵ Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. § 5. p. 112. ed. Venice.

were advanced about this time, the emperor, who from an indifferent prince made but a poor theologian, added his explanation to the number; and summoning a council, he wished to obtrude it upon all, as being the only true interpretation. He decided, that these words of *Christ* refer to *the created and passible flesh of Christ* (κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κτιστὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα). And this decision, engraven on tables of stone, he set up in the great church; and made it a capital offence for any one to teach otherwise.⁶ But the authority of this decree expired with the emperor; and *Andronicus*, afterwards, strictly prohibited all curious discussions on religion, and on this subject in particular.⁷

§ 17. Near the close of his life, the same emperor excited another controversy, respecting the God of *Mahumed*. The catechetical books of the Greeks anathematized the *ὀλόσφυροι* (*spherical* or *globular-shaped*), and solid God of *Mahumed*. For thus the Greeks had translated the Arabic word *elsemed*; which is used in the *Koran*, applied to God; and which has indeed this signification, though it also signifies *eternal*.⁸ This execration the emperor ordered to be stricken out of those books, as being very offensive to the Mahumedans converted to Christianity. The theologians resisted this order; alleging, that it was not God in general, but the error of *Mahumed* respecting God, that was anathematized; and that *Mahumed* affirmed, *God is not begotten, nor doth he beget*. After very tedious altercations and various attempts to settle the dispute, the bishops in a council consented, that in the instruction of youth, the anathema should no longer be levelled at the God of *Mahumed*, but at *Mahumed* himself, his religion, and all his followers.⁹

§ 18. Among the Latins, different opinions were maintained, and not merely in the schools, but also in books respecting the Lord's supper. For, though all seemed disposed to shun connexion with *Berengarius*, yet many were not very far from him

⁶ Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.

⁷ Nicetas, in *Andronico*, lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.

⁸ Hadr. Reland, *de Religione Moham-medica*, lib. ii. § 3. p. 142. — [This word *elsemed* occurs in the *Koran*, Sur. exii. where all modern translators, as well as the Mahumedan expositors, understand it to mean *eternal*. The passage,

as translated by Sale, is this: "SAY, God is one GOD; the *eternal* GOD: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like unto him." It is probable that the Greek translator perverted the meaning of Mahumed, in order to render him ridiculous. *Tr.*]

⁹ Nicetas Choniates, *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

in sentiment; among whom may be named *Rupert* of Duytz, and others¹: because the great Berengarian controversy had not yet plainly determined the *mode* of Christ's presence. This same *Rupert* was involved likewise in other controversies, and especially with *Anselm* of Laon and *William* of Champeaux, and with their disciples after their deaths, respecting the *will and omnipotence* of God. The question was, whether God *wills*, and himself *effects*, whatever takes place; or whether he only *permits* certain things to take place, which he would not have to be. *Rupert* maintained the latter; his opponent the former. He was also censured for teaching, among other erroneous things, that *the angels were created from darkness*; and that *Christ, at the last supper, did not present his body to Judas*.²

§ 19. Besides these and other private contests, there was a public controversy, about the year 1140, respecting what is called the *immaculate conception* of the virgin *Mary*.³ At this time, some French congregations began to observe the festal day consecrated to this *conception*; the English had already observed it for some time, their authority being, as is reported, *Anselm* of Canterbury. Of the more distinguished churches, that of Lyons was the first, or among the first, to adopt this festival. *St. Bernard* being informed of the matter, addressed a letter to the *canons of Lyons* on the subject, in which he severely censured their conduct, and opposed the idea of such a *conception*. This brought on the controversy: some standing forth in defence of the Lyonese and the festival, and others, supporting the opinion of *St. Bernard*.⁴ In this century, however, though the feelings of the parties grew warm, there was some moderation in the discussion. But after the Dominicans had fixed themselves in the university of Paris, the controversy was carried on with far more violence; the Dominicans defending the opinion of *St. Bernard*, and the university approving the practice of the church of Lyons.

¹ Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 30, &c.

² See Mengoz, *Epistola*; published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* [tom. v. p. 623, &c.] tom. vi. p. 20. 42. 168. 261, &c.

³ ["The defenders of the *immaculate conception* maintained, that the virgin *Mary* was conceived in the womb of her

mother with the same *purity* that is attributed to Christ's conception in her womb." *Mab.*]

⁴ See *St. Bernard's Epistle*, lxxiv. tom. i. p. 170, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 135. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 327. Dom. Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Rites of the Greeks.—§ 2. Rites of the Latins.

§ 1. THAT both the public and the private worship of God among the Greeks, through the influence of superstition, was enriched with various additional minute rites, is well attested. And the same passion infected all the Christian communities of the East. Every distinguished individual among the patriarchs of the Greeks, the Nestorians, or the Jacobites, would immortalize himself by some change or amplification of the forms of worship. For the spirit of true religion and piety being, from various causes, nearly extinct, the whole attention of such people was directed to its external signs. One, therefore, ordered the prayers to be recited in a new manner; another changed the mode of singing; another ordained some new honours to be paid to the relics and the images of the saints; and another endeavoured to improve the dress and the manners of the priests.

§ 2. What rites prevailed among the Latins in this century, and how they were interpreted, may be learned from *Rupert of Duytz, de Divinis Officiis*. The plan of this work does not admit of a detailed account of the additions to the public ceremonials.¹ We, therefore, only remark, that the veneration

¹ [We may add a few things to render the account more full. The adorning of churches with pictures and precious objects, was carried further and further. Even the floors were painted and adorned with saints and angels.—New churches were consecrated with sprinkling, inscriptions, anointing, lighting up candles, and with a blessing; perhaps also with singing. The decayed altars that were repaired, must be consecrated anew. More than one altar was now to be found in the same church; for mention is made of the high altar. Altars were ornamented with gold, silver, precious

stones, and costly pictures. Before the saints and images in the churches, expensive lamps and candles were kept burning, which were to be put out only during three days preceding Easter. Baptism was no longer administered as formerly, only at certain seasons of the year, but as often as there were subjects presented. The holy supper was still given in both the elements. Clement III. ordained that none but unleavened bread should be used; and that the wine should be mixed with water. The bad custom of immersing the bread in the cup, and then distributing it, still con-

for the virgin *Mary*, which had before been excessive, was not a little increased, after it began to be extensively inculcated, that she was conceived immaculately. For, notwithstanding *Bernard* and others opposed this doctrine, as we have stated, yet the judgment of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was much more effective than the decisions of the better-informed: and about the year 1138, a solemn festival was instituted in honour of this *conception*; though neither the author nor the place of this new solemnity is sufficiently known.²

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Fanatics among the Greeks.—§ 2. The Bogomiles.—§ 3. Sectarians among the Latins, and the cause of them.—§ 4. The Cathari.—§ 5. Two sects of them.—§ 6. Their organization.—§ 7. The Petrobrusians.—§ 8. The Henricians.—§ 9. The impiety of Tanquelin.—§ 10. Disturbance of Arnold of Brescia.—§ 11. The Waldenses, and their history.—§ 12. Their doctrine and opinions.—§ 13. Constitution of their churches.—§ 14. Minor sects. The Pasagini.—§ 15. The Caputiati.—§ 16. Eon, and his folly.

§ 1. THE Greeks and the other Oriental Christians of this century had sharp contests with various sorts of fanatics, who are represented as believing in a two-fold Trinity; as rejecting matrimony, and the eating of flesh; as despising all external worship of God, even baptism and the Lord's supper; and as placing the soul of religion exclusively in prayer, and holding that an evil demon dwells in the nature of all men, which they

finued. The doctrine of transubstantiation was very generally received in the Latin churches; and the adoration of the host was a natural consequence. *Von Einem*.—We are informed by Alberic, (in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1200.) that the Cistercian abbot Guido, whom the pope had created a cardinal, and despatched as his legate to Cologne, first introduced the practice, at the elevation of the host in the mass, on a signal given by a bell, for the people to prostrate themselves, and remain in that

posture until the benediction on the cup; and that these bells attended the clergy in the administration of the sacrament to the sick, to give the signal for prostration. This new rite was also confirmed by a miracle: for a soldier prostrated himself in the mud, to honour the sacrament as it passed along, and his clothes were not soiled. *Schul.*

² Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

must expel by incessant prayer. The author of this sect, we are told, was one *Lucopetrus*; whose principal disciple, *Tychicus*, is said to have put false interpretations upon many parts of the sacred volume, and especially upon the history of Christ, as given us by St. Matthew.¹ It is certain that there had been, for a very long time, among the Greeks and Syrians, particularly among the monks, men of this description, who were beside themselves rather than bad; and such still existed in this century. But credit cannot be given to all that is reported of them. Nor are the reasons few for believing, that among these people there were many really pious and devoted Christians, who became offensive to the Greeks, because they resisted the outrageous domination and the vices of the priesthood, and derided the monstrous mass of superstition which was sanctioned by the public authority. The Greeks, and the other nations of the East, were accustomed to designate all persons of this description by the odious names of *Messalians* or *Euchites*; just as the Latins denominated all adversaries of the Roman pontiffs, *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*. But it should be noted, that this name was very ambiguous among the Greeks and the Orientals; being applied promiscuously to all, honest or dishonest, wise or delirious,—who disliked the public ceremonies, censured the vices of the clergy, and maintained that piety alone was necessary to man.

§ 2. From this class of persons, it is said, the *Bogomiles* originated; whose founder, one *Basil*, a monk, when he could not be reclaimed, was burnt alive at Constantinople, under the emperor *Alexius Comnenus*.² What has been handed down to

¹ See Euthymius, *Triumphus de Secta Messalianorum*; in Jac. Follii *Insignia Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125. [Euthymius relates much that is fabulous in this book; that the original head of the Messalians was named Peter, but that he called himself Christ; that he promised to appear again after his death, and thence obtained the nickname of *Wolfpeter* *λυκόπετρος*. For as his followers, three days after his death, were looking for his resurrection, the devil appeared to them in the form of a wolf. Tychicus also applied all the texts that speak of God the Father and the Holy Ghost, to his spiritual father, Peter. As for the old Messalians, see this work, vol. i. p. 413, &c. *Schl.*]

² [The emperor devised a singular method for detecting the opinions of this man, which would do honour to the Inquisition. Basil had sent out, after the example of Christ, twelve of his followers as his apostles, in order to propagate his doctrines. One of these, named Dibalatus, was arrested; and he acknowledged that Basil was at the head of the sect. Basil was accordingly searched out, and brought to the emperor, who received him very flatteringly, admitted him to his table, and called him his very dear father. Thus deceived, Basil disclosed to the emperor all the mysteries of his sect; and the emperor caused his whole disclosure to be written down by a stenographer, who

us respecting this man and his opinions, notwithstanding the Greeks have, undoubtedly, mixed some falsehoods with their statements, will satisfactorily show that this system was nearly allied to the religion of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans. For he maintained that the world and human bodies were not created by God, but by an evil demon whom God cast out of heaven : and of course, that our bodies are the prisons of god-like spirits ; and must therefore be subdued by fasting, contemplation, and other exhausting exercises, in order that the soul may regain its lost liberty ; that marriage also should be avoided ; and the kindred tenets, which are well known, and have been repeatedly stated. Hence also, with the Gnostics and Manichæans, he denied that Christ the Son of God had a real body. He also rejected the law of Moses ; and maintained that the human body, at death, reverts back to the mass of depraved matter ; and has no prospect of a resurrection. So many instances of men of this description occur, both in the history of ancient times and of this age, that nobody can wonder at finding one of them raise a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was derived from the *divine mercy*, which they are said to have incessantly implored. For in the language of the Mysians³, *Bogomilus* is one who implores divine mercy.⁴

§ 3. Among the Latins, far more numerous sects existed. For, as the defects of the public religion and the faults of the clergy were continually increasing ; as the pontiffs in general neglected the most important duties of their office, and by various measures, particularly by their *Indulgences*, encouraged

was concealed in the chamber for the purpose. The emperor now laid aside the character of a learner, and attempted to confute the opinions of the enthusiast ; but he defended himself vigorously, and was not to be terrified by menaces of death. Upon this, the emperor commanded all *Bogomiles*, who persevered in their opinions, to be burned alive. Among these, Basil was one, and was burnt. This account is given us by Anna Comnena, in the passage referred to in the following note. *Schd.*]

³ [Mæsiens, or Slavonians of Mæsia. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Anna Comnena, *Alexiados* lib. xv. p. 384, ed. Venice. Jo. Zonaras, *Annales*, lib. xviii. p. 336. Jo. Christ. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum* ; Witteb.

1712, 4to. Sam. Andreas, *Diss. de Bogomilis* ; in Jo. Voigt's *Bibliotheca Historica Hæresologica*, tom. i. pt. ii. p. 125, &c. Chr. Aug. Heumann, *Diss. de Bogomilis*. [They were also called Phundaites, from the *phunda* or girdle which they were accustomed to wear. In the Slavonic language, *Bog* signifies God, and *mili* is equivalent to the Greek *ἐλεος*, *show mercy*. Besides the tenets mentioned in the text, they rejected image-worship ; discarded all mysteries in the sacraments ; also the historical books of the Old Testament, together with Solomon's writings ; and likewise the conclusion of the Lord's prayer, as being an interpolation ; and they admitted no learned men among them. *Schd.*]

irreligion among the people; and as the bishops and the other clergy were more intent on gratifying their lusts than on promoting and diffusing real piety, honest men, who had at heart their own salvation and that of others, could easily see, without any great discernment, that the true religion of the Gospel was lost; and they desired and attempted its restoration. But very few of them were competent to so great an undertaking, as that of reforming religion; for most of them were deficient both in talents and learning; and from the ignorance of their times, they ill understood the Bible. Hence they unavoidably deviated sometimes as much from the religion of Christ, as it is exhibited in the sacred volume, as they did from that of Rome: and at the same time they were extravagant in their censures and amendments.

§ 4. Among the sects of this age, the first place is due to the *Cathari*, of whom mention has been already made. Proceeding from Bulgaria, they made a disturbance in nearly all the countries of Europe; and in all of them, if apprehended, they were miserably put to death.⁵ The religion of this faction had some affinity with that anciently professed by the Gnostics and Manichæans; and hence those who held to it were generally called Manichæans, though they differed on many points from the genuine Manichæans. They are agreed in the following opinions: namely, that evil originates from matter; that the creator of this world was a different being from the supreme God; that Christ had not a real body, nor was he truly born, or crucified; that all human bodies are the work of an evil demon, and that they perish without a prospect of resurrection; they denied that baptism and the holy supper are of any use; they enjoined an austere and rigorous mode of living, abstinence from flesh and all animal substances, from wine, and matrimony; they despised the books of the Old Testament, and revered only the New Testament, especially the four Gospels; and to pass over several things, they believed that rational souls, by a lamentable misfortune, are inclosed in these bodies, and must be liberated from them by continence, fasting, coarse fare, and other mortifications.⁶

⁵ See the compilations of Car. Plessis d'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i., to which, however, much more might be added respecting this universally persecuted and exter-

minated set of men. [For the history of this sect in the preceding century, see p. 392, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ Besides the writers hereafter quoted, see a *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Pa-*

§ 5. These common sentiments were explained and defined differently by their teachers; so that they were divided among themselves into sects; which however, as they were all subject to persecution, disputed with moderation and calmness. There were two principal parties or sects among these *Cathari*. The one approach near to Manichæism, and maintained two eternal first causes of all things, the God of light, who was the father of Jesus Christ, and the prince of darkness, by whom they supposed the visible world to have been created; the other party admitted but one first cause, the father of Jesus Christ, and the supreme God, by whom, they affirmed, the first matter was produced; but they added to this, that the evil demon, after his revolt from God, digested and separated this matter into the four elements, so that it could be formed into a world. The former held also, that Christ, clad in celestial flesh, descended into Mary, and received nothing from her substance; while the latter believed that Christ assumed *in* Mary, though not *from* Mary, a body that was not real, but imaginary.⁷ The sect which maintained *two first causes* was denominated, from the place where its principal bishop resided, the sect of *Albano* or the *Albanensians*; and it was subdivided into the adherents of *Balazinansa*, bishop of Verona, and the adherents of *John de Lugio*, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which maintained *one first cause*, was divided into the church of *Bagnolo*, which is a town of Provence, and the association of *Concorregio*, or *Concorrezzo*. To the church of *Bagnolo*, or *Baiolo*, belonged the community that resided in France, and bore the name of *Albigensians*.⁸

terinum; published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703, &c. and Bonacursus, *Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*; in Luc. D'Achery's *Spicilægium*, tom. i. p. 208, &c.

⁷ See Bernh. Moneta's *Summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*; published by Tho. Aug. Richini, Rome, 1743, fol. with a dissertation prefixed, *de Catharis*, but which is of no great value. Moneta was a respectable writer for the age in which he lived. See lib. i. p. 2. 5. lib. ii. p. 247, &c. [Moneta is, in general, the best historical writer on this subject. He was of Cremona, and of the earliest Dominicans, after being long a professor at Bologna. He was still alive A. D. 1233. *Schl.*]

⁸ Raynerus Sachonus, *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*; in Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v. p. 1761. 1768. [Rayner himself lived seventeen years among the Cathari, and was a leader among them; which gives much weight to his history. *Schl.*] Peregrinus Priscianus in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 93, where he gives a tabular view of the differences between these sects; yet he erroneously denominates these Albigenses, whom he should have called Albigensians, and who were a branch of the Baiolensians; perhaps it was a mistake of the printer. The opinions of these Baiolensians, or Bagnolensians, may also be well learned from the *Codex Inquisitorius*, published by

§ 6. The internal arrangements of this church had many singularities, which cannot be explained in a narrow compass. The government was administered by *bishops*: but each of these had two vicars attached to him, one of whom was called the *elder son*, and the other the *younger son*. The other teachers or priests were called *Deacons*.⁹ All these, but especially the bishops and their *sons*, were held in immense veneration. And as their moral principles were peculiarly rigid and austere, and not suitable nor tolerable to all, it was necessary to divide their people, as the Manichæan congregations were anciently divided, into two classes, the *comforted* (*consolati*), and the associated, or *confederated* (*fæderati*). The former exhibited a great show of piety, and led in celibacy a life of peculiar rigour, and destitute of all common gratifications and conveniences. The latter, except observing a few rules, lived in the manner of other people; but they made a covenant, which, in Italian, was called *convenenza*, with the church, that, before they died, at least in their last sickness, they would enter the stricter church, and receive the *consolation*, which was their term for initiation.¹

§ 7. Of far better character than these, was the presbyter *Peter de Bruys*; who, about the year 1110, attempted a restoration of true religion in Languedoc and Provence, provinces of

Phil. Limborch, with his *Historia Inquisitionis*. But what Limborch has himself written concerning the opinions of the Albigensians (*Historia Inquis.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 30, &c.) is inaccurate, and not free from errors. I have spent much time in examining these sects, and discriminating among them; a subject which the partialities of authors, and other causes, have greatly obscured. But there is not room here to enlarge. [According to a note of Joh. Conr. Fuesslin, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzehistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 128, (whose correctness, however, I cannot judge of,) the Albigensians here mentioned, must not be confounded with the Albigensians that appeared in Languedoc; for they lived at Alby, in Montferrat. *Schl.*—According to Rayner, there were sixteen communities, or associations of Cathari; namely, the Albanensians, or those of Donmezacho, the members of which were at Verona and in other parts of Lombardy, about 500

in all; those of Concorrezzo, spread over all Lombardy, and more than 1500 in number; those of Basolo, at Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and in Milan; others at Vicenza, or in the margravate; in the territory of Florence; in the valley of Spoleto; the French at Verona and in Lombardy; at Toulouse; at Carcasson; in the region of Albi; the Slavonians; the Latins at Constantinople; the Greeks there; those at Philadelphia in Romania; the Bulgarie and the Duguntic. In the whole world, there were at that time not quite 4000 Cathari. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 484. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Ministers. *Tr.*] See Rayneri Sachoni, *Summa de Catharis*, p. 1766, &c.

¹ These statements may be substantiated from the writers that have been mentioned, especially from the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, and others. [For a more full account of the Cathari, see Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 477, &c. *Tr.*]

France; and having drawn many to follow him, after journeying and labouring for twenty years, was burnt by the enraged populace at St. Gilles, A. D. 1130. The whole system of doctrines inculcated by this *Peter* upon his followers, who, from him, were called *Petrobrusians*, is not known; yet there are five of his opinions that have reached us: I. That persons ought not to be baptized until they come to the use of reason. II. That it is not proper to build churches; and that such as are built should be pulled down. III. That the holy crosses ought to be destroyed. IV. That the body and blood of Christ are not distributed in the sacred supper, but only the signs of them. V. That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, do not profit the dead.²

§ 8. He was followed by one *Henry*, an Italian perhaps³, an eremite monk, the parent of the sect of the *Henricians*.⁴ From Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, he came to Maine; and being driven thence, he travelled through Poitou, Bordeaux, and the adjacent regions, and at last, in the year 1147, reached *Toulouse*; and every where boldly declaimed against the vices of the clergy, and the defects of the prevailing religion, with the applause of the multitude. Being ejected from Toulouse by *St. Bernard*, he took to flight; but was apprehended by some bishop, brought before *Eugene III.*, the Roman pontiff, then holding a council at Rheims, and by him committed to prison, A. D. 1148, where he soon after died.⁵ An accurate account

² See Peter the Venerable, *contra Petrobrusianos Liber*; in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1117. Jo. Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, period iv. p. 140, &c. [See also, Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* tom. xxix. p. 515, &c. Almost the only source of all that is known of Peter de Bruys and his doctrine, is the epistle or tract of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, written expressly to confute the errors of Peter de Bruys, about A. D. 1141. This tract is printed in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, fol. p. 1117—1230; and in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum Lugdunensis*, tom. xxii. p. 1033, &c. The author states and confutes, in as many chapters, the five errors mentioned by Dr. Mosheim; and he says these were the chief errors disseminated by Peter de Bruys, though his disciple Henry advanced a great many others. *Tr.*]

³ [This is the conjecture of Mabillon, in his Preface to the works of St. Bernard, § 6, but Henry may have been a Swiss; as Fuesslin supposes, l. c. p. 214. *Schll.*]

⁴ [This name occurs often in a different application, denoting the adherents to the emperor Henry IV. in his contest with the popes respecting investitures. For, as is well known, the pope declared the principles of Henry in respect to investitures to be *heresy*; and his son Henry V. had to abjure expressly the Henrician heresy. Thus, *i. g.*, are his adherents denominated in the Acts of the council of Quedlinburg (Quedlinburgense), A. D. 1085; in Harzbach's *Council. Germ.* tom. iii. p. 200. *Schll.*]

⁵ *Gesta Episcoporum Commanensium*; in Mabillon's *Antiqua Veteris. Eccl.* p. 315, &c. new ed. The epistle of Gaudrid, inserted in the close of the sixth book of Mabillon's *Life of St. Bernard*; in the

of the doctrines of this man also, has not come down to us. We only know that he too disapproved of infant baptism, inveighed severely against the corrupt morals of the clergy, despised the festal days and the religious ceremonies, and held clandestine assemblies. Some represent him as being a disciple of *Peter de Bruys*; but on what authority they rely, I do not know.⁶

§ 9. While these persons were making France uneasy, in Brabant, about the year 1115, one *Tanquelin*, or *Tanquelm*, a man quite uneducated, occasioned very great commotions at Antwerp, and collected an exceedingly numerous party. He was either deranged, or a shameless villain, if credit is due to all that his enemies say of him. For he went about in great pomp; said he was God, or the Son of God; ordered daughters to be debauched in presence of their mothers; and the like. But these statements are not merely hard to be believed, but absolutely incredible.⁷ This *Tanchelm* seems to have imbibed the principles of the mystics; to have despised public worship, the sacred supper, and baptism; and to have held secret meetings for religious purposes. And the cause of the numerous calumnies propagated against him probably was, that he, like others of this character, inveighed strongly against the priests and the whole clerical order. He was slain by one of the priests; but his sect did not die with him. It was, however, extinguished

Opp. Bernardi, tom. ii. p. 1207. Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 71. Jo. Mabillon, Preface to the *Opp. Bernardi*, § 6. *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

⁶ I cannot easily believe he was so: for, to mention no other argument, Peter de Bruys would not tolerate crosses; but Henry entered into a city bearing the standard of a cross in his own hand. See Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 316, &c. [Peter, abbot of Cluny, however, expressly calls him an apostle of Peter de Bruys (in the *Biblioth. Cluniacensis*, p. 1123); “qui duobus tantum homuncionibus Petro de Bruis et Henrico ejus pseudapostolo tam facile cessistis.” Also, *ibid.* p. 1117, he says, “After that impious (Peter de Bruys) had been removed from one fire to another, from this transitory to an eternal; the heir to his wickedness (*hæres nequitie ejus*) Henry, with I know not what others, did not reform, but altered the

diabolical doctrine; and, as I saw written in a note-book containing his own words, he published not merely five, but many errors. But as I have not yet full evidence that he thus thought or preached, I omit to confute them;” *i. e.* the additional errors.—How Henry altered, or enlarged the doctrines of Peter, does not appear. He seems to have been a very popular preacher against the vices of the clergy, and the formal heartless devotion of the age. And it is probable, he dwelt more upon practical religion, than doctrinal. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 517, &c., and Neander’s *Heilige Bernard*, p. 254, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ The epistle of the church of Utrecht to bishop Frederic, concerning Tanchelm; in Seb. Tegnagel’s *Collectio veterum monumentor.* p. 368, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98. Argentre, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

finally, it is said, by the celebrated *St. Norbert*, founder of the Premonstratensians.⁸

§ 10. In Italy, *Arnold* of Brescia, a pupil of *Peter Abelard*, a man of learning and stern morals, but of a restless temper, attempted a revolution both civil and ecclesiastical. *Innocent II.* compelled him, after being condemned in the Lateran council of 1139, to retire into Switzerland.⁹ But he returned,

⁸ Lud. Hugo, *Vie de S. Norbert*, liv. ii. p. 126. Chrys. van der Sterre, *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. 36, p. 164, and the notes of Polyc. de Hertoghe upon it, p. 387, &c. [Abelard speaks of Tanchelm (*Introduct. ad Theologiam*, lib. ii. Opp. p. 1066,) as a layman who had the folly to give himself out for the Son of God, and allow churches to be erected to his honour. He first travelled to Rome in the garb of a monk, accompanied by a priest; returned soon after to Utrecht, and there obtained many followers. As there was then no bishop at Utrecht, the clergy wrote to the archbishop of Cologne for aid against him; and in this famous letter they style him antichrist; and say he set at nought the pope, archbishops, bishops, and the whole clergy, distributed Christ with his own hands, and maintained that he and his followers were the only true church. They state that he first preached to the ignorant people on the sea-coast; gained over many women, with whom he had lascivious intercourse, and by their means propagated his errors. He now preached in the fields to large assemblies; and was surrounded by a body-guard, like a king, who attended him with arms and a banner. He despised the sacraments, dissuaded from attending the eucharist, and forbade paying tithes to the priests. At last he called himself God; because he had the Holy Ghost as really as Christ had. Some so revered his divinity, that they used the water in which he washed, as a sacrament. He betrothed an image of the virgin Mary; and his followers contributed a splendid feast for the occasion. In short, the letter says, the enormities of Tanchelm and his followers are innumerable; and they have brought the public worship into such contempt, that the person who most despises it, is esteemed the best saint.—From Utrecht, Tanchelm went to Antwerp, (according to the author of the life of St. Norbert,) and was attended by 3000 armed men. At length, about A. D. 1124 or 1125, a

priest slew him. But his followers could not be brought to renounce his errors, till St. Norbert came among them. "If we give credit to these statements," says Schroeckh, (*Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 658,) "though they appear somewhat overcharged, Tanchelm was both a madman and a villain, who scarcely deserves to be mentioned in a history of religion. Mosheim supposed he was a mystic, who despised external worship, and severely lashed the vices of the clergy. But for this position there is not sufficient testimony." *Tr.*]

⁹ [Arnold is not named in the canons of this council. The twenty-third reads thus: "Eos—qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, Domini corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, baptisma puerorum, sacerdotium, et ceteros ecclesiasticos ordines, et legitimarum damnant fœdera nuptiarum, tanquam hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus et damnamus, et per potestates exteras coercere præcipimus." Thus it refers rather to Peter de Briuys. (For it recounts his errors. Besides, it excommunicates the persons referred to, and delivers them over to the secular sword; but Arnold was not excommunicated nor committed to the executioner at this time. *Tr.*) Yet Otto of Freysingen (ad ann. 1139) expressly states, that Arnold, as well as the Petrobrusians was condemned by this council. He was also banished from Italy, and forbidden to return without permission from the pope. Gunther, in his *Ligu-rinus*, lib. iii. v. 275, where he states his doctrines, makes this just remark: "He gave us many just rebukes, mixed with false ones; but our times would not bear faithful admonitions." After his banishment, Arnold went first into France to Abelard; and from him to Guido, the papal legate, who not long after was himself pope, under the name of Coelestine II. But St. Bernard persecuted him wherever he could find him, and compelled him to escape incarceration by fleeing to Zurich; where he became

on the death of *Innocent*, and gave great trouble to the new pontiff *Eugene*. After various fortunes, he was seized, and in the year 1155, hanged, and his body burnt to ashes. The unhappy man does not appear to have attempted any violence or injury to religion; but perceiving the immense evils and discords that arose from the vast riches of the pontiffs, bishops, and priests, he thought it required, by the interests of the church and of the world, that the clergy should be stripped of their possessions, prerogatives, and revenues. He therefore maintained, that all the wealth of the Roman pontiff, and also of the bishops and the monks, ought to be transferred to the civil authorities; and nothing be left for any of the ministers of God, but their spiritual powers, and the tithes and voluntary gifts of Christians.¹ Venerable on several accounts, he had numerous followers, who, from him, were called *Arnoldists*; and who, in subsequent times, often showed themselves, as occasions would permit.

§ 11. But of all the sects that arose in this century, no one was more famous, or obtained higher reputation for probity and innocence, even with its enemies, and no one could count more disciples, than that of those called from their founder, the *Waldensians*; from the place whence they sprang, the *poor men of Lyons*, or the *Leonists*; from the wooden shoes worn by their teachers, and a certain mark upon them, *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati*.² *Peter*, a rich merchant of Lyons of France, born at

a teacher, and was much listened to. Presently a letter was despatched from St. Bernard to the bishop of Constance, warning him to banish Arnold out of his diocese. After residing about five years at Zurich, he returned to Rome, A. D. 1145, at a time when the citizens of Rome had been long struggling to restore the ancient consular government, and to free themselves from the civil authority of the pope. These disturbances Arnold promoted under the reigns of Eugene III. and Anastasius IV. But Hadrian IV. excommunicated him, and ordered him into exile. Arnold laughed at it so long as the citizens supported him. At last the pope laid the city under an interdict, [the first that was ever laid on Rome,] and compelled the citizens to give up supporting Arnold. He had now to leave Rome, and went into Campania, where the margrave and the people revered him as a man of God. In the

year 1155, the emperor, Frederic I., was advancing towards Rome, and entered into a negotiation with the pope respecting his approaching coronation. Here the pope conditioned that Frederic should deliver Arnold of Brescia into his hands. Frederic fulfilled the stipulation, and Arnold was strangled to death; and to prevent the people from paying veneration to his corpse, it was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber. *Schl.*—See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvi. p. 110, &c. 131. 153, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ See Otto of Frisingen, *de Gestis Friderici I.* lib. ii. c. 20. St. Bernard, *Epist.* 195, 196, tom. i. p. 187, &c. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157. Muratori, *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 137, &c. Bünau, *Vita Friderici I.* p. 41. Chauffepied, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. p. 482.

² They were called Leonists, because

Vaux, or *Valdum*, or, *Validium*, a town in the marquise of Lyons, and therefore called *Valdensis* and *Validisius*, being a very pious man, procured the translation of certain books of the Scripture, especially the four Gospels, and of various passages from the fathers, from Latin into French, after A. D. 1160, by the hand of *Stephen de Evisa*, a priest of Lyons.³ By reading these books attentively, he learned that the religion then commonly taught to the people in the Romish church, differed altogether from that which *Jesus Christ* himself and his apostles had taught; and earnestly desiring salvation, he distributed his property among the poor, and in the year 1180, with some other pious men, whom he had associated with him, he took upon himself the office of a preacher. The archbishop of Lyons, and the other prelates, opposed this proceeding. But the simple and holy religion which these good men professed, the spotless innocence of their lives, and their contempt for all riches and honours, took such hold upon great numbers, who had some sense of religion, that they readily yielded to them.⁴ Hence

they originated at Leona: so Lyons was called in that age. The more perfect among the Waldensians wore mean or wooden shoes, which, in French, are called *Sabots*; and likewise the sign of the cross upon their *sabots*, to distinguish them from others. And hence the names of *Sabbatati* [shod with *sabots*], and *Insabbatati* [marked on their *sabots*]. See Du Fresne, *Glossarium Latin. mediev.* tom. vi. p. 4, art. *Sabbatati*. Nicol. Bymericus, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, pt. iii. no. 112, &c.

³ See Stephen de Borbone, *de septem Donis Spiritus Sancti*; in Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Domini-canor.* tom. i. p. 192. An anonymous tract, *de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*; in Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777. [Stephen de Borbone calls the translator, employed by Waldus, Stephen of Ansa; and others, of Emsa. And I suspect that Mosheim wrote Emsa, though, by an error of the press, Evisa occurs in both the old and the new edition of his Institutes. In placing the commencement of Waldus' attempt to reform religion after the year 1160, Dr. Mosheim has followed Moneta. But Stephen of Borbone says, "This sect began about the year of Christ 1170, under John, called Bolesmanis, archbishop of Lyons." *Schl.*]

⁴ Those who assign a different origin to the Waldensians, and particularly those who say they were so called from the *valleys* in which they had lived many ages before the times of Peter Waldus, have no authorities for their opinion, and are refuted by all the historians. [This opinion was first advanced by Beza; and John Leger (in his *Histoire générale des Eglises Vaudoises*) has taken all pains to make it appear plausible. But they are well confuted by Fuessli, in his *Kirchen-und Ketzergeschichte der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 295, &c. *Schl.*] I will readily grant, that long before these times there had been, resident in the valleys of Piedmont, persons who rejected the prevailing opinions of the Romish church, and who agreed in many things with the Waldensians. But those inhabitants of the valleys must be distinguished from the [proper] Waldensians, or followers of Peter Waldus, whom all the writers represent to have originated at Lyons, and to have derived their name from this Peter Waldus. [Dr. Maclaine here boldly attacks the opinions of Mosheim; and citing some of the arguments of Leger, asserts the higher antiquity of the Waldensians, from whom, he says, Peter of Lyons derived the name of Waldus. It is of little consequence whether Peter

they set up societies, first in France, and then in Lombardy; and these multiplied and spread, with amazing rapidity, through

Waldus gave name to the sect of the Waldensians, or derived his own name from them; but the origin and antiquity of the sect are of more importance. On this subject, Schroeckh, (in his *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 527, &c.) makes the following remarks. As to their age and origin, the ground of their separation from the Romish church, and especially whether they were heretics or reformers, there has been the more controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, because the interests of their respective churches were involved in the discussions. But these party and polemical narratives, which have done so much harm to history, are becoming more and more rare: and we purpose to state only what the lovers of truth, of both parties, may approve.—It was usual formerly to trace the origin of the Waldenses to a very high antiquity; and it must be acknowledged, that a writer of the thirteenth century, who has been already mentioned as first a partizan and then an opposer of the Cathari, Rainerius Saccho, has given occasion for this opinion. In his *Liber adv. Waldenses*, c. 4, (in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 262, &c.) he writes concerning them, under one of their appellations, (*Pauperes de Lugduno*), “Their sect has been the most injurious of all to the church of God, on account of their antiquity; for they, according to some, originated in the times of the Romish bishop Silvester, in the fourth century; and, according to others, existed as early as the days of the Apostles.” But neither Rainer nor the records of history give the least ground for this assertion; which he seems to have borrowed solely from some Waldensians. In more modern times various arguments have been adduced to support the same position. Especially has one of the principal historians of the Waldensians, himself once a preacher among them in the 17th century, John Leger, in his French work, (*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont, ou Vaudoises*; Leyden, 1669, 2 tom. fol.) given himself much trouble to prove that they existed long before the twelfth century. He first cites some ancient and modern historians who are thought to have found traces of them; but who were either too recent to be good witnesses in the case, or have confounded

the Manichæans of the eleventh century, and other opposers of the church of Rome, with the Waldensians. The opinion he adopted from Beza, that these people of his own religion derived their name from the *valleys* (*Vallées*, or, in their own language, *Vaux*), in which most of them resided, is a mere conjecture, founded on the resemblance of the words; though it has long been admitted, that for centuries there had existed in the valleys of Piedmont various sorts of people, who were not in communion with the Romish church. Equally unsupportable is the assertion of Leger, that the Waldensians were descended from Claudius, the famous bishop of Turin, in the ninth century. With more plausibility he argues their high antiquity, from a poem written in the Provençal dialect, and entitled, *The Noble Lesson* (*La noble Leyçon*); which was supposed to be the production of a Waldensian about A. D. 1100. The very name Waldensians (*Vaudés*) occurs in it. But Fuesslin, who has most fully investigated this subject, (l. c. p. 299, &c.) has shown, that this poem may have been written long after the year 1100, and can hardly have been composed by an inhabitant of the valleys of Piedmont. Basnage also has made Claudius (whom he misrepresents as separating from the communion of the Romish church,) to be the father of the Waldensians, and has used other invalid proofs of their high antiquity. (*Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1434.) In an essay (subjoined to the German translation of Fleury's *Eccles. History*, vol. xi. p. 486, &c.) on the community which was persecuted, under the name of the Manichæans, the same opinion is maintained; and for proof of it, a Waldensian confession of faith is relied on, which, without any proof, is assigned to the year 1120. And in the latest histories of the Waldensians by Protestants in Germany, we find this high antiquity of the sect assumed, but not proved. The writers, on the contrary, who lived about the middle of the 13th century, several of whom were personally acquainted with the men who had been active in producing the sect of the Waldensians, unitedly tell us, that it was Peter Waldus, (called also Valdo, Valdensis, and in his native language, probably, Vaud,) a rich citizen of Lyons,

all the countries of Europe: nor could they be exterminated entirely, by any punishments, whether by death, or other forms of persecution.⁵

§ 12. *Peter Waldus* and his associates did not aim so much to change the system of religion, or to inculcate new articles of faith, as to restore the form of the church, the morals of the clergy, and the lives of Christians, to that primitive and apostolic simplicity, which they thought themselves to have learned from the words of Christ especially. They taught, accordingly, that the Romish church had degenerated from its original purity and sanctity, in the times of *Constantine* the Great: they denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff: they would have the rulers and ministers of the church imitate the poverty of the apostles, and procure their own frugal and slender sustenance by manual labour: they asserted, that authority to teach, to confirm, and to admonish their brethren, was, to a certain extent, given to all Christians: the ancient penitential discipline, which was nearly subverted by the grants of *indulgences*, that is, the making satisfaction for sins, by prayer,

who gave, between the years 1160 and 1180, both existence and an appellation to this sect. *Tr.*—Mr. Maitland maintains this view, and accounts for the surname borne by Peter, by showing that whatever be its origin, it was far from uncommon, nor in the form of *Wood*, unknown to England. (*Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses.* Lond. 1832, p. 109.) Upon this etymological question it may be observed, that not *Wood*, but *Waud*, *Wadd*, and *Waddy*, appear to be the English forms of the name *Waldo*. Mr. Faber, however, from Pilichdorf, a writer of the thirteenth century, derives the name *Valdenses* from one Peter, who sprang from the region *Valdis*, three hundred years after Constantine. *Valdis* he considers to be the vallies of the Cottian Alps, immemorably inhabited by the Waldenses. The name *Leonists*, he considers to have come not from *Lyons*, the residence of Peter Waldo, but from a place far less considerable, once similarly named, *Lugdunum Convenarum*, in Aquitaine, now *St. Bertrand*, the birth-place of Vigilantius, whom Jerome so scurrilously attacked for opposing the paganism that was daily mingling with

Christianity. (*An Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses.* Lond. 1838, pp. 279. 302.) The second of these etymologies may, perhaps, be thought an ingenious but bold conjecture. The first is less easy to dispose of. *Ed.*]

⁵ See, in addition to the ancient writers concerning the Waldensians, *e. g.* Sachoni, *Summa contra Valdenses*; Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published a few years since at Rome by Richini; the tract *de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno*, published by Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777, &c. Pilichdorf, *contra Valdenses*, in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, tom. xxv. and many others; Jo. Paul Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois*, Geneva, 1619, 8vo, [also in English, Lond. 1624, 4to. *Tr.*] Jo. Leger, *Histoire générale des Eglises Vaudoises*, liv. i. cap. 14, p. 156. Jac. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiæ Occidentis*, c. viii. p. 209, &c. Jac. Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Réformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 329, &c. Thom. Aug. Richini, *Diss. de Waldensibus*; prefixed to Moneta's *Summa*, p. xxxiv. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. 292; and many others. [Especially Fuessli, l. c. vol. i. p. 293—354. *Schl.*]

fasting, and liberality to the poor,—they wished to see restored: and these *satisfactions*, on which they laid great stress, they believed any devout Christian could enjoin upon those that confessed: so that it was not necessary for people to confess their sins to priests, but only to lay open their transgressions to individual brethren, and look to them for advice: the power of forgiving sins and remitting the punishment of them, they held to belong to God only; and, therefore, that *indulgences* were an invention of base avarice: they regarded prayers and other rites performed in behalf of the dead, to be useless ceremonies; because departed souls are not detained and subjected to a purgation, in some intermediate region, but are, immediately after death, either taken into heaven, or sent into hell: with other things of a similar nature. Their morals were very strict; for they explained our Saviour's sermon on the mount, according to the literal import of the words; and, therefore, disapproved altogether of war, law-suits, efforts to acquire wealth, capital punishments, taking any oath, or defending one's life or limbs against offered violence.⁶

§ 13. The Waldensian church was governed by *bishops*, (whom they styled *Majorales* or *elders*,) with *presbyters*, and *deacons*: for they confessed these orders to have been instituted by Christ himself. But all these officers were to be like the apostles; that is, uneducated men, and absolutely poor, or possessing no property, working people besides, able to procure for themselves the necessaries of life by their own industry.⁷

⁶ See especially, the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by Limborch; Moneta's *Summa contra Valdenses*; and the other writers of those times, on the opinions of the Waldensians. Though some of them are more accurate than others, and some ascribe more, and others fewer peculiarities to the sect, yet, in general, they admit the piety and the blameless lives of the Waldensians; and they plainly show that the sect offered no violence to the common faith of Christians, but only urged a return to the ancient practices of Christians, and opposed the defects in the public worship, and in the conduct of the clergy. [And hence Peter Waldus himself did not renounce the Romish church. On the contrary, in the year 1179 he sent two of his followers to the council of the Lateran, who presented to the pope a

copy of his translations from the Old and New Testaments, with notes and expositions of his own, and requested permission to preach and instruct people in religion. Alexander III. examined them, and forbade their preaching, because they were illiterate. They made a similar attempt under pope Lucius III., but without success. On the contrary, this pope excommunicated them in the year 1184. See Feussli, l. c. p. 333. *Schl* —One application to the pontiff for his approbation, the abbot of Ursburg, (in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1212,) says, he himself was witness to. See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vi. pt. ii. p. 1692. The decree of Lucius III., excommunicating the Waldensians, A. D. 1183, is in Harduin, l. c. p. 1878. *Tr.*]

⁷ A large proportion of them got their living by weaving: and hence the sect

The people⁸ were divided into the *perfect* and the *imperfect*: of whom, the former voluntarily relinquished all their possessions, exhibited an absolute poverty in the manner of their dress, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting; while the latter lived more generously, and more like other people, yet without any splendour or luxury, very much in the manner of the more strict Mennonites. There was, however, some disagreement among these Waldenses, and especially between those of *Italy* or *Lombardy*, and the *Ultramontanes*, or those living in France and the other countries of Europe. The former looked upon the Romish church as a real church of Christ, though greatly corrupted; they admitted the validity of its seven sacraments, and offered to continue in its communion, provided they might live in their own way. But the latter maintained, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was destitute of the Holy Spirit, and was that *Babylonian* harlot mentioned by St. John.⁹

§ 14. Besides these larger sects, which had numerous friends and advocates, many other *smaller* and more obscure ones started up, in Italy especially, and France; but which seem soon to have become extinct.¹ In Italy, and especially in Lombardy, which was the principal seat of *heretics*, a singular party spread itself among the people, denominated, though I cannot say why, the *Pasagina* or *Pasagii*, and also the *Circumcised*, which, in common with the other sects, was averse from the Romish church and its regulations, but was also distinguished especially by two peculiarities of sentiment. First, they taught that the law of Moses ought to be observed under the New Testament, with the exception of sacrifices; and accordingly they practised circumcision, abstained from the meats prohibited by Moses, observed the sabbath of the Jews, and the like. Secondly, they corrupted the doctrine of three per-

was called, in some places, that of the *Weavers*, in French, *Tisserands*.

⁸ [Or laity. *Tr.*]

⁹ Moneta, *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406. 416, and elsewhere. They appear likewise not to have had the same views in regard to the possession of property; as appears from Stephen de Borbone, in Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 191. He divides the Waldenses, in other words, indeed, but amounting to the same thing, into

the *Poor men of Lyons*, (these were the Ultramontanes,) and the *Poor men of Lombardy*. The former forbade all possession of property; the latter allowed of such possession. There are other passages in the ancient writers which confirm this distinction.

¹ On the various more obscure sects, see Stephen de Borbone, in Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 191.

sons in the divine nature, and taught that *Christ* was only *the first and a spotless creature of God*: a sentiment the less surprising considering the multitude of Arians there had been in Italy antecedently to this period.²

§ 15. In France, a sort of people, who were called *Caputiati*, from the covering worn on their heads, roamed over Burgundy, the region of Auxerre, and some other parts, in which they caused considerable excitement. These people wore upon their hats or caps a leaden image of the virgin *Mary*; and they wished to restore the primeval liberty of mortals, and universal equality, to the exclusion of all subordination and civil authority. This madness was suppressed by *Hugo*, bishop of Auxerre, not with arguments, but with military force.³ Very different from these were the *Apostolici*, whom *St. Bernard* assailed with great earnestness. They bore this name generally, according to *St. Bernard*, their adversary, because they wished to exemplify in their conduct the apostolic mode of living. They were for the most part *rustics*, and people of low condition, who earned their food and clothing by weaving; but they had numerous and great friends and supporters of every rank and order. Their religion, according to the confession of their adversary himself, was free from errors; and their life was most blameless. Yet, I. They deemed it unlawful to take an oath. II. They suffered their hair and beards to grow long. III. Though they had separate dwelling-houses, they assembled together for labour and for worship. IV. They preferred celibacy to marriage, and called themselves *the chaste brethren and sisters*. Yet, V. each of the men had with him some sister, after the manner of the Apostles, with whom he lived familiarly, sleeping in the same chamber, though not in the same bed.⁴

² See F. Bonacursus *Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*; in Luc. D'Achery's *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211, new ed. Gerh. Bergamensis, *contra Catharos et Pasagios*; in Lud. Aut. Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 151, &c. [Fuessli, in his *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 46, assigns a very probable cause of the appellation *Pasagini*; supposing it equivalent to *Pasagieri* and *Passagers*, roammers, in Greek *ἀσπατοί*; which appellation the Greeks had given to a sort of Manichæans, according to the account of Peter of Sicily, in his *History of the Manichæans*; in the *Biblioth. mac. Pa-*

trum, tom. xvi. p. 814. *Schl.*—Another conjecture is, that they assumed the name of *Pasagii*, derived from the Greek *Πᾶς ἅγιος*, *all holy*. Their practising circumcision, will account for their being called *Circumcisi*, the *Circumcised*. *Tr.*]

³ Jac. le Bœuf, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317, &c. [Robert du Mont, in his Appendix to Sigebert Gemblacensis, says, the commencement of this sect was in the year 1182. *Schl.*—See a more full account of them in Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 636, &c. *Tr.*]

⁴ St. Bernard, *Sermo lxx. in Canticum*; Opp. tom. iv. p. 1495, &c. ed. Mabillon.

§ 16. At the council of Rheims, A. D. 1148, in which pope *Eugene III.* presided, a certain man named *Eon*, of Britany, and who was undoubtedly deranged, was condemned. Having heard in the common formula for exorcising evil spirits, these words pronounced: *Per EUM, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*⁵, he concluded, from the resemblance between the word *Eum* and his own name, that he was the person who was to judge the quick and the dead. This senseless man should have been given over to the physicians, and not have been classed among heretics. He died in prison: but many of his followers, who could not be dissuaded from reverencing him, were burnt at the stake.⁶ This single example clearly shows how little sound sense and correct knowledge of religion then existed, even among the rulers of the church.

[A similar class of people, who wished to revive the apostolical mode of living, appeared in the neighbourhood of Perigord in Guienne; as we learn from the letter of a monk named Heribert, inserted in Mabillon's *Analecta*, tom. iii. p. 467. But these went still further. They abhorred images and the mass; and had priests, monks and nuns, in their community. Their leader was named Lucius; and among their adherents they could reckon some of the nobility. *Schl.*]

⁵ [By *Him* who will come to judge the quick and dead.]

⁶ William of Paris, *Historia major*,

p. 68. William Neubrigensis, *Historia rerum Anglicar.* lib. i. p. 50. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 241. [He was a wealthy nobleman, of pleasing address, and drew a great number after him. With these he sometimes travelled rapidly over the country with great display; then retiring to places of obscurity, lived in luxury with his attendants. The lawlessness of the party, and the multitudes that were captivated with them, led to his apprehension and imprisonment, and to the execution of his obstinate adherents. See William Neubrigens. *ubi supra*, and Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxix. p. 653, &c. *Tr.*]

CENTURY THIRTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity in Northern Asia and China.—§ 2. Pontifical legates to the Tartars.—§ 3. The Crusades.—§ 4. A new crusade.—§ 5, 6. The remaining crusades.—§ 7. The expedition of Lewis IX.—§ 8. His second attempt.—§ 9. Conversion of the Prussians.—§ 10. The Arabians.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH that powerful emperor of the Tartars, or rather the Moguls, *Ginghis-Chan*, and his successors, who had carried their victorious arms through a great part of Asia, and had conquered China, India, Persia, and many other countrise, disturbed greatly, and distressed the Christians resident in those countries¹; yet it appears from the most unquestionable testimony, that numerous bodies of Nestorian Christians were still scattered over all northern Asia and China. The emperors of the Tartars and Moguls were themselves not particularly averse from Christianity: and some of their [subordinate] kings and chieftains had either retained this religion, which they received from their ancestors, or were converted to it by the preaching of the Nestorians.² Yet gradually many of them became in-

¹ Gregory Abulpharajus, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281, &c.

² See Marco Polo, the Venetian, *de Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. and lib.

ii. c. vi. and in many other places Haytho, the Armenian, *Historia Oriental* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41, &c. Jos. Sim. Asseman,

fectured with the Mahumedan religion, which at length banished Christianity entirely from their camps and courts.

§ 2. As these Tartars, from the year 1241, invaded Europe also, and cruelly harassed and devastated Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the neighbouring countries, the Roman pontiffs thought proper to attempt a pacification with these new and very ferocious enemies. Therefore, in the year 1245, *Innocent IV.* sent several Dominicans and Franciscans as his legates to the Tartars.³ Afterwards, *Abaka*, emperor of the Tartars, in the year 1274, sent envoys into Europe, to the council of Lyons, under *Gregory X.*⁴ *Nicolaus III.* also, in the year 1278, sent some Franciscans as legates to *Coblai*, the emperor of the whole nation. And in the year 1289, *Nicolaus IV.* sent to the same emperor *John de Monte Corvino*, with some others, who also carried letters to the Nestorians. Nor were these legates wholly unsuccessful; for they instructed many, both of the Tartars and of the Nestorians, in the principles of the Roman religion, and gathered Christian churches not only in Tartary but also in China. To facilitate this business, *John de Monte Corvino* translated the books of the New Testament and the Psalms of *David* into the language of the Tartars.⁵

Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 526, and others; especially the *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, composed under my superintendence, and published at Hehnstadt, 1742, 4to, which I may perhaps enlarge considerably in a future edition. [This purpose was never accomplished. *Schl.*]

³ See Luc. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 175. 256.

⁴ Wadding, l. c. tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128, &c. See this whole subject copiously and critically discussed, in the above-cited *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*; which however might be much enlarged, and in some particulars corrected. [The subjects briefly and summarily stated in this section, fill about seventy pages 4to, of text, and the documents fill as many pages more of the Appendix of Mosheim's *Hist. Tartaror. Ecclesiast. Tr.*]

⁵ Odo. Raynald, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. xiv. ad ann. 1278, § 17, &c. p. 282, and ad ann. 1289, § 59, &c. p. 419, ed. Cologne: Peter Bergeron, *Traité des Tartares*, cap. xi. p. 61, and many others, cited in the *Historia Tartaror. Eccl.* [Genghis-Khan conquered in battle Un-

Khan, the fourth and last of the Christian kings in central Asia who bore the name of Prester John, in the year 1202. He now commenced his career of conquest, and during 25 years carried his victorious arms from the Chinese sea to the Euphrates and the Euxine. His four sons harmoniously preserved the unity of the new empire, and extended and consolidated it. In the East, all northern China, as well as Tibet and the countries bordering on Hindostan, were subdued. In the West, the countries from the Indus onward, including Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the whole region about the Caspian, with the southern part of Russia in Europe, were permanently occupied; and Poland, Hungary, and part of Silesia, as well as Siberia, and all northern Asia, were overrun and devastated, and then abandoned. This vast empire of the Moguls, while united, was subject to the great Khan or emperor, who resided first in Chinese Tartary, and then at Pekin. The central and western provinces were governed by dependent sovereigns or viceroys, who were for the most part the sons and descendants of Genghis, and of course

§ 3. The same pontiffs made every effort in their power to sustain the interests of the Latins in Syria and Palestine, which were now nearly ruined; for as they had learned by experience the great amount of gain, dignity, and authority, which came to occupants of the Roman see from these Asiatic wars waged under the pretence of religion, they were very solicitous to have them kept up.⁶ The first expedition was proclaimed by *Innocent III.* Few, however, of the Europeans obeyed his summons. After various efforts, which were fruitless in most countries, some French nobles, having formed a league with the Venetian republic, put to sea with quite a moderate force. The issue of

the brothers and relatives of the great Khan. After a very few generations, however, the principal of the provincial governors became nearly or altogether independent sovereigns; and three of them, the Khans of Kipzack and Russia, the Khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the Khans of Iran or Persia, were lords of extensive empires. Genghis and the succeeding emperors, as well as most of their viceroys in the West, were tolerant towards all religions; and they encouraged men of talents of every religion, warriors, statesmen, physicians, artists of various kinds, and men of letters. Hence in their courts and camps, and in places of high trust in every part of the empire, were to be found Christians, Mahomedans, Jews, and Pagans, all enjoying the free use of their religion. Many Europeans, as Marco Polo, the Venetian, and others, travelled freely from the Bosphorus to China; and in no age, probably, have the Europeans had so free access to the central parts of Asia, as in this century. Genghis himself married a daughter of Prester John; and several of his descendants had Christian wives. Till near the close of the century, most of the Mogul princes, though tolerant to all religions, were rather partial to that of the Christians. And this afforded to the Nestorians (the prevailing sect in those countries) a fine opportunity to propagate their religion all over the East, and particularly in China. The Roman pontiffs also sent not only ambassadors, but missionaries, chiefly Franciscan and Dominican monks, quite to Peking and China; and in that country they gathered some churches, and at length established an archbishop, (John De Monte Corvino,) with several suffragans. Much greater

success would doubtless have now attended the efforts of Christians in China, and throughout the empire, had they been united. But the Roman Catholics and the Nestorians strove to undermine each other; and the Tartar Khans were the protectors of each in turn, against the other. Moreover, the wars of these Tartars with the Saracens of Syria and Arabia, and with the sultans of Egypt, who oppressed the Christians of Palestine and the East, led them frequently to march armies into Syria, and to solicit alliances with the Christians of Europe against those Mahomedans their common enemies; and this was the cause of frequent embassies between the Moguls and the European sovereigns. But near the close of the century, the Mahomedan religion gained the ascendancy, especially in the western parts of the Mogul empire; and the Khans themselves now leaned towards it, and in some instances allowed the Christians to be persecuted. In general, however, this empire was favourable to the Christian cause in Asia, during this century; and had the Christians who attempted the propagation of their religion possessed more of its true spirit, and made united and vigorous efforts, they might probably have now converted more than half of Asia to the Christian faith, and perhaps have established a broad zone of permanent Christian light and influence, from Asia Minor quite to the Chinese seas. See Mosheim's *Historia Tartaror.* *Eccles.* cap. ii. p. 29, &c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxv. p. 191, &c. with the civil histories of the Tartars. *Tr.*]

⁶ This is stated by some writers of that age; see Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 174. 365, and elsewhere.

this expedition was, by no means, such as the pontiff had anticipated. For these French and Venetians did not direct their course to Palestine, but to Constantinople, which they stormed in the year 1203, for the sake of restoring the emperor *Isaac Angelus*, who had implored their aid against the violence and usurpations of his brother *Alexius*. The next year a bloody sedition took place at Constantinople, in which the emperor *Isaac* died, and his son, *Alexius* junior, was strangled by *Alexius Ducas*, the author of the insurrection. On hearing of this parricide, the generals of the crusaders again took possession of Constantinople on the 13th of April, A. D. 1204; and putting the tyrant *Ducas* to flight, they elected *Baldwin*, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. In opposition to this Latin emperor, the Greeks created, two years after, another of their own nation, *Theodore Lascaris*, who fixed his residence at Nice in Bithynia. From this period till the year 1261, there were two emperors of the Greeks, the one a Frank or Latin, and the other a Greek; of whom the latter resided at Nice, and the former made Constantinople his capital. But in the year 1261, the Greek emperor, *Michael Palæologus*, by means of his general *Cæsar Alexius*, recovered Constantinople, and obliged the Latin emperor, *Baldwin II.*, to flee into Italy. Thus terminated the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after it had stood fifty-seven years.⁷

§ 4. The next crusade was undertaken by the united forces of the Italians and Germans, under the pontiff *Honorius III.*, A. D. 1217. The commander-in-chief was *Andrew*, king of Hungary; with whom were *Leopold* of Austria, *Lewis* of Bavaria, and other princes. *Andrew*, after a few months, returned to Europe. The other generals captured the strongly fortified city of Damietta in Egypt, A. D. 1220. But their successes did not continue long; for the next year the Saracen fleet completely destroyed that of the Christians, after having

⁷ These events are best stated by Charles Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; the first part of which contains Godfrey de Ville-Harduin's, one of the French Generals, *Histoire de la Conquête de la ville de Constantinople par les François*. This work forms also a part of the great *Corpus Byzantinum*, Paris, 1657, fol. See also, among others, Peter

Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216, &c. the monk Gunther's *Historia capta a Latinis Constantinopoleos*; in Henry Canisius' *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1, &c. See moreover the Epistles of Innocent III., published by Baluze: [and Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. lx. lxi. *Tr.*]

cut off its supplies ; and this loss, which was utterly irreparable, was followed by the loss of Damietta, and the frustration of the high hopes which the Christians had indulged.⁸

§ 5. The legates and missionaries of the pontiff now enrolled a new army of crusaders from almost every country of Europe, and which was both more numerous and more respectable, because it was anticipated that the emperor *Frederic II.* would take the command of it in his own person. *Frederic* had made such a promise to the Roman pontiff: and he seemed unlikely to go from his engagement, because he had married *Jolanda*, the daughter of the count of Brienne and king of Jerusalem, in the year 1223, and had received with her the kingdom of Jerusalem as a dower. But under various pretences the emperor long delayed his voyage, and at length, in the year 1228, after being excommunicated by *Gregory IX.*, he set out with a small retinue to join the forces which were anxiously waiting in Palestine for his arrival. When he arrived in Palestine, instead of carrying on the war, he terminated it. For, without the knowledge, and contrary to the wishes of those engaged with him in the enterprise, he concluded a peace in the year 1229,

See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Historia Oriental.* and Marinus Sanutus, *Secreta Fide-
lium Crucis*; in Bongarsius' *Historians
of the Crusades*, or *Gesta Dei per Francos*.
[While the Christians were encamped
before Damietta, we are told that St.
Francis, the honest enthusiast who found-
ed the Franciscan order, burning with
zeal for the conversion of infidels, and
eager for a martyr's crown, went to
Egypt, and with a single attendant pro-
ceeded from the Christian camp towards
that of the Saracens. When arrested at
the outposts, he exclaimed, "I am a
Christian: carry me to your Sultan."
The mussulmans did so: and when the
Sultan demanded of him who he was,
how he came there, and who had sent
him, he replied that he was Francis,
the servant of Jesus Christ, and that
he was sent to him by the most high
God, to teach him and his people the
way of salvation. Pleased with this
address, the Sultan entered into free
conversation with him, and found so
much amusement in his wild though
gentlemanly flights of fancy, that he in-
vited him to remain with him. Francis
replied, that he would do so, on condition
that the Sultan would renounce Mahu-

medanism and embrace Christianity, and
would persuade his people to do the
same; and added, that if the Sultan
doubted, he might order a great fire to
be kindled, into which Francis would
plunge himself along with some of the
mussulman priests, and if he perished, it
might be imputed to his sinfulness, but
if not, then the Sultan must be con-
vinced. The Sultan said, there were
none of his priests that were willing to
try the experiment. Then, said Francis,
I will plunge in alone, provided you will
embrace Christ, if I come out unhurt.
The Sultan objected, that his subjects
would revolt, and would kill him, if he
should renounce their faith. He now
offered Francis a large sum of money,
to distribute in charity among the Chris-
tians; but Francis spurned his money,
unless he would become a Christian.
At length the Sultan dismissed him,
with a guard to conduct him safely to
the Christian camp; and, at parting,
requested his prayers, that God would
vouchsafe to show him which was the
true faith, and the religion most pleasing
in his sight. See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Hist.
Occident.* cap. 32, and Bonaventura, *Vita
S. Francis*, cap. ix. § 6, 7. *Tr.*]

or rather a truce for ten years, with *Melic-Camel*, the Mahumedan sultan; and as the principal condition was, that he should receive the city and the kingdom of Jerusalem, as soon as the city was transferred to him, he was crowned king of Jerusalem. Having made these arrangements, he hastened back to Italy, in order to quell some commotions there, which the pontiff had excited in his absence. This crusade therefore terminated more happily than the others.⁹

§ 6. Other less noted and less fortunate expeditions to Palestine followed: at first, in the year 1239, that of *Theobald V.*,¹ count of Champagne and king of Navarre, with other princes of Germany and France; and then in 1240, that of *Richard*, earl of Cornwall, and brother of *Henry III.*, the king of England. The result of neither corresponded with the preparations made for it. In the former, the ambassadors of the emperor *Frederic* in Palestine renewed the truce with the Mahumedans; and the rest of the forces were vanquished by the barbarians at Gaza; and such as survived the slaughter returned to Europe. The chief cause of the disaster was the discord between the knights Templars and those of St. John of Jerusalem. And hence *Richard* could effect nothing of importance; but, with the consent of most of his confederates, he concluded a truce, such as the shattered state of Christian affairs allowed, with the king of Egypt, and returned to Europe in the year 1241.²

§ 7. As the affairs of the Christians were now declining more and more in the East, *Lewis IX.*, king of France, who was en-

⁹ See the historians of the crusades, and the writers of the life of *Frederic II.*; also *Muratori, Annales Italie*; and the writers of the history of the Germanic empire. [The pope still considered the emperor as excommunicated, notwithstanding he had satisfied the demands of the pontiff by performing the crusade. By means of the clergy, both in Asia and in Europe, the pope exposed him to various dangers and difficulties; he invaded the emperor's territories in Apulia, during his absence, contrary to all the rules then in force in regard to persons engaged in a crusade; he spread a report of his death, and sent legates into Germany and Denmark, to persuade some other person to suffer himself to be set up as emperor in opposition to *Frederic*. These surely were cogent reasons for

the valiant emperor to hasten back to Italy, and restrain the haughty pontiff within the bounds of his duty. *Schl.*]

¹ [It was *Theobald VI.* who engaged in this crusade. He was the posthumous son of *Theobald V.*, who died as he was about to embark in the crusade of A. D. 1201. See *Fleury, Histoire de l'Eglise*, livr. lxxxi. § 26. *Tr.*]

² The history of these transactions is the most accurately and faithfully detailed by *Geo. Christ. Gebauer*, in his *History of Richard the General*, written in German, lib. i. p. 34, &c. It appears from the epistles of *Peter De Vineis*, that *Frederic II.* created *Richard* his viceroy for the kingdom of Jerusalem; and this accounts for the attempts of *Gregory IX.* to retard his voyage.

rolled among the saints after his death, and who is still regarded with peculiar veneration, in fulfilment of a vow made in his very severe sickness A. D. 1248, collected a powerful army and a great fleet, and proceeded to Egypt, anticipating that the conquest of that country would facilitate the operations of war in Palestine and Syria. At first he was successful; for he captured Damietta, a celebrated city of Egypt: but the progress of the war was most disastrous. The Mahumedans intercepting his supplies in the year 1250, famine and pestilence raged in his camp: *Robert*, the king's brother, indiscreetly pursuing the enemy, was slain in an unsuccessful engagement; the king himself, two of his brothers, and the greatest part of his army, were made prisoners. This magnanimous and heroic monarch, who was also very pious according to the standard of that age, was ransomed at a great price³, and, after four years spent in Palestine, returned to France, with a few followers, in the year 1254.⁴

§ 8. The king, whose invincible spirit was by no means discouraged by these disasters, renewed the war in the year 1270; because he thought himself still pledged by his vow to God. Having again, accordingly, fitted out an immense fleet, and being accompanied by numerous princes and nobles, he set sail for Africa, intending to establish there an advanced post for the future wars in Asia. Immediately on his arrival he attacked and carried the fortress of Carthage; but, soon after, a pestilential disease swept off the greatest part of his forces in the harbour of Tunis, and on the 25th of August, A. D. 1270, the king himself became its victim.⁵ After him, no sovereign of

³ ["The ransom, which, together with the restoration of Damietta, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was 800,000 gold bezants, and not 80,000, as Collier (*Eccles. History*, cent. xiii. vol. i. p. 456.) erroneously reckons. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would in our days amount to the value of 4,000,000 of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling." *Macl.*]

⁴ Of the 2800 knights, of noble birth, who accompanied the king from France, not more than 100 were alive, when he embarked from Palestine on his return. Joinville's *Histoire de S. Louis*, p. 81. &c.

⁵ Here should be consulted, before all others, *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom*

Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sire de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations historiques par Charles Du Fresne, Paris, 1668, fol. and next, the biographers of St. Lewis, especially Fillean De la Chaise, *Histoire de S. Louis*, Paris, 1688, 2 vols. 8vo. and, finally, all the writers of histories of France: [*e. g.* J. Gifford, *Hist. of France*, vol. i. p. 452, &c. and p. 473, &c. ed. Lond. 1794, 4to. *Tr.*] Add Meno's *Chronicon*, in Ant. Matthæi's *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179. Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294, &c. et passim. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c. Pierre Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337, &c. 405. 575.

Europe dared again venture on an enterprise of so much peril, toil, and expense. Hence the kingdom of the Latins in the East gradually wasted away, in spite of the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to preserve it; and on the capture of Ptolemais by the Mahumedans, A. D. 1291, it became wholly extinct.⁶ Among the causes of so great a loss, the valour of the enemy was one of the least; the principal causes were, the disunion of the Christians among themselves, the extreme profligacy of those who called themselves Christ's soldiers, and the unskilfulness and obstinacy of the papal legates.⁷

§ 9. In the West, the fierce people of Prussia, at the commencement of the century, were still adhering firmly to the superstition of their ancestors; nor could the priests, occasionally sent among them, by their arguments and exhortations induce them to embrace Christianity. Hence *Conrad*, duke of Masovia⁸, thought proper to apply coercion; and in the year 1230, proffering liberal rewards, he invited the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who on their exclusion from Palestine had fixed themselves at Venice, to undertake the subjugation of the Prussians and their conversion to the Christian faith. They came into the country under *Hermann* of Balcke as their leader, and after an uninterrupted and cruel war of fifty-three years with the Prussians, they brought them with difficulty to submit to the government of the knights, and to allow the Christian religion to be substituted for that of their fathers.⁹ From Prussia these knights made inroads upon the neighbouring nations, particularly upon the Lithuanians; nor did they cease from slaughtering, devastating, and plundering all before

⁶ Anth. Matthai, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. v. p. 748. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422, &c. Imola, on Dante; in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

⁷ [For these legates pursued exclusively the interests of the popes, and of the Romish clergy; and they laboured, often by harsh means, by imprisonment, and by closing up their churches, to bring the patriarchs of Jerusalem and the entire Greek clergy, in the countries held by the Latins, under subjection to the Romish see; and they so irritated the Greeks, that they were often more friendly to the Mahumedans than to the occidental Christians, and would rather be subject to a people who could be satisfied

with an annual tribute, than live under a spiritual monarch, whose avarice, as well as that of his legates, was insatiable. *Schl.*]

⁸ [In Poland. *Tr.*]

⁹ See Matthai, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v. 684—689. Peter of Duisberg's *Chronicon Prussie*; published by Hartknoch, Jena, 1679, 4to. Christ. Hartknoch's *History of the Prussian Church*, written in German, lib. i. c. 1, p. 33, &c. and *Antiquitates Prussie*, diss. xix. p. 201, &c. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427, 478, &c. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 40, 63, &c. Solignac's *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238, &c.

them, till this people also were beaten into a simulated submission, not really to Christ, but to these furious and most pugnacious assertors of his cause.¹

§ 10. In Spain, the Christian kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Aragon, waged perpetual wars with the Saracen princes, who possessed Valencia, Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia; and such was their success, that the territories of the Saracens were daily reduced to narrower limits, and the boundaries of the Christian church extended. The most distinguished in these contests were, *Ferdinand*, king of Castile and Leon, who obtained a place among the *Saints*, his father *Alphonso IX.*, king of Leon, *James I.*, king of Aragon, and some others.² In particular, this *James* of Aragon having conquered Valencia in the year 1236, spared no pains to convert his new subjects to the Christian faith, as he could not expel them from the country without serious injury to the state. Hence he ordered the Dominicans, whom he chiefly used for this purpose, to learn the language of the Arabians; and he established schools in the island of Majorca and at Barcelona for the education of preachers of the Christian religion. When these efforts were found to produce little effect upon a people of so much obstinacy, pope *Clement IV.* exhorted the king to expel the Mahumedans from Spain: nor was the latter disinclined; but his nobles frustrated the designs of the pontiff and king.³

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Adversities of Christians in the East.—§ 2. Pretended atheists among the Latins.—§ 3. Frederic II., and the book respecting the three impostors.

§ 1. How much the Christian cause lost ground in Asia, will be manifest from that which has been said of the Tartars and of the unhappy issue of the Crusades. If the Saracens had im-

¹ Besides those just mentioned, see Ludewig's *Reliquie Manuscriptor. omnis Aeri*, tom. i. p. 336, &c.

² See John De Ferreras, *History of*

Spain; the whole of vol. iv.

³ See Mich. Geddes, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscos*; in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26, &c.

bibed the same principles as the Latin Christians of this age, they would not have suffered a single Christian to live in all Asia. But though they committed various enormities, and were not a little vexatious to the Christians, yet conduct which the Romans thought holy and right, by them was judged unrighteous and cruel, namely, to exterminate with fire and sword such as were of a different religion and would not abandon it. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring to the rugged mountains of Libanus, they gradually lost their sense of religion and civilisation, to such a degree, that those of them remaining at the present day seem nearly destitute of all knowledge of God.¹

§ 2. The Latin writers of those times often complain of public enemies of the Christian religion, nay, even of those who scoffed at the Supreme Being himself. Nor are these complaints entirely vain and incredible. For men of discernment, who attentively considered the religion which the Roman pontiffs and their servants and friends preached and inculcated as the only true one taught by Christ, and which they maintained by fire and sword, might easily be led to believe, that Christianity was a fabrication, invented and propagated by the priests, for their own advantage; and especially was such a conclusion easy, as there were none to teach them better. Besides, the Aristotelian philosophy, which reigned in all the schools of Europe, and was regarded as sound sense itself, led not a few to discard the doctrines commonly held and preached, respecting divine providence, the soul's immortality, the creation of the world, and other points, and from them others imbibed an irreligious tone.²

¹ Certain tribes of the Derusi or Drusi, residing on the Libanus and Antilibanus, pretend that they are descended from the Franks, and that they were once sovereigns of Palestine. These pretensions are somewhat questionable; yet it is certain, that the descendants of the crusaders still exist in those regions, but so debased, that they more resemble pagans than Christians. [The Druses seem to be a sect of Mahumedans, rather than of Christian origin. See Jowett's *Christian Researches in Syria*, &c. p. 35, &c. ed. Boston, 1826, 12mo. If any descendants of the crusaders still exist about mount Libanus, it is much more reasonable to look for them among some of the sects of Roman Catholics there, as the Maronites, the Greeks, or the

Syrians, than to suppose they have wholly lost their Christian principles and Roman Catholic character, and are now ranked among Mahumedans and pagans. *Tr.*]

² Not to mention St. Thomas' *Summa contra Gentes*, and others, the reader may consult Bernh. Moneta's *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, who strenuously combats the enemies of religion in his times. In lib. v. c. iv. p. 476, &c. he disputes at large against those who affirmed that the souls of men perish with their bodies. In lib. v. c. xi. p. 447, he refutes the Aristotelian philosophers, who taught that the world had existed from eternity, and would continue to exist eternally. In lib. v. c. xv. p. 554, he assailed those who, contemning the authority of

§ 3. At the head of all such enemies to Christian truth stood the emperor *Frederic II.*, if credit is to be given to the sovereign pontiff, *Gregory IX.*, who, in the year 1239, charged him before all the kings and princes of Europe, with saying *that the whole world had been deceived by three baratators, (that is, impostors,) Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahumed.*³ This heavy charge the emperor deemed it necessary to refute, by a public profession of his religious faith. It rested on the testimony of some German princes, and particularly of *Henry Raspo*, landgrave of Thuringia, who said that they were within hearing, when *Frederic* blurted out this language.⁴ Perhaps something like this did fall from the lips of *Frederic*, when in a violent passion; for he was not unfrequently imprudent; and there were, among the many

the sacred volume, *subverted human liberty, and maintained the fatal necessity of all things, even of crimes.* Add Stephen Templier, the bishop of Paris, *Indiculum errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetie publice privatimque docebantur*; written A.D. 1277, and extant in the *Biblioth. Patr. Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233, &c. See also Boulay's *Historia Acad. Parisiens.* tom. iii. p. 433, and Gerard du Bois, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 501. These teachers, it may surprise us to learn, taught that all men have but one understanding, that all things are controlled by necessity, that there is no providence of God, that the world existed eternally, that the soul becomes extinct, and other similar doctrines, which they supported by the principles of Aristotle. And to screen their lives and their safety, they defended themselves against their oppressors in the very same manner as the Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did, namely, by distinguishing between *theological truth* and *philosophical*. They said (as we are distinctly told by Stephen,) *These things are true according to philosophy, but not so according to the catholic faith.*

³ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 408. 459. Peter de Vineis *Epistolar.* lib. i. [Ep. 31. See also Raynald, ad ann. 1239, where we find the epistle of Gregory IX., addressed to the Christian kings and princes, in which he says: "Probationes in fidei victoriam sunt paratæ, quod iste rex pestilentie (namely *Frederic*) a tribus baratatoribus, ut ejus verbis utamur, scilicet Christo Jesu, Moyse, et Mahometo totum mundum

fuisse deceptum, et duobus eorum in gloria mortuis, ipsum Jesum in ligno suspensum manifeste proposuerit." The emperor's defence, in answer to the pope, is in Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 562, &c. *Schl.*—It should be remembered, that *Frederic* had a long and violent quarrel with the popes, and was at length excommunicated by them. This letter of Gregory was written after the emperor's excommunication, and in justification of it. It is couched in very angry terms, and is a laboured attempt to blacken his character to the utmost: and this charge of blasphemy is only one among the many accusations heaped together by the enraged pontiff. *Tr.*]

⁴ Herm. Gigas, *Flores Temporum*, p. 126. Chr. Fred. Ayrmann, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639, &c. [See also Harenberg's *Dissert. de secta non timentium Deum seculo xiii. vel enata vel efficta*, &c. Brunswick, 1755, 8vo, p. 62, &c. In general, the testimony of Raspo is that of an enemy, and of an enemy who was devoted, soul and body, to the pope. Such testimony is little regarded in a court. Excommunication had now become a little too common: and the pope must find out something new, something which had never before been heard of. He therefore represented the emperor, who had made himself suspected, by his intimacy with Averroes, and by his rejection of the prevailing superstition, as being a blasphemer and an atheist: and this in order to alienate from him those with whom the word *excommunication* had lost somewhat of its efficacy. *Schl.*]

learned men that attended him, some from the Aristotelian school, who might have suggested to him such impious thoughts. Hence it came to pass, that a fabulous story was handed down to posterity, respecting a detestable book, *On the three Impostors*, which was said to have been written either by the emperor himself, or by *Peter de Vineis*, a native of Capua, and a man of great credit and influence, who was the emperor's prime minister.⁵

⁵ See Casim. Oudin, *Comment. de Scrip-tor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 66. Alb. Henr. De Sallengre, *Mémoires d'Histoire et de Littérat.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 386, &c. ["The book entitled, *Liber de III. Impostoribus sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simeon of Tournay, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: 'That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the Christians by Jesus, and the gentiles by Mahomet.' This, or some expression of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor Frederic and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed by different authors to Frederic, to his chancellor, Peter de Vineis, to Alphonso, king of Castile, to Boccace, Pogge, the Aretins, Pomponace, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread

abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the groundwork or materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages, and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See La Monnoye's *Dissertation sur le Livre de III. Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Ménagiana*. See also an Answer to this Dissertation, which was imprudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article *Impostoribus*." *Macl.*]

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. Learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Learning in the West.—§ 3. State of the Academies.—§ 4. The Academic course.—§ 5. The belles lettres.—§ 6. The Greek and Oriental languages.—§ 7. Progress of philosophy.—§ 8. The favourers of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and others.—§ 9. Promoters of general knowledge.—§ 10. Study of jurisprudence and medicine.

§ 1. THE severe adversities to which the Greeks were exposed left them but little leisure or resolution for the diligent prosecution of learning. Yet a thirst for knowledge was not wholly extinguished among them; as is manifest from the writers they produced in this age. Among their historians, the most distinguished were *Nicetas Choniates*¹, *George Acropolita*², *Gre-*

¹ [Nicetas Choniates was a native of Chona, (the ancient Colosse,) in Phrygia; was educated by his older brother Michael Choniates, at Constantinople, where he became distinguished as a civilian and public officer, under Alexius Comnenus, and Isaac Angelus. On the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, A. D. 1204, he retired with his family to Nice, in Bithynia, where he was living in the year 1206. He wrote a history of the Greek empire, from the death of Alexius Comnenus, A. D. 1180, to the decease of the Latin emperor Henry, A. D. 1206, in twenty-one books; published, Gr. and Lat. Basil, 1557, Paris, 1647, fol. and in the *Scriptores Byzantini*. He also wrote *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ Fidei*, in

twenty-seven books; which is still extant in MS., and the first five books of which, in a Latin translation by Morel, were published, Paris, 1580, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. — A funeral oration on his death, by his elder brother Michael Choniates, archbishop of Athens, in a Latin translation, is printed with his history, and also in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. *Tr.*]

² [George Acropolita was born at Constantinople, and received a learned education. He was sent to the court of Nice, when young, A. D. 1228; and continued there most of his life. He rose to the highest civil offices in the gift of the emperors, and was much employed on embassies, and as a special judge or

*gory Pachymeres*³, and *Joel*, whose Chronology is still extant.⁴ From some tracts of *Nicephorus Blemmida*⁵ and *Gregory Pachymeres*, it appears, that the Peripatetic philosophy still had its friends among them. Yet others preferred *Plato*; while the majority assiduously studied the younger Platonists, and thought their system capable of being reconciled advantageously with that of *Aristotle*. The writers of sermons and lives of the saints, the combatants against the Latins, and the expounders of their canon law, need not be enumerated. Among the Syrian Christians, the most distinguished writer was *Gregory Abulpharajus*, Maphrian⁶ of the Jacobites; a man of superior genius and extensive learning, and truly respectable as a theologian, an historian, and a philosopher.⁷ With him may be joined *George Elmacin*, the author of a History of the Saracens.⁸

commissioner. He died A. D. 1282. His history of the Greek empire, from the invasion of the Latins in 1203, to the end of their reign at Constantinople, A. D. 1261, was published imperfect, Gr. and Lat. Leyden, 1614, 8vo, and entire, with notes, by Leo Allatius, Paris, 1651, fol. subjoined to his prolix essay, *De Georgiis et eorum scriptis*. Tr.]

³ [Gregory Pachymeres was born at Nice, A. D. 1242. After a good education, he became an ecclesiastic at Constantinople, where he was in high reputation, and rose to the highest offices under the patriarch. He was certainly alive in the year 1308. He wrote the history of the Greek empire, from A. D. 1253 to 1308; published, Gr. and Lat. Rome, 1666, and 1669, 2 vols. fol. Also a paraphrase on Dionysius Areopagita, published with the works of Dionysius; likewise a tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and an epitome of Aristotle's Logic, both of which are extant. Tr.]

⁴ [Of this Joel, little is known, except that he must have been witness of the desolations of Constantinople in the year 1204. He wrote a brief chronology of the world, from the creation to A. D. 1204; published by Leo Allatius, Gr. and Lat., with the works of George Acropolita, Paris, 1651. Tr.]

⁵ [Nicephorus Blemmida was a presbyter and a very austere monk of mount Athos, who refused the patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 1255. He is said to have leaned to the side of the Latin church in their disputes with the Greeks. His two tracts *de Processione*

Spiritus Sancti, are extant in Latin, annexed to the first volume of Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* and Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius' *Orthodox Greek Writers*, tom. i. Besides these, an epistle, and an epitome of logic and physics, have been published; and several other small works of his are preserved in manuscript. Tr.]

⁶ [Eastern primate. Tr.]

⁷ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. i. p. 37. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244. [Gregory Abulpharajus, or Abul-Farai, Ibn Hakima was the son of a physician, who was a Christian Jew, named Aaron, and, by the Arabs, Ibn Koph. He was born A. D. 1226, at Malatia in Armenia, near the sources of the Euphrates, and became celebrated as a physician and a learned man. When the Moguls overran his country, A. D. 1243, he fled to Antioch with his parents, became a monk, and successively bishop of Guba, Lacabena, Aleppo, and, A. D. 1264, Jacobite Maphrian, or Primate of the East, till his death, in 1289. The first work of his that was published was an abridgment of universal history, from the creation to the year A. D. 1284, written in Arabic, and divided into ten dynasties. The six first relate to the old patriarchs, the judges and kings of the Hebrews, and the Chaldean, the Persian, and Grecian monarchs. The seventh relates to the Romans, the eighth to the Greeks of Constantinople, the ninth to the Arabians, and the tenth to the Moguls. The last two dynasties make full half the work, and are altogether the most important;

§ 2. Far happier was the state of learning, of every kind, among the Latins. For the kings and princes of Europe, having learned by experience what advantages a nation may derive from the cultivation of literature and the useful arts, invited learned men to their territories, stimulated and encouraged a taste for information, and rewarded them with honour and emoluments. Among those who acquired most glory and fame in this way, were the emperor *Frederic II.*, who was himself a man of letters, as well as a distinguished patron of all sorts of learning, and *Alphonso X.*, king of Castile and Leon. The former founded the academy of Naples, caused the books of *Aristotle* to be translated into Latin, assembled all the learned men that he could in his court, and gave many other proofs of his very great attachment to learning.⁹ *Alphonso* perpetuated his fame, by composing the *Astronomic Tables*, and some other works.¹ Accordingly, in this age, schools of the higher order were erected almost every where; various privileges and immunities were conferred on the youth that resorted to them, and to these learned societies that started up on all sides, the form of bodies politic was granted, and they were privileged with a jurisdiction peculiar to themselves.

§ 3. But in these public schools or academies, which were

for in Greek and Roman history he was not well informed, while in that of the Arabs and Tartars he is perhaps a good authority. The whole was published, Aarb. and Lat., by Pocock, Oxford, 1663, 4to; and the most valuable parts of the ninth dynasty, which is by far the best, Dr. Pocock published in 1650, under the title of *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, &c. This Arabic work is an abridgment of a much larger work in Syriac, which was published, Syriac and Latin, under the title of *Bar. Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum*, Lips. 1789, 2 tom. 4to. He also wrote many theological and other works, from which Asseman has given us extracts. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxiv. 468, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ [George Elmacin was descended from a respectable family of Syrian Christians which had resided for five generations in Egypt, where they had held the offices of notary and privy councillor. His father, Abuljasirus, was a notary or clerk to the council of war for forty-five years, and died A. D. 1230. Four of his grandfather's brothers were bishops. That he

was a Christian there can be no doubt. Yet living among Mahomedans, and his family, if not himself also, holding offices under the government, he is careful to avoid all terms of reproach, when speaking of Mahumed, his religion, and his followers. His history of the Saracens is in the form of *Annals*, and extends from the death of Mahumed to A. D. 1118. The countries he embraces are, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia. The work was published, with the Latin translation of Erpenius, Arabic and Latin, by Goltius, Lugduni, 1625, fol. Elmacin pretixed to it a chronology, from the creation to the time the history begins; but which has never been published. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Elmacin*. *Tr.*]

⁹ Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 115. Giannone's *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 497. See also the observations of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

¹ Nie. Antonius, *Biblioth. Vetus Hispanica*, lib. viii. c. v. p. 217, and Jo. De Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347, &c.

founded at Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Toulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, Cologne, and in other places, the whole circle of the sciences then known was not taught, but only certain parts of it, or some particular sciences. That at Paris, which excelled all others in various respects, as well as in the number both of teachers and students, was the first to embrace *all* the arts and sciences, and therefore first became a *university*, or, as it was then expressed, *studium universale*. Afterwards some others were gradually formed upon the same plan. In this mother, therefore, of all the European *universities*, the doctors were first distributed into four colleges, according to the sciences of which they were professors; and these colleges afterwards received the name of *faculties*. Over each college, one of the doctors, designated by the suffrages of the rest, presided for a given time, and was called the *Dean*.² The head of the whole *university*, at first, was the *chancellor*, namely, the bishop of Paris: but as he seemed not adequate to all the duties, a *rector* was afterwards associated with him.³ The college of theology was principally founded and endowed, in the year 1250, by *Robert de Sorbonne*, an opulent and pious man, and a favourite of *Lewis IX.*, or *Saint Lewis*: and from him it derived the name of (*Sorbona*) the *Sorbonne*, which it has retained to the present time.⁴

§ 4. Those who would be enrolled among the teachers in any *faculty*, before they could obtain their object, had to go through a long and very difficult process, called the *course*⁵, and to undergo various examinations, during many years. The design of these regulations was to prevent the excessive multiplication of teachers, and to exclude persons, deficient in knowledge and experience, from entering upon duties which required the most solid acquisitions. Those who satisfactorily performed all that was required by the rules, were formally admitted to the rank of *professors*, and with certain public ceremonies, similar to those used in the associations of the unlearned artists and mechanics,

² This took place about A. D. 1260. See Boulay's *Histoire Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

³ On this whole subject, in addition to Herm. Conringius, *de Antiquitatibus Academicis*, which is an incomplete work, see Caesar Egasse De Boulay's *Historia Academicæ Parisiensis*, a copious and excellent work, in six volumes; and Claud. Hemæreus, *de Academia Pari-*

siensi, qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis, Paris, 1637, 4to. The writers quoted by Conringius are not here enumerated.

⁴ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223. Charles du Fresne, notes to Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 36, &c.

⁵ [Academic. *Tr.*]

were hailed as *Masters*. This custom, first introduced in the preceding century by the Jurists of Bologna, was in the present century, at Paris, first extended to the Theologians, and afterwards to the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. And this was the origin of what are called *academical degrees*; which, like all human institutions, have deviated far from their original design, and are continually varying more and more.⁶

§ 5. The *belles lettres* did not derive from these institutions and efforts so much advantage as the other branches of learning did. For most of the young men devoted themselves either to canon or civil law, which opened the way to preferment and wealth; or they attended only to philosophy, which promised them fame as men of acuteness and genius. The pontiffs, therefore, and the other bishops, complained bitterly of the neglect of literature and polite learning, and endeavoured, though in vain, to divert the youth from the study of law and philosophy, to that of sacred literature and the liberal arts.⁷ Still there are some among the writers of this age, whom no man of candour can regard with contempt. Among the poets, *William Brito*⁸, *Walter Mapes*⁹, *Matthew of Vendôme*¹, *Alain de l'Isle*, *Gunther Ligurinus*², *James of Vitré*³, and some others, merit the praise of

⁶ Besides the writers already referred to, see Jo. Christ. Itterus, de *Gradibus Academicis*; and Just. Henn. Böhmer, *Præf. ad Jus Canonicum*, p. 13. Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 24. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256. 682. 684, &c.

⁷ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265, where is an energetic epistle of Innocent III. Also, Ant. Wood's *Antiquitates Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124. Imola on Dante, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1262.

⁸ See *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 255, &c. [William Brito, or the Briton, because born in Bretagne; and hence also called Armorius. He composed two histories of the French king, Philip Augustus, in whose court he lived, the one in prose, the other in verse. The first terminates A. D. 1219; the latter extends further, and is entitled *Philippis*. In both he copies from Rigord. Both are extant in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Francicæ*, tom. v. p. 68 and 93, &c. *Schl.*]

⁹ Jo. Wolfius, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430. [Walter Mapes was an

English ecclesiastic, chaplain to king Henry II., and afterwards archdeacon of Oxford. He flourished about A. D. 1210; and having spent some time at Rome, he was well acquainted with the corruptions of that court, as well as of the clergy at large. His short and satirical poems lash the vices of the times, and particularly of the clergy. John Wolf, l. c. has published six of his pieces: viz. *Apocalypsis Golice Pontificis; ad Impios Prelatos; ad Malos Pastores; ad Christi Sacerdotes; Sermo ad eosdem Prelatos Impios; and, de Malis Romanæ Curie.* Tr.]

¹ [Matthew of Vendôme (Vindociensis) is placed by some at the beginning of the century, by others in the middle, and by others near its end. He wrote in elegiac verse, the *History of Tobias*, father and son, which he entitled *Tobiade*; published, Lyons, 1505, and Bremen, 1642. Tr.]

² [Gunther was a schoolmaster at Paris, and then a Cistercian monk in the diocese of Bâle, and flourished about A. D. 1210. His poetic history of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins was published by H. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. v.; and his cele-

being sprightly and agreeable writers. Among the historians, *Matthew Paris*, distinguished for intelligence and good sense⁴, *Roderic Ximenius*⁵, *Rigordus*⁶, *Vincent* of Beauvais⁷, *Robert* of St. Marino⁸, *Martin Polanus*⁹, *Gervais* of Tilbury¹, *Conrad* of

brated poetic *Life of Frederic Barbarossa*, in ten books, has been often published separate, and also in Justin Reuber's *Scriptores Germanici*, p. 407—734. *Tr.* This poem, which is not certainly known to be from the same pen as the former poem, dwells much upon Barbarossa's exploits in the Genoese territory, or Liguria. *Ed.*

³ De Vitriaco.

⁴ [Matthew Paris was an English Benedictine monk, initiated at St. Alban's, A.D. 1217. He was a very exemplary man, in high favour with Henry II., and employed by the pope to reform some foreign monasteries. He is accounted the best historian of the middle ages, learned, independent, honest, and judicious. His great work is his *Historia Major*, or *History of England*, from the arrival of William the Conqueror in 1066, to the 43rd year of Henry III. or A.D. 1259; which was the year of his death. His *Historia Minor* is an epitome of the preceding. He also composed the lives of the two Offas, kings of Mercia; the lives of the twenty-three abbots of St. Albans, up to his times; likewise *Additions*, to his *Historia Major*; and a chronicle, from the creation to William the Conqueror. His works were best published by Wm. Wats, D.D. London, 1640, fol. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Roderic Ximenes, or Simonis, was a Spaniard of Navarre, educated at Paris, and archbishop of Toledo from A.D. 1208, till his death A.D. 1247. He wrote the history of Spain, from the arrival of Hercules there, to the year A.D. 1243, in nine books, which he called the *Historia Gothica*. As amplifications of this, he wrote a history of the Ostrogoths, from A.D. 453 to 555; a history of the Huns and Vandals, from their origin to A.D. 555; a history of the Arabians, from A.D. 570 to A.D. 1150: and a Roman history, from king Janus to the emperor Augustus. The whole was published by Andreas Schott. *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. ii. p. 26, &c. Francf. 1603. *Tr.*]

⁶ *Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscript. et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 243, &c. where also William of Nangis is treated

of. [Rigord was probably born in the south of France, of Gothic extract, a physician, historian, and a clerk of St. Denys. He wrote the life of Philip Augustus, king of France, in prose; which William Brito follows in his poetic history. It is in Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Francicæ*, tom. v. p. 1, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Vincent of Beauvais was sub-prior of a Dominican cloister at Beauvais, and tutor to the sons of St. Lewis. He probably died about A.D. 1264. By direction of the king, he wrote a huge work, of vast reading and little judgment, a kind of encyclopædia, entitled *Speculum naturale, doctrinale, et historiale*. The first part treats of natural history, geography, and chronology; the second, of theology, philosophy, and all the other sciences; the third is a general history of the world. A fourth part, probably by a later author, entitled *Speculum Morale*, treats of practical religion. The whole was printed at Douay, 1624, in 4. vols. fol. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 445, &c. *Tr.*]

⁸ See Jac. Le Boëuf, *Mémoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490, where he also treats learnedly of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

⁹ [Martin Polanus, or of Poland, was a native of Troppau, in Silesia, then a part of Poland, and a Dominican monk there, till he went to Rome, and was there made chief penitentiary under the pope for many years. At last, he was appointed archbishop of Gnesen, in Poland, and of course primate of that kingdom; but died on his way thither, A.D. 1278. He wrote a chronicle of the pontiffs and emperors, from the Christian era to A.D. 1287, which was continued by another hand to A.D. 1285: often published; but of little value. He also wrote an index to the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretals*, and several sermons. See Schroeckh, l. c. p. 521. *Tr.*]

¹ [Gervais of Tilbury was nephew to Henry II., king of England, and born at Tilbury, in Essex. He flourished A.D. 1210. Henry II. made him marshal of Arles, in France, and Otto IV., emperor of Germany, made much of him. He

Lichtenau², William of Nangis³, and some others, deserve to be mentioned. Those who composed lives of the saints, detail rather the superstitions and infelicities of the times, than the achievements of the eminently pious. Among these writers, James of Vitré stands prominent; who was likewise author of a History of the Lombards, which is full of insipid stories.⁴

§ 6. To Greek literature some attention was paid, by Roger Bacon, a man of extraordinary genius, by John Balbus⁵, Robert Capito, and a limited number of others. The Hebrew language and theology had still fewer cultivators. Yet we learn, that Raymund Martini, the intelligent author of the *Pugio Fidei*, Bacon, Capito, and a few others, were no inconsiderable proficients in such learning. The Arabic language and learning were studied by many of the Spaniards, and likewise by the Dominican friars, to whom the Christian kings of Spain committed the instruction of the Jews and Arabians resident in Spain.⁶ The Latin grammarians, even the best of them, are all

wrote, to amuse the emperor, his *Otia imperialia*, in three books, published by Leibnitz, in his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvic.* tom. i. Several other of his historical works still exist in manuscript. *Tr.*]

² [Conrad of Lichtenau, or Conrad Urspergensis, served first in the court of the emperor Henry VI., but became a priest A. D. 1202, a Præmonstratensian monk in 1205, and abbot of a monastery at Ursperg, or Aversberg, in Suabia, A. D. 1215. He resided some time at Rome, in early life, and died A. D. 1240. His Chronicle, from Belus, king of Assyria, to A. D. 1229, is useless for ancient history; but valuable for the times within his personal knowledge. He was no flatterer of the popes. The work was published at Strasburg, 1548 and 1609, fol. with those of Regino and Lambert of Aschaffenburg. *Tr.*]

³ [William of Nangis, a Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, flourished A. D. 1301; and wrote a Chronicle, from the creation to A. D. 1301; also the life of Lewis IX. and that of Philip III., kings of France. The Chronicle was published by D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. xi. p. 405, and the two biographies by Du Chesne, *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* tom. v. *Tr.*]

⁴ See Joh. Geo. Schellhorn, *Amenitates Litter.* tom. xi. p. 324, &c. [It was not James de Vitriaco, but James de Voragine, who composed the *Historia Lombardica*; as is correctly stated in chap. ii. § 45.

James de Voragine was born in Liguria, in Italy, became a Dominican monk, provincial of his order for Lombardy, general of the order, archbishop of Genoa. He flourished A. D. 1290; is said to have favoured the emperor against the pontiffs; and died about A. D. 1298. He was a pious and charitable man, but credulous, and a great collector of fables. His *History of the Lombards* is a mere collection of legends of the saints; often published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but always disliked by intelligent Roman Catholics. He also wrote a Chronicle of Genoa, published by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. ix. and many sermons, which have been printed. See Cave's *Historia Litteraria*, ad an. 1290. *Tr.*]

⁵ [This John, who is sometimes called John de Balbis, or De Janua, that is, Genoa, cannot well be placed in this list. For he says of himself, near the beginning of the famous *Catholicon*, [a general Latin dictionary, *Tr.*] which he composed, "Hoc difficile est scire, et maxime mihi, non bene scienti linguam Græcam." And that this is not to be attributed to his excessive modesty, appears from the contents of the book. *Schld.*]

⁶ See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. iii. p. 112. Nic. Antonius, *Biblioth. Vet. Hispanica*, passim; and the *Historians of Spain*.

jejune and barbarous. This is manifest from the one who had the highest reputation, and whose work was taught in all the schools, from this century on to the sixteenth, *Alexander de Villa Dei*, of the Franciscan order. His *Doctrinale*, composed in the year 1240, in what are called *Leonine* verses, involves the rules of grammar in such nonsense and obscurity, as can scarcely be believed by one who has not looked over the book.

§ 7. The Latins, who had before philosophized variously, gradually submitted themselves, in this century, exclusively to the authority and the principles of *Aristotle*. Certain books of *Aristotle*, especially his *Metaphysics*, were read in Latin, and publicly explained to the students at Paris, near the commencement of this century.⁷ But as it appeared, that from these books, *Almeric* had derived his errors respecting God and some other subjects, they were prohibited, as pestilent, by the council of Sens, in the year 1209.⁸ Yet a few years afterwards, A. D. 1215, the *Logic* of *Aristotle* was again introduced into the university of Paris; while his physical and metaphysical books were still excluded.⁹ Subsequently, the emperor *Frederic II.*, who was a great friend to learning, ordered the books of *Aristotle*, and of other ancient philosophers, to be translated, partly from Arabic, and partly from Greek, into Latin, by selected persons, (as he expressed it¹⁰,) well skilled in each language. And as this translation was recommended by the emperor himself to the university of Bologna, and doubtless to others also, the influence of *Aristotle* was increased immensely in all the schools of Europe. And this influence was extended by the many Latin translators of some of the works of *Aristotle*, who arose afterwards; as *Michael Scot*, *Philip* of Tripoli, *William*

⁷ Franc. Patricius *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145. John Launoï, *de Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Academia Paris*. cap. i. p. 127, ed. Elswich. It is commonly said, that those books of *Aristotle* were translated into Latin from the Arabic. But Rigordus (*de Gestis Philippi regis Francor.* ad. an. 1209, in Andr. Du Chesne's *Scriptores Hist. Franc.* p. 119,) expressly says, they were brought from Constantinople, and translated out of Greek into Latin.

⁸ Launoï, l. c. cap. iv. p. 195, and his *Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi caussa defenditur*; *Opp.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 8, &c.

⁹ Natalis Alexander, *Selecta Hist. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. c. iii. § 7, p. 76.

¹⁰ Peter de Vineis, *Epistolar.* lib. iii. *Ep.* lxxvii. p. 503, &c. This epistle is directed *ad Magistros et Scholares Bononienses*. But it is probable, that the emperor sent similar epistles to the other schools in Europe. It is commonly said, that *Frederic* caused Latin translations to be made of *all the works* of *Aristotle* that are extant, and that this was in the year 1220. But neither position can be proved from this epistle; nor, as I suppose, from any other testimonies.

Fleming, and others; though all of them were deficient in knowledge, and in acquaintance with the languages.¹

§ 8. *Aristotle* reached the summit of esteem and reputation, when the mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, embraced his philosophy, taught it universally in the schools, and illustrated it by their writings. For these friars, from this time onward, stood foremost in learning, both sacred and profane, in Europe, and were followed by nearly all who would rise above the vulgar in knowledge. The first who published expositions of *Aristotle*, were *Alexander Hales*, an Englishman, and a Franciscan and doctor at Paris, who acquired the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*²; and *Albert the Great*, a German Dominican, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man, undoubtedly, of no common genius, and the general guide of his age.³ After these, a pupil of *Albert*⁴, *Thomas Aquinas*, who was the great luminary of the schools, and was called the *Angelic Doctor*, a Dominican, exalted the glory of *Aristotle* more than all others. For he expounded his books, both orally and in writing, and also caused a new Latin translation of his works to be made by one of his associates, more correct and clear than any used before.⁵ Through the influence of these men, therefore, and a few others, notwithstanding the opposition of many divines, and the disapprobation of the pontiffs, *Aristotle* became the dictator in philosophy, among the Latins.

§ 9. There were, however, in Europe several persons of supe-

¹ Concerning these translators of *Aristotle*, see Anth. Wood's *Antiquit. Ocon.* tom. i. p. 119, and Sam. Jebb's *Præf. ad Opus Majus Rogeri Baconi*, Lond. 1733, fol. I will subjoin the opinion of Bacon, a very competent judge, concerning these translations of *Aristotle*, as taken by Jebb from a manuscript: *If I had controul over these books of Aristotle, (the Latin translations,) I would cause them all to be burnt: for it is a loss of time to study in them, and a cause of error, and a furtherance of ignorance, beyond what can well be expressed.*

² See Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673, &c.

³ Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 113, &c.

⁴ This is according to the opinion of the Dominicans, which appears most

probable. See Anton. Tournon, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 90. But the Franciscans eagerly maintained, that Thomas was a pupil of Alexander Hales. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133, &c.

⁵ Most persons suppose that the author of this new Latin version of the works of *Aristotle*, which Thomas Aquinas caused to be made, was William de Moerbeka, a Dominican of Flanders, well acquainted with both Latin and Greek, and archbishop of Corinth. See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 388, &c. Casim. Oudin, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. Jo. Franc. Feppens, *Biblioth. Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. But others, though supported by fewer authorities, attribute the work to Henry Kosheim, who was also a Dominican. See Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani* tom. i. p. 469, &c.

rior genius and penetration, who, while they valued *Aristotle* highly, wished to extend the boundaries of human knowledge; and were disgusted with the meagre and jejune method of philosophizing, derived from the books of *Aristotle*.⁶ Among them, the following obtained, very deservedly, the highest reputation; namely *Roger Bacon*, an Englishman of the Franciscan order, called the *Admirable Doctor*; an extraordinary man, skilled far beyond the standard of his age, in philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and in various languages, and also much renowned for his important discoveries⁷: *Arnold* of Villa Nova, a Frenchman, as many believe, though some make him a Spaniard; greatly distinguished for his knowledge of the medical art, philosophy, chemistry, poetry, languages, and of many other things⁸: and *Peter de Abano*, or *de Apono*, an Italian, and a physician of Padua, surnamed the *Reconciler*, on account of the book he wrote, entitled, *The reconciler of the differences among philosophers and physicians*; a man of acuteness, and pro-

⁶ Roger Bacon, quoted by Steph. Jebb, in the preface to Bacon's larger work, says: "Never was there so great an appearance of wisdom, and so great ardour in study, in so many faculties, and so many countries, as during the last forty years; for doctors are scattered every where—in every city, in every castle, in every borough, students, principally under the two orders, (*i. e.* the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were almost the only people that pursued literature,) which was never the case till within about forty years: and yet never was there so great ignorance and so great misapprehension.—The mass of students dose and yawn like asses, over the bad translations, (he intends the books of Aristotle, the translations of which he would censure as being ridiculous and exceedingly faulty,) and waste altogether the time, and labour, and expense, they lay out upon them. Appearances are all that engross their attention; and they care not what it is they know, but only to appear very learned before the senseless multitude."

⁷ That such was his character, strikingly appears from his *Great Work*, (*Opus Majus*), as it is called, addressed to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV., and published by Stephen Jebb, M.D. from a Dublin manuscript, with a learned preface and notes, London, 1733, fol.; a work well worth perusing. The other

works of Bacon, which were numerous, still remain for the most part in manuscript. See, concerning him, Anth. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 136, &c. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 264, &c. tom. v. p. 51. Thom. Gale, ad *Jamblichum de Mysteriis Ægyptior.* p. 235. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. et Crit.* tom. i. art. *Bacon*, p. 3, &c. [Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Roger Bacon. Tr.*]

⁸ See Nic. Antonius, *Biblioth. vetus Hispanica*, tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74. Peter Joseph, *Vie d'Arnaud de Villeneuve*, Aix, 1719, 12mo. Nicéron, *Mémoires des Hommes Illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82. Nicol. Eymeric, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282; where there is an account of his errors. [Arnold, or Arnaud de Villeneuve, was born about the middle of this century, studied at Paris and Montpellier, visited the schools in Italy and in Spain, where he studied physic under Arabian masters, and learned their language. His reputation was very high as a physician and a scholar. At Paris he uttered so freely his opinions of the monks and the mass, as to bring himself into danger: and he retired to the court of Frederic of Aragon. He died about A. D. 1312. His works, which were numerous, were collected and published at Lyons, 1520, fol. and at Bale, 1585. See Rees' *Cyclopædia*, art. *Arnaud. Tr.*]

foundly read in philosophy, astronomy, the medical art, and mathematics.⁹ But all these received this as the reward of their talents and industry, that they were ranked by the ignorant multitude among magicians and heretics, and hardly escaped being burned at the stake. *Bacon* was confined many years in a prison; and both the others, after their deaths, were, by the *Inquisition*, judged worthy of the flames.

§ 10. In what manner theology was taught, will be stated in a subsequent chapter. Law, now divided into sacred, or *canon* law, and civil, was prosecuted by vast numbers: but each division was disfigured and obscured, rather than elucidated, by numerous silly expositions. Several persons undertook to collect what are called the *decretal* epistles of the pontiffs; which constitute no small part of the canon law.¹ The most distinguished in this labour was *Raymund* of Pennafort, a Catalonian, and general of the Dominican order. He compiled his work under the directions of *Gregory IX.*, and divided it into five books. *Gregory* directed this to be annexed to the *Decretum* of *Gratian*, and to be expounded in all the schools.² Near the end of the century, *Boniface VIII.* caused a new collection to be made; which, being subjoined to the five previous books, is called the *sixth Book of the Decretals*.³

⁹ Of him, no one has written with more industry, than John Maria Mazzuchelli, *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*; in Angeli Calogera's *Opusculi scientifici et filologici*, tom. xxiii. p. 1—54. [He was born at Apono or Abano, a village near Padua, about the year 1250, studied Greek at Constantinople, and medicine and mathematics at Paris, and taught medicine at Padua. He was prosecuted by the *Inquisition*, as being a magician, at the time of his death, A. D. 1315. His book, entitled *Conciliator*, &c., discusses more than 200 questions and problems, chiefly medical, but others philosophical, astrological, &c. It was first published, Venice, 1471, fol. and frequently afterwards. Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, art. *Apone*, and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxiv. p. 539, &c. Tr.]

¹ Concerning them, see C. E. de Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98, &c.

² Gerh. a Mastricht, *Historia Juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353, p. 384. Jo. Chifflet, *le Juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p.

60, &c. Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 106, &c. *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. Januarii, ad diem vii. p. 404, &c.

³ [The five books of the *Decretals* are digested under a series of *Tituli*, and divided into books according to the order of subjects. The *liber sextus Decretalium* pursues the same arrangement, and therefore is divided into five books. Subsequently another collection was made by order of Clement V., called *Clementina*, which is divided also into five books. Several smaller collections, afterwards made, first by John XXII. and then by various pontiffs, are not so digested, but are thrown together promiscuously; and are therefore called *Extravagantes*. The *Decretum* of *Gratian*, the five books of *Decretals* by *Gregory*, and the others mentioned in this note, constitute the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The voluminous *expositors* of the Canon Law do not comment upon all the books now enumerated, in their order; but they follow the five books of the *Decretals* regularly through, and introduce what occurs in

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE
CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2. The Roman pontiffs.—§ 3. Their power of creating bishops, &c.—§ 4. The authority of their legates.—§ 5. The pontiff's increase in wealth.—§ 6, 7, 8. The arrogant tyranny of Innocent III. shown by several examples.—§ 9. Honorius III.—§ 10. Wrong conduct of Gregory IX.—§ 11. Innocent IV.—§ 12. Alexander IV. and Urban IV.—§ 13. Gregory X.—§ 14. Innocent V., Hadrian VI., John XXI., and Nicolaus III.—§ 15. Martin IV. and Nicolaus IV.—§ 16. Cœlestine V.—§ 17. Boniface VIII.—§ 18. New orders of Monks.—§ 19. Orders of Monks that have become extinct.—§ 20. The orders that still flourish.—§ 21. The Mendicants.—§ 22. Their history.—§ 23. They acquired great veneration in Europe.—§ 24. The Dominicans.—§ 25. The Franciscans.—§ 26. Both did good service to the pontiffs.—§ 27. Their contests with the university of Paris.—§ 28. Their adversary.—§ 29. Insolence of the Mendicants.—§ 30. Conflicts between the Dominicans and the Franciscans.—§ 31, 32. Discord among the Franciscans respecting the true meaning of their rule.—§ 33. Other jars among them, respecting the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim.—§ 34. The book of Gerhard is condemned.—§ 35. The constitution of Nicolaus III. respecting the rule of St. Francis.—§ 36. It produces new commotions, and rouses up the Spiritual.—§ 37, 38. Continuation of these commotions.—§ 39. The Fratricelli, and the Beguards.—§ 40, 41. The Tertiarii, Bocasoti, and Beguins.—§ 42. The Lollards.—§ 43. The Greek writers.—§ 44. The Latin writers.

§ 1. BOTH Greeks and Latins are equally free in exposing and lashing the wickedness and scandalous excesses of their prelates and religious teachers. Nor will any one, acquainted with the events of this period, pronounce their complaints excessive.¹ Some men of high rank attempted to heal this malady, which from the head diffused itself throughout the body: but their power was inadequate to a task so arduous. The Greek emperors were impeded by the calamities of the times;

Gratian, the *liber sextus*, &c. at the proper places: thus their commentaries are always divided into five parts, and generally in five vols. fol. *Tr.*]

¹ See the expressive letter of the pontiff, Gregory IX., to the archbishop of Bourges, A. D. 1227, for correcting the

VICES of all orders of the clergy; published by Dion. Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. Appendix, p. 21, &c. See also Charles du Fresne's notes to the life of St. Lewis, p. 99; where he treats especially of the disorders of the court of Rome.

and the Latins, on account of the power of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstition of the age, could effect nothing of importance.

§ 2. A vivid picture of this may be seen, by reading over the history of the Latin pontiffs. For all who had any share in the government of the Church, were like sovereign lords; at least, in their feelings and disposition. They perseveringly urged, and with violence, with menaces, and frauds, and force of arms, that *fundamental* principle of the papal canon law, that the Roman pontiff is the sovereign lord of the whole world; and that all other rulers in church and state have so much power and authority as he sees fit to let them have. Resting on this eternal principle, as they conceived it to be, the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the absolute power not only of conferring sacred offices, or *benefices*, as they are called, but also of giving away empires, together with a corresponding right of taking their authority from kings and princes. The more intelligent indeed, for the most part, considered [general] councils as superior to the pontiffs; the kings and princes too who were not blinded by superstition, restrained the pontiffs from intermeddling with worldly or civil affairs, and bade them to be contented with the regulation of things sacred; they maintained their power to the utmost of their ability, and even claimed for themselves supremacy over the church in their respective territories.² But they had to do these things cautiously, if they would not learn by experience, that the pontiffs had long arms.

§ 3. In order to reign more absolutely and more securely, both in church and state, the pontiffs claimed, in particular, the right of appointing all presiding officers, in the church, of every rank and description, *bishops, abbots, canons, &c.* at their discretion. Thus they who had formerly contended with so much zeal for the free election of presiding officers in the church, against the encroachments of emperors and kings, now themselves overthrew the whole right of free elections; and either *reserved* to themselves the richer benefices, or *provided* for the vacant churches, by assigning to them their depen-

² As specimens, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III., and the emperor, Otto IV., published by Geo. Chr. Gebauer, in his *German History of the emperor Richard*, p. 611—

614. And the French and English kings, as well as some others, were equally active with Otto, in defending their rights against the pontiffs.

dants and friends: nay, they even set aside prelates who were duly elected, in order to substitute others in their places.³ The pretence was, care for the safety of the church, and fear lest *heretics* should creep into the fold of Christ.⁴ *Innocent III.* first assumed this power; and after him, *Honorius III.*, *Gregory IX.*, and others. But the progress of this usurpation was resisted in some measure by the bishops, who had before been accustomed to confer the smaller benefices, but most of all by the kings of France and England, who met it by their complaints, their edicts, and their laws.⁵ In particular, *Lewis IX.*, or *St. Lewis*, king of France in the year 1268, before he embarked in his crusade, published the famous ordinance, called by the French the *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which he carefully secured the rights of the Gallican church against the machinations of the pontiffs.⁶ This vigilance rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceeding; but it did not divert them from their purpose. And *Boniface VIII.* declared boldly and distinctly, that the whole church is under the control of the pontiffs; and that kings, and patrons, and religious bodies, have only so much power as the vicars of Christ may choose to give them.

§ 4. The legates, sent into the different provinces by the pontiffs, eagerly imitated their masters: for they unhesitatingly invaded the rights of religious bodies, and conferred the lesser benefices, and sometimes the larger also, at their pleasure, on such as they favoured, on pecuniary accounts, or for other reasons⁷: they extorted money, in various ways, and often in such as were most iniquitous: they deceived the unguarded, by forged [papal] briefs, and by other artifices: they not unfrequently disturbed the public tranquillity, and put themselves

³ A great many examples of such Provisions and Reservations can be collected in this century. See Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491. 493, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69, Appendix. Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum*; in the *Diplomata* pertaining to this century, *passim*, Anth. Wood's *Antiquitates Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 148. 201. 202. [and Hallam's *View of the Middle Ages*, ch. vii. vol. iii. p. 103, &c. Philadel. 1821. *Tr.*]

⁴ See an epistle of Innocent IV. in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 468.

⁵ See Cæs. Eg. de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659, &c. and especially tom. iv. p. 911, &c.

⁶ In addition to the other writers on the ecclesiastical law of France, see Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 389. [The ordinance called the Pragmatic Sanction, may be seen in Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. ii. App. ad ann. 1268, no. 37, p. 618. See also Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 477. *Tr.*]

⁷ Examples may be seen in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

at the head of factions: they carried on a most scandalous and wicked traffic in *relics* and *indulgences*; and did other things even worse than these. And hence all the writers of those times are full of complaints of the crimes and villanies of the papal legates.⁸ And this led *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256, to issue a severe edict against the fraudulence and avarice of legates⁹: but men who had influence in the court of Rome, and were supported by powerful friends, could easily evade its force.

§ 5. From the ninth century onwards, no additions of any consequence had been made to the wealth and the patrimony of the church of Rome: but in this century, under *Innocent III.*, and afterwards under *Nicolaus III.*, very large accessions of property were obtained, partly by force of arms, and partly by the munificence of emperors and kings. As soon as he was consecrated, *Innocent* brought under subjection to himself the prefect and senator¹ of the city of Rome, who hitherto had sworn fealty to the emperor. He next recovered the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Assissi, Montebello, and many other cities and fortresses; which, as he asserted, had been rent from the patrimony of St. Peter.² *Frede-*

⁸ In place of all, the single and excellent historian, Matthew Paris, may be consulted, *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549, and p. 637, where he says: "The legates, whoever they may be, and all papal nuncios, are wont to impoverish all the countries they enter, or in some way to throw them into disorder." See also Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 659, &c.

⁹ It was published by Jo. Lami, *Delicia Eruditor*, tom. iii. p. 300.

¹ [At that period one man possessed all the powers of the Roman senate, and acting in their place, bore the title of the *Senator*. *Tr.* — This officer was chief and representative of the Roman Commonalty. The citizens, divided into thirteen quarters, had chosen ten electors in each, and these had nominated a senate composed of sixty-six members, in which, or rather in a committee of eleven selected from it, resided the domestic control over the government of Rome. Clement III. obtained the power of nominating the ten electors in all the thirteen quarters, and gave the senators annual pensions out of the papal treasury. Having thus become mere creatures of the pon-

tiff, the Romans were easily persuaded to supersede the vernal sixty-six, by a single senator, Benedier Carasomi, whom they elected in 1197. It was a judicious choice, but the object of it became unpopular, was besieged in the Capitol, and being taken prisoner, was long kept in custody. Innocent continued the practice of confiding the domestic rights of Rome to a single senator, and made him act no longer in the people's name, but in the pope's. The prefect was representative of the emperor, from whom he received the sword of office, and to whom he swore fealty. Innocent did not pretend to commission him by means of the accustomed sword, he publicly invested him with a mantle, presented him with a silver cup, and made him swear obedience to the pope. The Romans readily acquiesced in these innovations, because Innocent distributed a largess among them, and because they hated the German power, both as foreign and as acceptable among their own nobility. Hurter's *Innocent III.* Fr. transl. Paris, 1838, tom. i. p. 112, *et seq.* *Ed.*]

² See Franc. Pagi, *Breviarium Romanor. Pontiff.* tom. iii. p. 161, &c. Mu-

ric II., also, to secure the favour of the pontiff, in his contest with *Otto IV.*, was very liberal to the Romish church, not only giving very valuable lands to *Richard*, the pontiff's brother³, but also permitting *Richard*, count of Fondi, in the year 1212, to bequeath his whole property to the church of Rome.⁴ He likewise confirmed the donation of *Matilda*. Afterwards, *Nicolaus III.* would not crown *Rudolph I.*, until he had, in the year 1278, confirmed and acknowledged all the claims of the church, including many that were quite dubious: and the princes of the German Roman empire were required to do the same. Having obtained this [general] acknowledgment, *Nicolaus* reduced to subjection many cities, villages, and towns of Italy, which had hitherto been subject to the emperors, and particularly the whole of the Romagna and Bologna. Thus, under these two pontiffs, on a full view of the subject, it appears, that the Romish church attained, by force, cunning, and management, to that extensive temporal dominion, which it possesses at the present day.⁵

§ 6. *Innocent III.*, who governed the Latin church⁶ till the year 1216, was learned, according to the conceptions of that age, and also laborious; but rough, cruel, avaricious, and arrogant.⁷ He adopted the principles of *Gregory VII.*, and claimed

ratori, *Antiq. Italica*, tom. i. p. 328, &c. [Innocent laid his chief stress upon the Countess Matilda's legacy. The Germans were in possession of countries which that obsequious disciple of Gregory VII. had left to the papacy, and they were so odious in Italy, that an able young pope, at a favourable time, easily persuaded his countrymen to dispossess them. *Ed.*]

³ Muratori, *Antiq. Italica*, tom. v. p. 652.

⁴ Odor. Raynald's *Continuation of Baronius' Annals*, ad ann. 1212, § 2.

⁵ See Raynald, l. c. ad ann. 1278, § 47, &c.

⁶ [From A. D. 1198. *Tr*]

⁷ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 206. 230. [Innocent III. is the official designation of Lothaire Conti, born either in 1160 or in 1161, being elected pope at 37. His earlier education being completed in Rome, he studied afterwards in the universities of Paris and Bologna. During his residence in the former he went on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where Becket's remains tenanted a shrine, already one of the most popular in Europe. Conti's mind probably received a lasting impulse from

this visit, his own object through life being that ecclesiastical independence for which Becket shed his blood. This was, however, a popular object, clerical immunities really being of general importance in an age when royal and baronial power pressed heavily upon society. In his own country, Innocent's exertions were also popular, from their aim to drive the German power beyond the Alps. His eminence was not, therefore, the mere creature of an insolent, selfish, and fortunate ambition. The multitude was with him, because he curbed power without the Alps, and sought patriotic ends within them. At the same time, his whole policy served enormously to aggrandise the papacy, and hence he was not only execrated by a large party among his contemporaries, but he has also usually been branded as little else than an artful and unprincipled adept in the science of papal politics. Of late, M. Hurter, a protestant minister at Schaffhausen, has done Innocent more than justice. He has elaborately vindicated his character, and revealed the true reasons of his popularity, and consequent power. But he writes in a tone of florid

absolute dominion, not only over the church, but also over religion, and over the whole world. He therefore created kings, both in Europe and Asia, according to his pleasure. In Asia he gave a king to the Armenians. In Europe he conferred royal honours, A. D. 1204, on *Primislaus*, duke of Bohemia: and in the same year by his legate placed a regal crown on *Johanicus*, duke of the Bulgarians and Walachians. But he himself at Rome, saluted as king and crowned *Peter II.*, of Aragon, who had rendered his dominions tributary to the church.⁸ Many other proofs like these of the supreme power that he claimed over all the world, while Europe stood amazed and silent, may easily be gathered out of his *Epistles*.

§ 7. Not content with these acts of sovereignty, he compelled emperors, and the greatest monarchs of Europe, to fear and respect the power of the Roman church. Near the commencement of the century, when *Philip*, duke of Suabia, and *Otto IV.* the third son of *Henry* the Lion, contended for the empire of Germany, he at first favoured the side of *Otto*, and terrified *Philip* with his denunciations; and on the death of *Philip*, A. D. 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon *Otto* at Rome. But as *Otto* would not comply in all things with his wishes, he changed his mind, and pronounced him unworthy of the throne: and in the year 1212, substituted in his place *Frederic II.*, his own pupil, son of *Henry VI.*, and king of the two Sicilies.⁹ *Philip Augustus*, king of France, he excommunicated, for having dismissed his wife *Isemburgis*, daughter of the king of Denmark, and marrying another woman; nor did he cease to harass the king with anathemas, till he received back his former wife.¹

and indiscriminate panegyric, making incidental concessions that candour does not require, and which are hardly consistent with the information or reasonable prepossessions of a Protestant divine. *Ed.*]

⁸ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medi Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116. Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.

⁹ This history is drawn out at large in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247, &c.

¹ Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 8, &c. Gabr. Daniel's *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475, &c. Gerh. du Bois, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 204, &c. p. 257, &c. [To this Danish

princess, otherwise called Ingeburga, Philip appears to have taken a violent aversion at first sight. His marriage was, therefore, immediately followed by a separation, and this by a pretence that he had inadvertently married within the prohibited degrees. An assembly of his own prelacy pronounced a divorce upon this ground, and Philip married again according to his taste. The injured Danish princess and her family appealed to Rome, and Innocent very properly took their part: but he pushed his favourable interference so far as to lay France under an interdict, or suspension of religious rites. The age being favourable to this exercise of papal power,

§ 8. But no one suffered more disgracefully and severely from the arrogance of *Innocent*, than *John*, surnamed *Lackland*, (*Sine Terra, Sans Terre*,) the king of England and Ireland.² He resolutely withstood the pontiff, who had designated *Stephen Langton* to be archbishop of Canterbury. The pontiff, therefore, first excommunicated him in the year 1208; and afterwards, in the year 1211, absolved the English and Irish from their oath of allegiance to the king; and finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave the kingdoms of England and Ireland to *Philip Augustus* the king of France. Terrified by these decrees, and dreading a war, *John* made his kingdom tributary to the pontiff in the year 1212.³ This im-

Philip was driven to dismiss his new wife, who shortly after died, and to recognise Ingeburga as lawful queen. He did not, however, cohabit with her, but still pleaded such a degree of relationship as rendered this impossible. Innocent remained equally inflexible, and this honourable perseverance brought the royal pair together, after a separation of twenty years. It is impossible to deny that the pope's conduct in this case was, upon the whole, creditable to himself, and beneficial to society. Nor, probably, was his interference in German affairs grounded on any objectionable principle. M. Hurter says, that Innocent's object was to prevent the princes from being despoiled of their right of election (tom. i. p. 135). But although the character of this great pope has suffered from misrepresentation, he took, undoubtedly, that exaggerated and pernicious view of his position, which betrayed him into several very blameable excesses. *Ed.*]

² [This is not exact. John undoubtedly exercised supreme power over Ireland. But he never styled himself king of that country; nor did any one of his successors before Henry VIII. Former kings had merely called themselves Lords of Ireland. *Ed.*]

³ These events are stated at large by Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189, &c. 192. 195, &c. See also Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304, &c. [This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent,

archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Gray to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to an election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1200, he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, in case the monarch refused to yield and receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome: but in the act drawn up for that purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the

prudence brought extreme disgrace and immense evils upon the king. Of the Lateran council, under *Innocent*, in the year 1215, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended, except that of baptism; [and the eucharist, with confession, under the last necessity,] the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites, or any funeral solemnity. But notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among whom were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still further degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that *Innocent* carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of this expedition, promising to such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on

the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to *Innocent*, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory. In the act, by which he resigned thus scandalously his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had been compelled to this measure, neither by fear nor by force; but that it was all his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay the sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he, or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British (English) crown. *Maclaine*.—Upon John's surrender of his kingdom, it is needless to say any thing. *Innocent's* conduct must chiefly be estimated by existing rights of election to the see of Canterbury. Now these had usually been exercised under certain limitations, by the convent attached to the cathedral there, a body far from fit, Dr. Lingard says, for that purpose, being composed of "men who, by their utter seclusion from the world, were the least calculated to appreciate the merits of the candidates, or to judge of the qualifications requisite for the office." (*Hist. Engl.* Lond. 1837, tom. iii. p. 15.) He might have added, that these monks were a body of intruders, who did not completely supersede the secular canons, established originally at Canterbury, as in every other cathedral, until Norman William made Lanfranc archbishop. The papacy, therefore, had to thank

§ 9. *Honorius III.*, previously called *Centius Savelli*, who succeeded *Innocent*, A.D. 1216, and governed the Roman church more than ten years, did not perform so many deeds worthy of being recorded; yet he was very careful that the Romish power should receive no diminution. Pursuing this course, he had a grievous falling out with the emperor *Frederic II.*, a magnanimous prince, whom he himself had crowned at Rome, in the year 1220. *Frederic*, imitating his grandfather, laboured to establish and enlarge the authority of the emperors in Italy, to depress the minor states and republics of Lombardy, and to diminish the immense wealth and power of the pontiffs and the bishops; and to accomplish these objects, he continually deferred the crusade, which he had promised with an oath. *Honorius*, on the other hand, continually urged *Frederic* to enter on his expedition to Palestine; yet he secretly encouraged,

itself for the unfit electors who came into the chapter-house when a new primate was to be chosen. But in addition to the capitular body of Canterbury, whether regular or secular, the suffragan bishops of the province claimed from ancient prescription, at least, a concurrent right of election; and this claim, though fiercely resisted by the monks, really controlled every election. It was abetted by the crown, and no nominee could obtain possession, unless the king gave licence to elect, indicating his man, and the prelacy concurred. On Abp. Hubert's death, after four days' illness, in 1205, the junior monks of Canterbury elected in the night, Reginald, their sub-prior, and enthroned him archbishop before dawn. This was clearly illegal: neither royal licence nor episcopal concurrence being gained. Being a bold stroke, however, against prerogative, it was thought likely to succeed at Rome. Thither Reginald, with some attendant monks, immediately proceeded, having first sworn to say nothing of his election until he came into the papal presence. But he had no sooner landed in Flanders than vanity proved an overmatch for his oath, and he paraded himself as primate elect of all England. His folly being known at Canterbury, the wiser monks brought the convent to look upon the election as invalid, and to request the usual permission from the crown to choose an archbishop. This was granted as a matter of course, with a recommendation for John de Gray,

bishop of Norwich; who was duly chosen. On his part, first came to Rome an envoy from the suffragans of Canterbury; afterwards, six monks of the convent there, with the archdeacon of Richmond. Innocent now pronounced Reginald's election void, because uncanonical, De Gray's, because premature, the former not having been regularly annulled. In anticipation of some such decision, the Canterbury monks despatched to Rome had royal licence for electing there a new archbishop, having sworn to elect no other than De Gray. Of him, however, Innocent would not hear, designing the see for Stephen Langton, an Englishman of merit, long resident abroad, whom he had known at Paris, and whom he had lately made a cardinal. De Gray he seems to have represented as unfit for Canterbury, because his life had been spent in secular business. Still the monks, mindful of their oaths, displayed an unwillingness to choose any other, and one of them proved incapable of violating his engagements. The others chose Langton. It seems no easy matter to acquit Innocent of blame in this case, and the bad consequences of it were very extensive. He ought clearly to have respected the oaths of the Canterbury monks, and to have recognised De Gray as archbishop. Nothing was required for that prelate at all inconformable with established usage. Matth. Paris, ed. Wats, Lond. 1640, p. 212. 223. Hurter's *Innocent III.* tom. ii. p. 246. 249. *Ed.*]

animated, and supported the cities and republics, that resisted the emperor; and raised various impediments to his increasing power. Still, this hostility did not, at present, break out in open war.

§ 10. But under *Gregory IX.*, whose former name was *Hugolinus*, and who was elevated from the bishopric of Ostia to the pontificate, A. D. 1227, an old man, but still bold and resolute, the fire, which had been long burning in secret, burst into a flame. In the year 1227, the pontiff excommunicated the emperor, who still deferred his expedition to Palestine: but without proceeding in due form of ecclesiastical law, and without regarding the emperor's excuse of ill health. In the year 1228, the emperor sailed with his fleet to Palestine: but instead of waging war, as he was bound to do, he made a truce with *Saladin*, on recovering Jerusalem. While he was absent the pontiff raised war against him in Apulia, and endeavoured to excite all Europe to oppose him. Therefore *Frederic* hastened back, in the year 1229, and after vanquishing his enemies, made his peace with the pontiff, in the year 1230. But this peace could not be durable, as *Frederic* would not submit to the control of the pontiff. Therefore, as the emperor continued to press heavily on the republics of Lombardy, which were friendly to the pontiff, and transferred Sardinia, which the pontiff claimed as part of the patrimony of the church, to his son *Entius*; and wished to withdraw Rome itself from the power of the pontiff; and did other things very offensive to *Gregory*; the pontiff, in the year 1239, again laid him under anathemas: and accused him to all the sovereigns of Europe, of many crimes and enormities, and particularly of speaking contemptuously of the Christian religion. The emperor, on the other hand, avenged the injuries that he received, both by written publications, and by his military operations in Italy, in which he was for the most part successful; and thus he defended his reputation, and also brought the pontiff into perplexity and difficulty. To rescue himself, in some measure, in the year 1240, *Gregory* summoned a general council to meet at Rome; intending to hurl the emperor from his throne, by the united suffrages of the assembled fathers. But *Frederic*, in the year 1241, captured the Genoese fleet, which was carrying a great part of the fathers to the council at Rome, and seizing as well their treasures as themselves, he cast them into prison. Broken down by these cala-

mities, and by others of no less magnitude, *Gregory* sank into the grave shortly after.⁴

§ 11. The successor of *Gregory*, *Geoffry* of Milan, who assumed the name of *Cælestine IV.*, died before his consecration: and after a long interregnum, in the year 1243, *Sinibald*, a Genoese, descended from the counts *Fieschi*, succeeded under the pontifical name of *Innocent IV.*, a man inferior to none of his predecessors in arrogance and insolence of temper.⁵ Between him and *Frederic* there were at first negotiations for peace; but the terms insisted on by the pontiff were deemed too hard by the emperor. Hence *Innocent*, feeling himself unsafe in any part of Italy, A. D. 1244, removed from Genoa to Lyons in France; and the next year assembled a council there, in the presence of which, but without its approbation, (whatever the Roman writers may affirm to the contrary⁶,) he declared *Frederic* unworthy of the imperial throne. This most unrighteous decision of the pontiff had such influence upon the German princes, who were infected with the superstition of the times, that they elected first, *Henry*, landgrave of Thuringia, and on his death *William*, count of Holland, to the imperial throne. *Frederic* continued the war vigorously and courageously in Italy, and with various success, until a dysentery terminated his life in Apulia, on the 13th of December, A. D. 1250. On the death of his foe, *Innocent* returned to Italy in the year 1251.⁷ From this time especially, (though their origin was much earlier,) the two noted factions of *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*, of which the former sided with the pontiffs, and the latter with

⁴ Besides the original writers, who are all collected by Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*, and the authors of German and Italian history, of whom, however, few or none are impartial, the reader should consult, especially, Peter de Vinci, *Epistolar.* liber i. and Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*. Add also Raynaldi's *Annals*; Muratori's *Annales Italiae*, tom. vii. and *Antiq. Italicæ*, tom. iv. p. 325. 517, &c. and others. But this whole history needs a fuller investigation.

⁵ See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, especially on A. D. 1254, p. 771.

⁶ This council is classed among the general councils: yet the French do not so regard it. [See Bossuet's *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallici*, tom. i. p. 311.

Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Selecta Cap.* sæcul. xiii. diss. v. art. iii. § 8. Du Pin's *Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, century XIII. cap. i. and Walch's *Historie der Kirchenversamml.* p. 739, &c. There were about 140 prelates in the council. *Frederic's* advocate appealed to a more general council. The pontiff maintained it to be general enough. Walch allows, that the council assented to the *excommunication* of the emperor, but not to his *deposition*, which was the mere sovereign act of the pontiff, and at which all present were astonished. *Tr.*]

⁷ See, in addition to the writers already mentioned, Nicol. de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 353, &c.

the emperors, most unhappily rent asunder and devastated all Italy.⁸

§ 12. *Alexander IV.*, whose name, as count of Segni and bishop of Ostia, was *Raynald*, became pontiff on the death of *Innocent*, A. D. 1254, and reigned six years and six months. Excepting some efforts to put down a grandson of *Frederic II.*, called *Conradin*, and to quiet the perpetual commotions of Italy, he busied himself more in regulating the internal affairs of the church, than in national concerns. The Mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, are under especial obligations to him. *Urban IV.*, before his election to the pontificate in 1261, was *James*, patriarch of Jerusalem, a man born of obscure parentage at Troyes. He distinguished himself more by instituting the *festival of the body of Christ*, than by any other achievement.⁹ He indeed formed many projects: but he executed few of them, being prevented by death, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years.¹ Not much longer was the reign of *Clement IV.*, a Frenchman, and bishop of Sabina, under the name of *Guido Fulcodi*, who was created pontiff in the year 1265. Yet he is better known on several accounts, but especially for conferring the kingdom of Naples on *Charles* of Anjou, brother to *Lewis IX.*, the king of France; who is well known to have beheaded *Conradin*, the only surviving grandson of *Frederic II.*, after conquering him in battle, and this, if not by the counsel, at least with the consent of the pontiff.²

§ 13. On the death of *Clement IV.*, there were vehement contests among the cardinals, respecting the election of a new pontiff; which continued till the third year, when, at last, A. D. 1271, *Thibald* of Piacenza, archdeacon of Liege, was chosen, and assumed the name of *Gregory X.*³ He had been called from Palestine, where he had resided; and having witnessed the depressed state of the Christians in the Holy Land, nothing more engaged his thoughts than sending them succour. Accordingly, as soon as he was consecrated, he appointed a council

⁸ Muratori's *Diss. de Guelfis et Gibelinis*; in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

⁹ [Two biographies of him are found in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 592, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ [His biography also may be seen in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

tom. iii. pt. i. p. 593, and pt. ii. p. 405. *Schl.*]

² [Two lives of him likewise, are in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 594. *Schl.*]

³ The records of this election were published by Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 330, &c.

to be held at Lyons in France, and attended it in person in the month of May, A. D. 1274. The principal subjects discussed were the re-establishment of the Christian dominion in the East, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches. This has commonly been reckoned the fourteenth *general* council, and is particularly noticeable for the new regulations it established for the election of Roman pontiffs, and the celebrated provision which is still in force, requiring the cardinal electors to be shut up in conclave.⁴ Neither did this pontiff, though of a milder disposition than many others, hesitate to repeat and inculcate that odious maxim of *Gregory VII.*, that the pontiff is supreme lord of the world, and especially of the Roman empire. For in the year 1271 he sent a menacing letter to the princes of Germany, admonishing them to elect an emperor, and without regarding the wishes or the claims of *Alphonso*, king of Castile; otherwise he would appoint a head of the empire himself. Accordingly, the princes assembled, and elected *Rudolph I.*, of the house of Hapsburgh.

§ 14. *Gregory X.* died in the year 1276, and his three immediate successors were all chosen, and died in the same year. *Innocent V.*, previously *Peter* of Tarantaise, was a Dominican monk, and bishop of Ostia. *Hadrian V.* was a Genoese, named *Ottobonus*, and cardinal of St. Hadrian. *John XXI.*, previously *Peter*, bishop of Tusculum, was a native of Portugal. The next pontiff, who came to the chair in 1277, reigned longer. He was *John Cajetan*, of the family of Ursini, a Roman, and cardinal of St. Nicolas, who assumed the title of *Nicolaus III.* He, as has been already observed, greatly enlarged what is called the patrimony of St. Peter; and, as his actions show, had formed other great projects, which he would undoubtedly have accomplished, as he was a man of energy and enterprise, had he not prematurely died in the year 1280.

§ 15. His successor, *Martin IV.*, elected by the cardinals in 1281, was a French nobleman, *Simon de Brie*, a man of equal boldness and energy of character with *Nicolaus*. For he excommunicated *Michael Palæologus*, the Greek emperor; because he had violated the compact of union with the Latins, which was settled at the council of Lyons: and *Peter* of Aragon he deprived of his kingdoms, and of all his property, because he had

⁴ [The acts of this council are in Harduin's Collection, tom. vii. p. 666, &c. *Tr.*]

seized upon Sicily; and he bestowed them gratuitously on *Charles*, son to the king of France; and was projecting many other things, consonant to the views of the pontiffs, when he was suddenly overtaken by death, A. D. 1285. His plans were prosecuted by his successor, *James Savelli*, who was elected in 1285, and took the name of *Honorius IV.* But a distressing disease in his joints⁵, of which he died in 1287, prevented him from attempting any thing further. *Nicolaus IV.*, previously *Jerome d'Ascoli*, bishop of Palestrina, who attained to the pontifical chair in 1288, and died in 1292, was able to attend to the affairs both of the church and of the nations with more diligence and care. Hence he is represented in history, sometimes as the arbiter in the disputes of sovereign princes: sometimes as the strenuous assertor of the rights and prerogatives of the church; and sometimes as the assiduous promoter of missionary labours among the Tartars and other nations of the East. But nothing lay nearer his heart, than the restoration of the dominion of Christians in Palestine, where their cause was nearly ruined. In this he laboured strenuously indeed, but in vain; and death intercepted all his projects.⁶

§ 16. After his death, the church was without a head till the third year, the cardinals disagreeing exceedingly among themselves. At length, on the 5th of July, 1295, they unanimously chose an aged man, greatly venerated for his sanctity, *Peter*, surnamed *de Murrone*, from a mountain in which he led a solitary and very austere mode of life, who assumed the pontifical name of *Celestine V.* But as the austerity of his life tacitly censured the corrupt morals of the Romish court, and especially of the cardinals, and as he showed very plainly, that he was more solicitous to advance the holiness of the church than its worldly grandeur, he was soon considered as unworthy of the office, which he had reluctantly assumed. Hence some of the cardinals, and especially *Benedict Cajetan*, persuaded him very easily to abdicate the chair, in the fourth month of his pontificate. He died A. D. 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his successor detained him a captive, lest he should make some disturbance. But afterwards, *Clement V.* enrolled him in the calendar of the saints. To him, that sect of Benedictine monks,

⁵ [Both in his hands and his feet. seen in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 612. *Schl.*]

⁶ [A biography of this pope may be

who were called, after him, *Cœlestines*, owed its origin; a sect still existing in Italy and France, though now nearly extinct, and differing from the other Benedictines by their more rigid rules of life.⁷

§ 17. He was succeeded, A. D. 1294, by *Benedict* cardinal Cajetan, whose persuasions had chiefly led him to resign the pontificate, and who now assumed the name of *Boniface VIII*. This was a man formed to produce disturbance both in church and state, and eager for confirming and enlarging the power of the pontiffs, to the highest degree of rashness. From his first entrance on the office, he arrogated to himself sovereign power over all things sacred and secular; overawed kings and states by his fulminations; decided important controversies at his will; enlarged the code of canon law by new accessions, namely, by the *sixth book of Decretals*; made war among others, particularly on the noble family of *Colonna*, which had opposed his election; in a word, he seemed to be another *Gregory VII*. at the head of the church.⁸ At the close of the century⁹, he established the year of jubilee, which is still solemnized at Rome. The rest of his acts, and his miserable end, belong to the next century.¹

§ 18. Although *Innocent III*., in the Lateran council of 1215, had forbidden the introduction of any *new religions*, that is, new orders of monks²; yet by *Innocent* himself, and by the subsequent pontiffs, many religious orders, before unknown, were not

⁷ See Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180. [This pope wrote a history of his own life, which, with his other works, is in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum Lugd.* tom. xxv. p. 765. Other biographies of him are to be found in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 653, &c. His life is also written by Papebroch, *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iv. mens. Maii, p. 483. *Schl.*]

⁸ A formal biography of him, written by Jo. Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, was published at Rome, 1651, 4to, under the title of *Bonifacius VIII. e familia Cajetanorum Principum Romanus Pontifex*. [Another biography of him, by Bernh. Guido, is extant in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. pt. i. p. 641. The history of his contests with the king of France was written by Peter du Puy, entitled *Histoire du Différend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII.* Paris, 1655, fol. also by Adr. Baillet, *Histoire des*

Démêlez du Pape Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel, Paris, 1718, 12mo. *Schl.* For a summary account of this quarrel, see Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 507, &c. *Tr.*]

⁹ [A. D. 1300. *Tr.*]

¹ In this account of the pontiffs, I have followed, chiefly, Dan. Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales Italiae*; yet always consulting the original writers, whom Muratori has collected in his *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.*

² [*Acta Concilii Lateran IV.* canon 13. "Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus ne quis de cetero novam religionem inveniat: sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis." See Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 31. *Tr.*]

only tolerated, but also approved, and distinguished with various privileges and honours. Nor considering the state of the church in this age, is it strange, that this law of *Innocent* was tacitly abrogated. For, passing by other reasons, the church's enemies, particularly the *heretics*, were every where multiplying; the *secular clergy*, as they were called, were more attentive to their private interests than to those of the church, and lived luxuriously upon the revenues provided by their predecessors; the old orders of monks had nearly all abandoned their original strictness, and disgusted the people by their shameful vices, their sloth, and their licentiousness; and all advanced rather than retarded the progress of the *heretics*. The church, therefore, had occasion for new orders of servants, who should possess both the power and the disposition to conciliate the goodwill of the people, as well to diminish the odium resting on the Romish church, by the sanctity of their deportment, as to search out and harass the heretics, by their sermons, their reasoning, and their arms.

§ 19. Some of the monastic orders that originated in this century, are now extinct, while others remain still in a very flourishing state. Among those now extinct, were, the *Humiliati*; who sprang up, indeed, long before the 13th century, but were first approved, and subjected to the rule of St. Benedict, by *Innocent III.* These were suppressed by *Pius V.*, on account of their extremely corrupt morals, A. D. 1571.³ The *Jacobites*, mendicants; who were established by *Innocent III.*, but ceased to exist in this very century, subsequently, I think, to the council of Lyons.⁴ The *Vallischolares*; who were collected not long after the commencement of the century, by the *Scholares*, that is, the four professors of theology at Paris, and hence were first called *Scholars*; but afterwards, from a certain valley in Champagne, to which they retired in the year 1234, their name was changed to *Vallischolares*.⁵ This society was first governed by the rule of *St. Augustine*; but it is now united with the *canons regular of St. G  nevi  ve*. The *fraternity of the blessed Virgin, mother of Christ*; which began to exist A. D. 1266, and was ex-

³ Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 161.

⁴ Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 161.

⁵ [Scholars of the valley. *Tr.*] Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 15. *Acta Sanctor.* mens. Februar. tom. ii. p. 482.

in the year 1274.⁶ *The knights of faith and charity*, established in France, to suppress public robberies, and approved by *Gregory IX.*⁷ *The Eremite brethren of St. William*, duke of Aquitaine.⁸ I pass over the *Brethren in sackcloth*, the *Bethlehemites*, and several others. For scarcely any age was more fruitful than this in sects of the religious, living under various rules and regulations.⁹

§ 20. Among the new monastic sects, that still exist, were the *Servants of the ever-blessed Virgin*, a fraternity founded, in the year 1233, in Tuscany, by seven pious Florentines, at the head of whom was Philip Benizi. This sect adopted indeed the rule of *St. Augustine*, but it was consecrated to the memory of the holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin, and therefore wore a black habit¹, and had other peculiarities. The holy wars of the Christians in Palestine, in which many Christians became captives among the Mahumedans, produced, near the close of the preceding century, the order of *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, which first acquired stability and permanence in this century. Its originators were *John de Matha* and *Felix de Valois*, two pious men who led a solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of Meaux, where the principal house of the sect still exists. The members of this body were called *Brethren of the holy Trinity*, because all their churches are dedicated to the holy Trinity; also *Mathurini*, because their church in Paris has for its tutelar saint *St. Mathurin*; and likewise *Brethren of the redemption of captives*, because they are required to make the redemption of Christian captives from the Mahumedans a primary object, and to devote one-third part of their revenues to this purpose. Their rule of life formerly was austere; but by the indulgence of the pontiffs, it is now rendered easy to be kept.²

⁶ Dionys. Sammarthanus, *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653, &c.

⁷ *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. Append. p. 165. Martene's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 23, &c.

⁸ Jo. Bolland, *de Ordine Eremitar. S. Gulielmi Comment.* in the *Acta Sanctor.* Febr. tom. ii. p. 472, &c.

⁹ Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 815, ed. Wats. "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio inordinata." The same thing occurred in other countries of Europe in this age.

¹ Besides the common historians of the monastic orders, who are not always accurate, see Paul the Florentine's *Dialogus de Origine Ordinis Severorum*; in Jo. Lamy's *Dilicæ Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—48.

² Besides Helyot and the others, see Toussaint du Plessis, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172 and 566, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 523, &c. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 133, &c. In ancient writers, this sect is called the *Order of asses*, because their rule requires the

§ 21. But the sects now mentioned, and indeed all others, were far inferior in reputation, in privileges, in the number of members, and in other respects, to the *Mendicant Orders*, (or those without any permanent revenues or possessions,) which were first established in Europe during this century. Societies of this kind were urgently required by the church. For the wealthy orders, seduced by their opulence, from taking any care of religion, and from obsequiousness to the pontiffs, into idleness, voluptuousness, and vice of every kind, could be employed in no arduous enterprise; while the heretics were allowed to roam about securely, and to gather congregations of followers. Besides, all the parties opposed to the church, looked upon voluntary poverty as the primary virtue of a servant of Jesus Christ: they required their own teachers to live in poverty, like the apostles; they reproached the church for its riches, and for the vices and profligacy of the clergy growing out of those riches; and by their commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, especially, they gained the attention and the good-will of the multitude. A class of people, therefore, was very much wanted, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external sanctity of their rules of life, might resemble such teachers as the heretics both commended and exhibited; and whom neither their worldly interests and pleasures, nor the fear of princes and nobles, could induce to neglect their duties to the church and to the pontiff. The first to discern this, was *Innocent III.*, whose partialities for the orders professing poverty, were most remarkable³: and the subsequent pontiffs, learning by experience the great utility of these orders, continued to cherish and encourage them. When this partiality of the pontiffs became notorious, so great a number of these bodies every where sprang up, that they became a heavy burden not only to the people, but likewise to the church herself.

§ 22. This serious evil, *Gregory X.* endeavoured to obviate,

brethren to ride on asses, and forbids their using horses. See Charles du Fresne's Notes on Joinville's *Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81, &c. But by the allowance of the pontiffs, they may at the present day use horses, if they have occasion; and they do use them. A similar Order was instituted in Spain, A.D. 1228, by Paul Nolaseo, and called the *Order of St. Mary for the ransoming of captives*. See

the *Acta Sanctor.* Januarii, tom. ii. p. 980, &c.

³ [Innocent sent these Mendicant monks into all parts of the world, as heralds of the papal power; and to increase their respectability and influence, he exempted them from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and declared them to be responsible immediately and solely to the see of Rome. *Schl.*]

in the general council of Lyons, A. D. 1272. For he prohibited all the orders that had originated since the council of *Innocent III.*, held at Rome, in 1215: and in particular, he reduced the *unbridled throng* (as he denominates them) of the *Mendicants*, to four orders; namely, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Augustinian Eremites*.⁴ The *Carmelites*, who were first established in Palestine, in the preceding century, were in this removed to Europe; and by *Honorius III.*, A. D. 1226, placed among the approved orders in the western church. The order of *Augustinians* or *Eremites*, was formed by *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256; for he required various societies of *Eremites*, of which some followed the regulations of *William the Eremite*, and others wished to be considered as following *Augustine*, and others called themselves by other names, to all unite in one fraternity, and live under the same rules, namely, those said to be prescribed by *Augustine*.⁵

§ 23. As these orders had liberty from the pontiffs to spread themselves every where, and to instruct the people and to teach the youth; and as they exhibited a far greater show of piety and sanctity than the older orders of monks; all Europe suddenly burst forth in admiration and reverence for them. Very many cities, as appears from the most credible documents, were divided for their sakes into four sections; of which, the first was assigned to the Dominicans, the second to the Franciscans, the third to the Carmelites, and the fourth to the Augustinians. The people frequented, almost exclusively, the churches of the Mendicants, asked but seldom for the sacraments, as they are called, or for burial, except among them: which naturally called forth grievous complaints from the ordinary priests who had the charge of the parishes. Indeed, the history of this and the following centuries shows, that so great was the reputation and the influence of these *mendicant Friars*, that they were employed in transactions of the highest magnitude, in negotiations for

⁴ *Concilium Lugdun. II.* A. D. 1274. Can. xxiii. (in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 715.) "Inportuna petentium inhabiti religionum (thus the monastic orders are described) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium—effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit.—Hinc ordines post dictum concilium

(Lateranense A. D. 1215.) adinventos—perpetuæ prohibitioni subicimus."

⁵ This ordinance is found in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110, of the new edition. Besides the writers on all the monastic orders, and the historians of the Augustinian order in particular, see the *Acta Sanctorum* mensis Februarii, tom. ii. p. 472.

peace, in the ratification of treaties, in shaping the policy of courts, in arranging financial concerns, and in various other functions totally at variance with the monastic profession.

§ 24. But the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* acquired much greater glory and power, than the other two orders of mendicants. During three centuries they had the direction of nearly every thing in church and state, held the highest offices, both ecclesiastical and civil, taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and churches, and defended the authority and majesty of the Roman pontiffs, against kings, bishops, and heretics, with amazing zeal and success. What the *Jesuits* were, after the reformation by *Luther* commenced, the same were the Dominicans and Franciscans, from the thirteenth century to the times of *Luther*, the soul of the whole church and state, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment.—*Dominic*, a Spaniard of Calahorra, and of the illustrious family of *Guzman*, a regular canon of Osuma, a man of very ardent temperament, burning with hatred against the heretics, who then greatly disquieted the church, went with a few companions into France to engage in combat with them; where, with sermons, writings, arms, and the tremendous tribunal of the *Inquisition*, which owed its origin to him, he attacked most vigorously, and not without success, the Albigenses and other enemies of the church. Then going into Italy, he readily obtained, after such achievements, great favour with the pontiffs, *Innocent III.* and *Honorius III.*, and obtained leave to establish a new fraternity, to be especially opposed to heretics. At first, he and his associates adopted the rule of the canons, commonly called *St. Augustine's* with the addition of a few precepts that were more severe: but he afterwards went over to the class of monks, and in a convention of the fraternity at Bologna, in the year 1220, he enjoined upon them poverty and contempt for all permanent revenues and possessions. Soon after the transaction at Bologna, he died, in the year 1221.⁶ The members of the orders were

⁶ See Jac. Echard and Jac. Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Domin.* Paris, 1719, fol. tom. i. p. 84, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* April. tom. iii. p. 872, &c. Nicol Jansenius, *Vita. S. Dominici*, Antw. 1672, 8vo, and the long list of writers mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Lat. Mediæ. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137, &c. to which may be added several others, and

especially Anton. Bremond's *Bullarium Ordinis Dominici*, published at Rome; but which has not fallen in my way. [Also the *Annales Ord. Prædicatorum*, Rom. 1756, fol. tom. i. which volume is wholly devoted to the life of St. Dominic. *Schl.*—That St. Dominic was of the noble family of Guzman, has been disputed; but it is agreed, that he was born at Ca-

at first called *Preaching friars*⁷, because their attention was principally devoted to instructing mankind by preaching: but afterwards they were named, from their founder, *Dominicans*.⁸

§ 25. *Francis*, the son of a merchant of Assisi in Umbria, a dissolute and reckless youth, upon recovering from a very threatening sickness, which he had brought upon himself by his licentious, vicious conduct, exhibited in his life and behaviour a kind of religious idiocy; and subsequently, in the year 1208, having accidentally heard in a church the words of the Saviour, Matt. x. 10⁹, he conceived that the essence of the Gospel, as

lahorra, A.D. 1170; and that he was early sent to the high school at Valencia, where he studied theology four years, and led an austere and studious life. In the year 1199, the bishop of Osma made him a presbyter, and a canon of his cathedral. He soon after became sub-prior of that body. He was now very devotional, studious, zealous for the faith, and a great preacher. In 1206, the bishop took Dominic with him into the south of France, where they met the papal legate and others, then labouring with little effect to convert the Albigenses. The bishop of Osma told them, they did not take the right course; that they ought to go forth unadorned, and without purse or scrip, like the apostles. He and Dominic set them a pattern, which they followed, with better success. After visiting Rome, the bishop had leave from the pope to preach in France during two years. He did so, with Dominic to assist him. Many others also laboured with him. After the return of the bishop to Spain, Dominic continued to preach to the heretics, sometimes with assistants, and sometimes almost alone. In 1208, a papal legate was murdered and a crusade commenced. Dominic persevered, with great zeal and fortitude, preaching, and begging his bread from door to door. He gradually drew around him several persons of like spirit. In the year 1215, he attended the general council of the Lateran, and obtained leave to establish a new order of monks; yet adopting some one of the already approved rules. He adopted that of St. Augustine; founded monasteries of *Preaching Friars* in divers places; and was constituted General of the whole. He was very active and efficient, till

his death in 1221. His sixty monasteries, divided into eight provinces, now fell under the care of his successor and biographer, Jordan, a noted preacher of the Order, educated at Paris. He presided over the Dominicans, till A.D. 1237; and was succeeded by Raymund de Penafort, till 1275; when John of Wildeshausen became the general. In the year 1277, the Order had thirty-five cloisters for men in Spain, fifty-two in France, thirty-two in Tuscany, fifty-three in Germany, forty-six in Lombardy, thirty in Hungary, thirty-six in Poland, twenty-eight in Denmark, forty in England, besides some in other countries, and a large number of nunneries. The next year, it counted four hundred and seventeen cloisters. See Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 382, &c. *Tr.*]

⁷ *Fratres prædicatores*. [*Friar preachers. Ed.*]

⁸ In ancient writers, they are sometimes called also *Major Friars* (*Fratres Majores*). See Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. But this was rather a nick-name, by which they were distinguished from the Franciscans, who called themselves *Minor Friars* (*Fratres Minores*). In France, and the neighbouring countries, they were called *Jacobins* or *Jacobites*; because the first domicile granted to them at Paris, was and is still sacred to St. James, [*Rue de St. Jaques*].—In England, they were called *Black Friars*, from the colour of their habit; and the part of London where they first dwelt is still called by this name. *Tr.*]

⁹ “Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves.”

taught by Jesus Christ, consisted in absolute penury of all things; and this, therefore, he prescribed for himself, and some others who followed him. He was unquestionably an honest and pious man; but grossly ignorant, and weakened in his intellect by the force of his disease. His new fraternity was viewed by *Innocent III.*, as well suited to the exigencies of the church at that time, and was formally approved by *Honorius III.*, A. D. 1223, and had become very numerous, when its founder died, in the year 1226. To manifest his humility, *Francis* would not allow the members of his order to be called *Brethren* (*Fratres*), but only *Little Brethren* (*Fratruci*); in Italian, *Fratricelli*; in Latin, *Fratres Minores* [Minorites]; which name they still retain.¹⁰

¹⁰ The life of St. Francis was written by Bonaventura, and has been often published. But of all the writers who give account of him, the most full is Lucas Wadding, [an Irish Franciscan monk, who died at Rome, A. D. 1657,] in the first volume of his *Annales Minorum*, a work containing a very ample history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by innumerable documents, and published with considerable enlargement, by Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Elora, Rome, 1731, and onwards, in eighteen volumes, folio. The same Wadding published the *Opuscula Sti Francis*, Antw. 1623, 4to, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, Rome, 1650, 4to. The other writers on this celebrated sect are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latina Medii Aevi*, tom. ii. p. 573, &c. [St. Francis was born at Assisi, A. D. 1182, and at his baptism was named John. But his father, being a merchant, who did much business in the south of France, brought him into such familiar intercourse with Frenchmen, that he learned to speak their language fluently, and was thence called Franciscus. His father educated him for his own business, and early employed him in traffic. But he was negligent in business, profligate, and debauched; yet generous to the poor, and brave. He always acted on the impulse of feeling, and his imagination overpowered his judgment. After his sickness he resolved to be religious, and became as extravagant in this course, as he was before in his worldly pleasures. Meeting one day a leper, he dismounted from his horse, kissed the sores of the sick man, and gave him alms; and this, to over-

come the revolting feelings of his nature. He fancied that Christ appeared to him, and that he had visions and prophetic dreams. In a pilgrimage to Rome he saw a multitude of beggars about the church of St. Peter, and exchanged clothes with one of the most shabby, and herded some days with the rest. Praying one day near the walls of a decayed church at Assisi, he heard a voice saying, Go, Francis, and repair my house, which you see is decayed. He immediately went, and sold a large amount of cloth belonging to his father, and brought the avails to the priest of that church, who hesitated to receive it. His father was offended, and attempted to arrest him as a deranged person; in which light he was now generally viewed by his fellow-townsmen. In the year 1206, his father took all his property out of his hands, lest he should squander it; and he now clothed himself in skins, and lived like a beggar, travelling up and down the country, and exhorting all to be religious. Some regarded him as insane, and others as a saint. By begging, he raised money to repair not only the old church before mentioned, but likewise two others; one of which, near Assisi, was called the church Portiuncula, where he fixed his head-quarters, and at length established his new order of monks, about the year 1208. Absolute poverty, entire obedience, much fasting and prayer, with constant efforts to convert sinners, were the requisites for admission to this order. In the year 1210, he had but eleven followers, when he obtained leave of the pope to continue his monastery. In 1211, he sent his

§ 26. These two orders wonderfully supported the tottering fabric of the Romish church in various ways; as by searching out and extirpating *heretics*, by performing embassies for the advantage of the church, and by confirming the people in their loyalty to the pontiffs. Sensible of their good services and fidelity, the pontiffs employed them in all the more important offices and transactions, and likewise conferred on them the highest and most invidious privileges and advantages.¹ Among these prerogatives, it was not the least, that in all places, and without license from the bishops, they might preach publicly, be confessors to all who wished to employ them, and grant absolutions. They were also furnished with ample power to grant *indulgences*, by which the pontiffs aimed to furnish the Franciscans especially with the means of support.² But these

monks all over Italy, to preach, and beg their bread. The order now increased rapidly, and was in high repute. Francis himself travelled, and preached, and had revelations, and wrought miracles. Once, while preaching, he could not be heard, for the chattering of numerous swallows: he turned to them, and said, "My sisters, you have talked long enough, it is time now for me to speak: do you keep silence, while the word of God is preached." They instantly obeyed. In 1212, he attempted to sail to the East, in order to preach to the Mahumedans; but the winds drove him back. In the year 1214, he went to Morocco, and preached awhile without effect, among the believers in Mahumed. In 1215, he attended the Lateran council, when Innocent III. publicly declared his approbation of the Franciscan society. In 1216, he held at Assisi the first general chapter of his order; the next year cardinal Ugolino, afterwards pope Gregory IX. became patron of the order: the year following, 1219, no less than five thousand are said to have attended the general chapter. He now sent his preachers abroad all over Europe. He himself, this year, went to Egypt, and preached to the sultan of that country. On his return, he found that his deputy-general, Elias, had relaxed somewhat the strictness of his rules; but he restored things to their former state. He would not allow splendour in his churches, nor the formation of libraries; and individuals must not own even a psalter or hymn book. In 1220, five Franciscan missionaries were put to death in Morocco; which contributed much to raise the

fame of the order, and to enlarge it. In 1222, the pope gave the Franciscans a right to preach every where, and to hear confessions, and grant absolutions in all places. In 1224, St. Francis, after praying for greater conformity with Christ, had scars, or fungus-flesh, it is said, formed on his hands and feet and side, to represent the five wounds of Christ. During the two following years, he lived an invalid at Assisi, and at last died, the 14th of October, 1226. See Bonaventura, l. c. and Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxvii. p. 405, &c. *Tr.*]

¹ Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 634. says: Our lord the pope now made the Franciscans and Dominicans, contrary to their wishes, I suppose, and to the injury and scandal of their order, his publicans and his bedels.—Idem, p. 639. Our lord the pope has not ceased to amass treasures, making the Dominican and Franciscan monks, even against their inclinations, not *fishers of men*, but of *money*. See also p. 662. 664, and many other places. At the year 1236, p. 354, he says: The Franciscans and Dominicans were counsellors and envoys of princes, and even secretaries to our lord the pope; thus securing to themselves too much secular favour. At the year 1239, p. 465, he says: At that time the Dominicans and Franciscans were the counsellors and special envoys of kings; and, as formerly those clothed in soft raiments were in king's houses, so at this time, those clothed in vile raiment were in the houses, the halls, and the palaces of princes.

² See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p.

favours, conferred in such profusion upon the Dominicans and Franciscans, while they weakened the ancient discipline, and infringed upon the rights of the first and second orders of the clergy, produced deadly hatred between the mendicant orders on the one hand, and the bishops and priests on the other, and caused violent struggles and commotions in every country of Europe, and even in the city of Rome itself.³ And although the pontiffs of this and the following centuries used various means to compose and terminate these commotions, yet they were never able to extinguish them, because the interests of the church required, that its most faithful servants and satellites, the mendicant friars, should continue to be honoured and unharmed.⁴

§ 27. Among these contests of the mendicants with the bishops, the priests, the schools, and the other monastic orders, the most noted is that of the Dominicans with the university of Paris, which commenced in the year 1228, and was protracted with various success till A. D. 1259. The Dominicans claimed the privilege of having *two* theological chairs in that university. One of these the university took from them; and also passed a statute, that no religious order should be allowed *two* theological chairs in the university. The Dominicans per-

490, tom. vii. p. 392. It is notorious, that no sect of monks had more or ampler *indulgences* for distribution, than the Franciscans. Without them, these good friars, who were required to have no possessions and revenues, could not have lived and multiplied. As a substitute for fixed revenues, therefore, this extensive sale of *indulgences* was granted them.

³ See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 441.

⁴ See Jo. Launoi, *Explicata Ecclesie Traditio circa canonem: Omnis utriusque sexus*; *Opp.* tom. i. pt. i. p. 247, &c. Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* par. M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 326. Jac. Lefant, *Histoire du Concile de Pisc.* tom. i. p. 310, tom. ii. p. 8. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404, &c. The writers of this and the following centuries are full of these contests. [Ecclesiastical discipline was injured by the privileges granted to the mendicant monks, especially because these monks, being dependent on the kindness of the people for their daily

support, (as in after times the Jesuits were,) endeavoured to secure the goodwill of the people, by the indulgent manner of treating them in their confessions; and thus the parish churches became almost empty, while those of the Mendicants were full of worshippers. They also received pay for saying masses, and allowed to the rich a burial in their inclosures; for which they were very generously rewarded. This however was only the beginning of the disquietude. As the proceedings of the mendicants were supported by the ambitious pontiff, Gregory IX., they kept no terms with the bishops, nor with the civil authorities. They depreciated, in their writings, and in the schools, the power of the bishops, and exalted that of the pope. They spoke of the former as mere clergymen, who were bound to obey implicitly the commands of Christ's viceregent; while the latter they represented as a visible deity. Such good services must be appreciated and rewarded, and such useful men must be esteemed and valued. *Schl.*]

tinaciously insisted on having a second chair: and, as they would not be quiet, the university severed them from its connexion. Violent commotion ensued on both sides. The controversy was carried before the court of Rome, and *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1255, ordered the university, not only to restore the Dominicans to their former standing in that literary body, but also to allow them as many [professional] chairs as they chose to occupy. The university boldly resisted; and a dubious contest ensued. But *Alexander IV.* terrified and oppressed the Parisian doctors, with so many severe edicts, mandates, and epistles, (to the number, it is said, of forty,) that, in the year 1259, they yielded, and according to the will of the pontiff, conceded not only to the Dominicans, but also to the Franciscans, all that they desired.⁵ Hence arose that inveterate dislike and alienation, not yet entirely done away, between the university of Paris and the mendicant orders, especially that of the Dominicans.

§ 28. In this famous dispute, no one pleaded the cause of the university more strenuously and spiritedly, than *William of St. Amour*, a doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of genius and worthy of a better age. For in his other writings and sermons, but more especially in his book on *the Perils of the latter times*, he attacked with great severity all the mendicants collectively; maintaining that their mode of life was contrary to the precepts of Christ, and that it had been inconsiderately, and *through mistake* (*per errorem*,) as he expresses it, confirmed by the pontiffs and the church. This very celebrated book derived its title from the position of its author, that the predictions of Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c. concerning the perils of the latter times, was fulfilled in the mendicant friars; which he endeavours to demonstrate chiefly from their *Everlasting Gospel*, of which more will be said hereafter. Against this formidable adversary the ire of the Dominicans especially was kindled; and they did not cease to persecute him, till *Alexander IV.*, in the year 1256, ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and the author to quit

⁵ See Cas. Egasse de Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 138, &c. 240. 244. 248. 266, &c. Jo. Cordesius, (whose assumed name is Alitophilus,) *Prefatio Histor. et Apologetica ad Opera Guil. de S. Amore.* Anton. Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134. Wadding's *Annales*

Minorum, tom. iii. p. 247. 366, &c. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263. Among the ancients, Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, A. D. 1228, and Nangis, *Chronicon*; in D'Archery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 38, &c.

France; that he might no more excite the Sorbonne to hostility against the mendicants. *William* obeyed the mandate of the pontiff, and retired to his native place in Franche Comté. But, under *Clement IV.*, he returned to Paris, explained his book in a larger work, and at last died there in the highest estimation.⁶

§ 29. This general odium against the mendicant orders, arising from the high privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, was not a little increased by the immense pride and arrogance which they displayed on all occasions. For they pretended to be divinely excited and commissioned to explain and defend the religion of Christ; the priests of all other classes and orders they treated with contempt, declaring that it was only themselves who understood the true way of salvation; they extolled the efficacy of their *indulgences*; and they boasted immoderately of their familiar intercourse with God, with the Virgin *Mary*, and with all the glorified saints: and by such means they so deluded and captivated the uninformed and simple multitude, that they employed *them* only as their spiritual guides.⁷ A prominent place among the instances of their crafty arrogance is due to the fable circulated by the Carmelites, respecting *Simon Stock*, a general of their order, who died near the beginning of the century. They pretended that the Virgin *Mary* appeared to him, and promised that no person should be eternally lost, who should expire clothed in the short mantle, worn on their shoulders by the Carmelites, and called the *scapula*.⁸ And this fiction, equally ridiculous and impious, has found advocates even among the pontiffs.⁹

⁶ The Parisian theologians to this time hold *William* and his book in high estimation, and warmly contend that he was not enrolled among the *heretics*; while the Dominicans regard him as a *heretic* of the first rank. His works, so far as they could be found, were published by John Cordesius, at Constance, (as the title-page expresses, but, in fact, at Paris,) 1632. 4to, with a long and learned preface, in which the reputation and the orthodoxy of the author are vindicated and maintained. To elude the resentment and enmity of the mendicant orders, the editor assumed the fictitious name of John Alitophilus. But the fraternity obtained a decree from Lewis XIII., in the year 1633, suppressing the book. The edict is given us, by the Dominican, Anton. Touron, in his

Vie de S. Thomas, p. 164. Respecting *William*, his life and fortunes, see also Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 366. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 266, &c. Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles.* sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. vii. p. 95. Rich. Simon, *Critiqua de la Bibliothèque Eccles. de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 345, &c. and others.

⁷ See, among others, Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, in various places, and particularly, on A. D. 1246, p. 607. 630, &c.

⁸ See the tract of Jo. Launoi, *de Viso Simonis Stockii*; in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. ii. p. 379, &c. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. ad diem xvi. mensis Maii. Theoph. Raynaud, *Scapulare Marianum*; in his *Opp.* tom. vii. p. 614, and others.

⁹ Even the modern pontiff *Benedict*

§ 30. But these very orders, which seemed to be the principal supports of the Romish power, gave the pontiffs immense trouble, not long after the decease of *Dominic* and *Francis*; and the difficulties, though often dispelled for a time, continually recurred, and brought the church into great jeopardy. In the first place, these two most powerful orders contended with each other for precedence, and attacked and warred upon each other in their publications, and with invectives and criminations. Attempts were frequently made to stop these contentions; but the firebrand that kindled them could never be extinguished.¹ In the next place, the Franciscan fraternity was early split into factions, which time did but strengthen and render inveterate; and these factions not only disturbed the peace of the church, but shook even the sovereign powers and majesty of the pontiffs themselves. Nor will it appear doubtful, to one who attentively considers the course of events in the Latin church from this period onward, that these mendicant orders, in part undesignedly, and in part knowingly and intentionally, gave mortal wounds to the authority of the Romish church, and caused the people to wish for a reformation in the church.

§ 31. *St. Francis* prescribed absolute poverty to his friars. While all the previous monastic orders adopted the policy of denying to their members severally the right of private property, but allowed the collective bodies or fraternities to possess estates and revenues, from which all the individuals received support, *Francis* would not allow his followers, either individually or collectively, to be owners of any property.² But immediately after the death of their founder many of the friars-minors departed from this rigorous law; and their inclinations were gratified by *Gregory IX.*, who in the year 1231 published a more mild interpretation of this severe rule.³ But others among them were greatly dissatisfied with this relaxation of

XIV. [who died A. D. 1758] did not hesitate to give countenance to this fable, yet in his usual prudent and cautious manner; *de Festis B. Mariæ Virginis*, lib. ii. cap. vi. *Opp.* tom. x. p. 472, ed. Rome.

¹ See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256. 266. 278, &c. Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 380, and the whole history of these times.

² The Rule of *St. Francis*, cap. vi. is this: "Fratres sibi nihil appropriant,

nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro eleemosyna (i. e. *must beg*) confiderenter. — Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cælorum instituit."

³ His Bull is extant in Ennman. Roderic's *Collectio Privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

their primitive austerity. These, being persons of a morose disposition, and prone to go to extremes, were by some called the *Zealous* (*zelatores*), or the *Spiritual*; and by others the *Cæsarians*, from one of their number named *Cæsarius*, who was their chief leader.⁴ A perplexing controversy having thus arisen, *Innocent IV.*, in the year 1245, decided according to the views of those who wished their rule to be relaxed, declaring that they might hold lands, houses, furniture, books, and other things, and might use them freely; but that the *right of property*, the *legal possession* or *ownership* of the whole, should belong to *St. Peter*, and to the church of Rome, without whose consent nothing should be sold, exchanged, or in any way transferred to others. This exposition of their rule, the *Spirituals* declared to be an unrighteous perversion of it; some of them, accordingly, retired into desert places, others were sent into exile by *Crescentius*, general of the order.⁵

§ 32. *John* of Parma, who was elected general of the whole order, A. D. 1247, changed the face of things among them. Being himself in sentiment with the *Spirituals*, he recalled the exiles, and required the brethren to conform to the letter of the law, as prescribed by *St. Francis*.⁶ But the recompense that he received for restoring the Franciscan community to its pristine state was, that in the year 1249 he was accused before the pontiff, *Alexander IV.*, and was compelled to resign his office. His companions, who refused to abandon their opinions, were thrown into prison; and he himself with difficulty escaped the same fate.⁷ His successor, the celebrated *Bonaventura*, who ranked high among the scholastic theologians, wished to take neutral ground, and made it his grand object to prevent an open rupture and separation between the two parties. Yet he could not prevent the laxer party from obtaining, in the year 1257, a solemn ratification from *Alexander IV.*, of the interpretation put upon their rule by *Innocent IV.*⁸ On the other hand, those who held to the views of the *Spirituals* were so successful, that, in an assembly of the order, A. D. 1260, they procured the

⁴ Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 99, &c.

⁵ Wadding, tom. iv. p. 128, and tom. iii. p. 171, &c.

⁶ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 171.

⁷ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. iv. p. 4, &c.

⁸ The decree is exhibited by Wadding, among other documents, *Annales*, tom. iv. p. 446.

abrogation of the interpretation of *Innocent*, and particularly so far as it differed from the previous interpretation of *Gregory IX.*⁹

§ 33. To this first contest respecting the real construction of their rule, another was added of no less magnitude. From the beginning of the century, there were circulated, in Italy and in other countries, various prophecies of the famous *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who was considered by the vulgar as a man divinely inspired, and equal to the ancient prophets. Most of these prophecies were included in a book which bore the title of *The Everlasting Gospel*, and also that of *The Book of Joachim*.¹ This true, or fictitious, *Joachim*, among many other things foretold, in particular, the destruction of the Roman church, the defects and corruptions of which he severely lashes; and also the promulgation of a new and more perfect *Gospel*, by poor persons divinely commissioned, in *the age of the Holy Spirit*. For he taught, that two *imperfect ages*, [or dispensations,] that is, modes of worshipping God, had already passed; namely, those of *the Father* and of *the Son*; and that a third, more perfect, was at hand; namely, that of the *Holy Spirit*. These predictions, and whatever announcements were attributed to *Joachim*, were most eagerly embraced by the *Spirituals*, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but delirious and fanatical persons, and who applied them to themselves, and to the rules of life prescribed by *St. Francis*:² for they maintained, that *he* had taught men the true *Gospel*; and that he was that *angel*

⁹ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. iv. p. 128. The miserable and distracted state of the order is lucidly depicted in an epistle of Bonaventura, which may be seen in Wadding, l. c. p. 58.

¹ What Merlin is to the English, Malachy to the Irish, and Nostrodamus to the French, the same is the abbot Joachim to the Italians: a man who foretells what is to come, who is divinely aided, and foresees the fate of empires and the revolutions in the church. Great numbers of his predictions were formerly in circulation, and are so still; nay, have had not a few who attempted to explain them. That Joachim predicted some things, and also spoke of a future reformation in the church, which he saw to be very necessary, I have no doubt. But most of the predictions, once believed to be his, undoubtedly originated from other

authors. And among these, I place *the Everlasting Gospel*, which was the production of an obscure and insipid writer, who published his dreams under the splendid name of Joachim, in order to give them currency. The title of this foolish book was borrowed from the Apocalypse, ch. xiv. 6. It consisted of three parts [or *libri*]; of which the first was entitled *Liber Concordiarum, vel Concordiæ Veritatis*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*. This is remarked by Jac. Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202, from a MS. copy in the Sorbonne.

² This, Wadding himself does not deny, though he is a staunch friend to the *Spirituals*; *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 3–6. He also speaks favourably of the abbot Joachim.

whom John, in the Apocalypse, xiv. 6, saw flying through the heavens.³

§ 34. At the time when these contentions were at their height, about the year 1250, *Gerhard*, one of the *Spirituals*, wrote a particular work in explanation of this *Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed to *Joachim*, which he entitled an *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*.⁴ This treatise, among many other absurd and

³ See Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246. Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202. *Codex Inquis. Tholosana*, published by Limboreh, p. 301, 302. 305, &c.

⁴ As both the ancients and the moderns have given inaccurate accounts of this infamous book, I will here subjoin some remarks, which may serve to correct their mistakes.

I. They nearly all confounded the *Everlasting Gospel* (or the *Gospel of the Holy Spirit*, which was another title of the book according to William of St. Amour, *de Periculis novissimorum temporum*, p. 38,) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, or, to the books of the abbot *Joachim*. Yet these two books were totally different. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot *Joachim*, and consisted (as before observed) of three books. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of some Franciscan monk; and it explained the obscure predictions of this Gospel, and applied them to the Franciscans. Neither the university of Paris, nor Alexander IV., complained of the *Everlasting Gospel* itself: but the *Introduction* to it was complained of, and condemned, and burnt; as is manifest from the epistles of Alexander on the subject, published by Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 292. The book of the abbot *Joachim*, or the *Everlasting Gospel*, was, undoubtedly, as such worthless books generally are, made up of enigmas and ambiguous assertions; and it was therefore treated with contempt. But the interpretation of it, or the *Introduction* to it, was a very dangerous book.

II. As to the author of the *Introduction*, the ancient writers are not agreed. All make it the production of some one who belonged to an order of mendicants. But those who favour the Franciscans say, he must have been a Dominican; while those who defend the Dominican cause, throw back the accusation on the Franciscans. The majority, however,

assert that John of Parma, general of the Franciscans, who belonged to the party of the *Spirituals*, and is known to have too much favoured the opinions of the abbot *Joachim*, was the author of the disgraceful production. See Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 9, who endeavours, though very unsatisfactorily, to exonerate him from the charge. See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. Martii, p. 157, &c.; for John of Parma obtained a place among the glorified saints that reign with Christ, notwithstanding that he is represented as preferring the Gospel of St. Francis to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. James Echard, however, in his *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 202, 203, has shown, from the MS. records of the legal process against the *Everlasting Gospel*, which are still preserved in the Sorbonne, that the author of the infamous book was a Franciscan friar, named Gerhard. This Gerhard was the intimate friend of John of Parma; and he not only maintained fiercely the cause of the *Spirituals*, but likewise he so heartily imbibed all the opinions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, that he chose to lie in prison 18 years, rather than to abandon them. See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 4. 7. And yet those Franciscans, who are called *Observants*, that is, such as pretend to follow the rules of their founder more strictly than the others, place this Gerhard among the saints of the highest order; and they tell us that he possessed both the gift of prophecy and the power of working miracles. See Wadding's *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 213, 214.

III. Nearly all tax with the crime of producing this detestable book the whole body of mendicant friars, or at least the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans; and they think both these orders were willing to advance their fame for piety, and their influence among mankind, by means of this work. But the fact was far otherwise. The crime is only chargeable on the Franciscans; as is

impious things, contained this most detestable asseveration : that the true and eternal Gospel of God was exhibited to mankind by *St. Francis*, who was the angel mentioned in the Apocalypse, chap. xiv. v. 6 ; that the Gospel of Christ would be abrogated in the year 1260, and this new and eternal Gospel take its place ; and that the ministers by whom this great change would be brought about were to be itinerant bare-footed friars.⁵ When this book was published at Paris, A. D. 1254, the theologians there, and all good men, burst out into the highest indignation against the mendicant monks, who were before sufficiently odious on other accounts. For this reason, *Alexander IV.*, though reluctantly, in the year 1255, forbade the circulation of the book ; yet in a manner so guarded and cautious, as to injure the reputation of the mendicant orders as little as possible. But the university of Paris did not desist from complaints and accusations, till the book was publicly burnt.⁶

§ 35. The dissensions of the Franciscans, which were quieted by the prudence of *Bonaventura*, broke out again after his death. For that portion of the order, who desired greater liberty, wished to have the rule of the founder wholly abrogated, as being morally wrong, and requiring what is beyond the powers of human nature : but at the solicitation of those attached to the primitive strictness, *Nicolaus III.* resisted the measures of these

evident from the remains of the book itself : yet not on *all* the Franciscans, as justice requires us to state, but only on that class of them who are called the *Spirituals* : indeed, it is perhaps not chargeable on *all* of these, but only on that portion of them who believed in the prophecies of the abbot Joachim.

After these remarks, it will be more easy to understand correctly what the following writers tell us concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* ; namely, Jo. Andr. Schmid, in his Dis. on this subject, Helmst. 1700, 4to. 'Jac. Ussher, *de Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. ix. § 20, p. 337. Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292, &c. Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xiii. artic. iv. p. 9, and many others. This book is not a monument of the pride and insolence of *all* the mendicant orders, as most writers have supposed, but of the impious folly of a *part*, and a very small part, of the Franciscan family.

⁵ See Gulielmus de S. Amore, *de Periculis novissimor. Temporum*, p. 38, 39, who tells us that this book was first published in the year 1254 ; but that the opinions contained in it had originated 50 years before, i. e. A. D. 1200. Copious extracts from the book are given by several of the ancient writers. See Herm. Cörneri *Chronicon* ; in Echard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850. The *Chronicon Egmondanum* ; in Anton. Matthæi, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 517. Ricobaldus ; in Echard's *Corpus*, &c. tom. i. p. 1215, and others. Yet among these extracts there is much discrepancy ; which originated, I suppose, from some writers quoting from the *Everlasting Gospel of Joachim*, while others quoted from friar Gerhard's *Introduction* to it, without discriminating between the two works.

⁶ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 299, &c. Jordani *Chronicon* ; in Muratori's *Antiquitt. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 998.

innovators, and published, in 1279, the famous constitution, by which he not only confirmed the rule of *St. Francis*, but also interpreted it in the most particular manner.⁷ In this constitution he enjoined upon the friars, as their rule demanded, an *expropriation*, or renunciation, of all right of property or ownership; but allowed them the *simple use of things necessary, the retention, not the property*, and ordained, that the dominion of these necessities, houses, books, and other furniture, should belong, as *Innocent IV.* had decided, to the church of Rome. In the conclusion, he severely prohibited all private expositions of his law, lest it should afford new grounds of contention; reserving the right of interpreting it exclusively to the Roman pontiffs.⁸

§ 36. This constitution of *Nicolaus* did not satisfy the *Zealous*, or the *Spirituals*, who were considerably numerous, particularly in Italy and France, and especially in the province of Narbonne. Those in Italy made no disturbance; but those in France, and particularly in Narbonne, being of a warmer and more excitable temperament, and led on by *Peter John Oliva*, openly testified their dissatisfaction, and again produced violent contentions.⁹ This *Peter*, famed for his writings, his opinions, and his sufferings, was in high estimation for sanctity and learning, and therefore had numerous followers; and he really inculcated many things wisely and well. In particular he censured with great freedom the corruptions and defects of the Romish religion. This he did both in his other writings, and particularly in his *Postilla* or *Commentary* on the Apocalypse; in which he did not hesitate to affirm, that the church of Rome was that whore of Babylon whom *John* saw in vision. Yet he was at the same time most profoundly superstitious, and contaminated with a large part of those opinions which the *Spirituals* pretended to have learned from the abbot *Joachim*; and he had an impious veneration for his beloved *Francis*, who, he maintained, was *wholly conformed*

⁷ Some contend that this constitution was promulgated by Nicholas IV., but they are confuted by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 73.

⁸ This celebrated constitution is inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, lib. vi. Decretal. [lib. v.] tit. xii. c. p. 3. 1028, ed. Böhmer: and is commonly designated by its first word, *Exiit*.

⁹ He is also called, in ancient writers,

Peter of Beziers (Biterrensis), because he lived long, and was a teacher in the monastery of Beziers. Sometimes also he is called, from his native place, *Peter of Serignan*: for he was born in the castle of St. Mary at Serignan in France. I note these circumstances, because some have made three persons out of this individual.

to Christ (*totum Christo configuratum*).¹ In the great dispute respecting the sense of *Francis's* rule, he seemed to be of neither party: for he conceded to the brethren the *beggarly use of things necessary* (*pauperem rerum necessariarum usum*); and, when several times summoned before his superiors, he would not express dissatisfaction with the interpretation of *Nicolaus III.* Yet he inclined much to the side of the more strict or the *Spirituals*, who would not allow even the order collectively to possess any property; and he contended, that such as held these views were to be esteemed and loved rather than persecuted.² He is therefore regarded as the leader and head of all those among the Franciscans, who maintained these contests with the pontiffs respecting the *expropriation* required by *Francis*.³

§ 37. Relying on the influence of this man, whom the multitude accounted a prophet of God, and a most holy person, the *Spirituals* resolutely assailed the opposite party; but the prudence of the generals of the order, for a time, so held their passions in check, that neither party could overcome the other. Such prudence, however, was not in *Matthew Aquaspartanus*, who was made general of the order in the year 1287. He suffered the ancient discipline to fall completely, and even the appearance of poverty to become extinct. Hence there arose, first in the marquise of Ancona in Italy, and afterwards in France, and in other countries, great commotions among the *Spirituals*, both the more moderate and the more rigid; and *Matthew*, after labouring in vain to quell these commotions by imprisonments and penalties, at length, in the year 1289, resigned his office.⁴ His successor, *Raymund Gaufridi*, endea-

¹ See the *Littera Magistrorum de Postilla fratris P. Joh. Olivi*; in Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 213, and Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 51.

² His sentiments may be learned, best of all, from his last discourse, in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535, and Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 378.

³ See, concerning this celebrated man, who died A.D. 1297, in addition to the common writers, (Raynaldi, Nat. Alexander, Oudin, and others,) Stephen Baluze's *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 213, and his *Vita Pontiff. Avinion.* tom. ii. p. 752, &c. Charles Plessis d'Argentre's *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Eccles. Erro-*

ribus, tom. i. p. 226, &c. Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. 236, and especially p. 378, where he labours with all his might, though with little success, to excuse and justify the man. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 355, &c. Jo. George Schellhorn's *Amanitates Litter.* tom. ix. p. 678, &c. *Histoire générale de Languedoc, par les Moines Bénédicte*, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. His bones, together with his books, were burnt by order of the pontiff, in the year 1325. See Raynaldi's *Annales*, ad. ann. 1325, § 20.

⁴ See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. v. p. 210, 211. 235.

voured to restore peace by recalling the exiles, liberating the imprisoned, and banishing a few of the more intractable into Armenia. But the evil had now become too inveterate to be easily cured. For the more lax censured the tenderness and kindness of the general towards the *Spirituals*; nor did they cease to persecute him, till, under *Boniface VIII.*, they obtained his dismissal. At the same time, the *Spirituals*, especially in France, seceded from the rest, and openly condemned the interpretation of their rule by *Nicolaus III.* Hence, from the year 1290 onwards, the prospect was open sedition and schism.

§ 38. Some of the Italian *Spirituals*, in the year 1294, asked permission of the pontiff, *Cælestine V.*, to form themselves into a distinct community, which might live in that real poverty, absolutely void of all possessions and all property, which *St. Francis* had prescribed to his followers; and the indulgent pontiff, who was a great admirer of poverty, readily granted their request, and placed at the head of this new fraternity, friar *Liberatus*, a man of a most austere life.⁶ But as *Cælestine* soon after resigned the pontificate, his successor, *Boniface VIII.*, who rescinded all the acts of *Cælestine*, suppressed this new order, which had assumed the name of *Cælestine Eremites of St. Francis*.⁷ The more lax Franciscans, therefore, now persecuted this class with great severity, and accused them, among other things, of Manichæism. Hence many of them emigrated, first to Achaia, and afterwards from thence to a small island, in order there to lead that miserable kind of life which they regarded as the most holy. But the fury of their brethren still pursued them in their exile. Those who remained in Italy, in spite of *Boniface VIII.*, continued to live according to their favourite rules; and they gathered associations of their order, first in the kingdom of Naples, and then in the marquisate of Ancona, and in the Milanese territory. From Italy they at length spread themselves over the greatest part of Europe; and quite down to the reformation by *Luther* they were involved in the hottest warfare with the church of Rome, in which contest vast numbers

⁵ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140, and especially p. 235, 236.

⁶ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338, &c.

⁷ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. vi. p. 1, &c. *Bullarium Magnum*, continu. iii. iv. [ed. Luxemb. 1741, tom. ix.] p.

108.

of them perished miserably in the flames, victims to the zeal of the *Inquisitors*.⁸

§ 39. At this time, therefore, or near the close of this century, originated in Italy the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, parties that, in Germany and France, were denominated *Beguards*; and which, first, *Boniface VIII.*⁹, and afterwards other pontiffs, condemned, and wished to see persecuted by the *Inquisition*, and exterminated in every possible way. The *Fratricelli*, who also called themselves, in Latin, *Fratres parvi*, (Little Brethren,) or *Fraterculi de paupere vita*, (*Little brothers of the poor life*,) were Franciscan monks, but detached from the great family of Franciscans, who wished to observe the regulations prescribed by their founder, *Francis*, more perfectly than the others, and therefore possessed no property, either individually or collectively, but obtained their necessary food from day to day by begging.¹⁰ For they said that Jesus Christ and his apostles

⁸ In what I here state, and also in what I am about to state, on this subject, I cannot name any writers whom I have followed. For this part of the church history of the middle ages has not been accurately and faithfully delineated; although it is well worthy of being placed in a clearer light, for it exhibits great examples; and these rebellious Franciscans, though superstitious, hold a distinguished rank among those who prepared the way for the reformation in Europe, and instilled into the people a hatred of the church of Rome. Raynaldi, Bzovius, and Spondanus, in their *Annals*, and Eymericus, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, Natalis Alexander, and others, all treat of these subjects, which are of greater importance than most persons are aware; but they do not treat them properly, fully, and distinctly. And as the Protestant historians all borrow from these, it is not strange that they also are defective. Wadding, though an indefatigable writer, yet while handling these subjects, proceeds like one treading upon coals of fire concealed under ashes: he obscures, suppresses, dissembles, excuses, concedes, and doubts. For he was favourably disposed towards the more rigid Franciscans; yet he dared not openly say, that they were injuriously treated by the pontiffs. He saw that the Romish church was shaken by these his friends, and that the majesty of the pontiffs was seriously injured and depressed

by them; but he is extremely cautious not to let this appear too clearly to his readers. I could not, therefore, follow any writer throughout as my guide. But I have access to various testimonies of the ancient writers, and I also have in my hands not a few documents that were never published; namely, diplomas of the pontiffs and temporal sovereigns, Acts of the Inquisition, and others; from which every thing I shall say may be fully substantiated. And if God shall spare my life, these documents may perhaps come before the public. [This has not taken place: and it is desirable that those who have these documents in their possession, should not withhold them from the world. *Schl.*]

⁹ See Jo. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsauigienses*, tom. ii. p. 74. Yet this writer is faulty in many particulars, and deserves no credit in what he says of the origin and the opinions of the *Fratricelli*. He every where confounds, indiscriminately, the sects of this period. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541, where may be seen the decree of Boniface VIII. against the *Bizochi* and *Beguards*, passed A. D. 1297. Jordani *Chronicon*; in Muratori's *Antiquit. Italie*, tom. iv. p. 1020. Add also the common writers; though none of them is free from errors.

¹⁰ The *Fratricelli* held many common principles with the *Spirituals*; yet they were diverse from them. The *Spirituals*

had neither individual nor common property; and that the Franciscans were ordered by their founder to imitate them. They likewise, after the example of *St. Francis*, wore tattered, shabby, and sordid garments: they declaimed against the corruptions of the Romish church, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops: they predicted a reformation and purification of the church, and the restoration of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ by the genuine disciples of *St. Francis*: in short, they assented to nearly all the opinions which were circulated as coming from the abbot *Joachim*. They extolled *Celestine V.* as the legal founder of their sect; but *Boniface*, and the succeeding pontiffs, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, they denied to be true pontiffs.¹

did not renounce communion with the other Franciscans from whom they differed, and they were not disposed to form a new sect: but the *Fratricelli* would have nothing to do with the great family deriving its name from *St. Francis*; and they appointed for themselves a distinct head or leader. The Spirituals did not wholly prohibit the Franciscan family from holding property in common, provided they were not the legal owners of the property; but the *Fratricelli* would not allow their members, either separately or collectively, to hold any property; and they observed that absolute poverty which Francis had required both in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. Some other particulars are omitted.

¹ The accounts given of the *Fratricelli* by both the ancients and the moderns, and even by those who exhibit most accuracy and research, are more confused and contradictory than can well be imagined. John Trithemius (*Annales Hirsaugiens.* tom. ii. p. 74) makes them to be the progeny of Tanchelinus; and he most unsuitably confounds them with the *Cathari* and other sects of those times. And most of the others who treat of the *Fratricelli* are no better informed than he. The Franciscans leave no stone unturned, in order to evince that the pestilent sect of the *Fratricelli* did not originate from their order. Of course they resolutely deny that the *Fratricelli* professed to follow the Franciscan rule; and they maintain that this name designated a confused rabble of various sorts of persons, of different religious views, which Hermann Pongilupus of Ferrara, in Italy, first collected together, near the close of

the century. In place of all others may be consulted, on this subject, Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. p. 279, &c., who is most copious in wiping this disgrace from his order. But the indefatigable man has accomplished nothing by all his efforts. For he himself concedes, and also proves, by unquestionable authorities, that the *Fratricelli* did profess, and did in practice follow, the rule of *St. Francis*. And yet he denies that they were Franciscans; meaning, however, only this, that they were not *such* Franciscans as those were who lived in subordination to the general prefect of the order, and who admitted the exposition of the rule of *St. Francis* given by the pontiffs. He therefore proves only that the *Fratricelli* were Franciscans, who had withdrawn from the great family of the order, and who rejected the decrees of the pontiffs and the authority of the general prefect; which no one calls in question. This Hermann (or Armann, as he is constantly named in the records of the trials,) Pongilupus, whom Wadding, with many others, represents as being the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived at Ferrara, in this century, and was highly esteemed for his sanctity; and after his death, in 1269, he was magnificently entombed in the principal church of Ferrara, and was long held by all for a distinguished saint, whose sanctity God had demonstrated by numerous miracles. But as the *Inquisitors of heretical pravity* had long been suspicious of him, because he led that austere course of life pursued by the class of the *Cathari* denominated the Comforted, after his death they made

§ 40. As the great Franciscan family had its associates and dependents, who observed the third rule prescribed by *St.*

such critical inquiries into his life, that after several years they detected his impieties. Hence, in the year 1300, by order of Boniface VIII., his bones were burnt, his tomb demolished, and an end put to the extravagant reverence of the people for Pongilupus. The records of this judicial process were first published by Lewis Ant. Muratori, in his *Antiquitates Italiae Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. From these ample records it is most manifest that all those learned men are mistaken who represent Armann Pongilupus as the parent of the *Fratricelli*. He had no concern with them whatever: nay, he was dead some time before this sect arose. On the contrary, this celebrated man was one of the *Cathari*, or Paulicians, or Manichæans, and of that branch of them called Bagnolists, from the town Bagnols in Languedoc. Some of the moderns have correctly understood this point, that the *Fratricelli* were a more rigid sort of Franciscans; but they have erred in supposing them to differ from the Beguards or Beguins in nothing but their name. See Phil. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, lib. i. c. xix. p. 69, who shows himself not well acquainted with these affairs. Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 195. and in his *Vite Pontiff. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 509. Isaac de Beausobre, *Diss. sur les Adamites*; subjoined to his *History of the Hussite War*, p. 380. And even Wadding is not opposed to this opinion. See his *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But the *Fratricelli* certainly did differ, as I shall presently show, from the Beguards, not only in their opinions, but also in their practice and mode of life.

The principal cause of the numerous mistakes made in the history of the *Fratricelli*, undoubtedly was the ambiguity of the name. *Fratricellus* or *Fraterculus* (Little Brother) was a term of reproach among the Italians of that age, which they applied to any one that assumed the appearance of a monk, and in his dress, demeanour, and habits, made a considerable show of piety or holiness, yet did not belong to any of the approved monastic sects. See Jo. Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 84, p. 423. Imola on Dante; in Muratori's *Antiquitates Italiae*, tom. i. p. 1121. As there were in those times many such persons strolling

the country, though differing much in their mode of life and opinions, this term was of course applied to persons of various descriptions and characters. Thus the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Apostoli, and many other sects who broached new doctrines, were commonly branded with this epithet;—and foreign writers, not aware of this fact, thought they discovered, sometimes in one sect, and sometimes in another, those noted *Fraterculi* who gave the pontiffs so much trouble. But this term *Fratricelli* or *Fraterculi*, when applied to those stricter Franciscans who aimed to observe the rule of their master perfectly, had not its vulgar import, and was not a term of reproach or a nick-name, but an honourable appellation, which these devotees of the severest poverty coveted and preferred before all other names. *Fratricellus* is the same as *Fraterculus* or *Little Brother*; and this is equivalent to *Frater Minor*. And every body knows that the Franciscans chose to be called *Fratres Minores*; as expressive of their humility and modesty. These well-meaning people, therefore, did not assume a new name; but only applied to themselves the ancient name of their order, in the form it took in the Italian language; for those who are, in Latin, called *Fratres Minores*, are in the Italian called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs which are at hand, I will subjoin one only; namely, a passage from William de Thoco, in his life of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, cap. ii. § 21, p. 666. “*Destruxit (ss. St. Thomas) et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem — cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant Fraterculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant—contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit decretalem.*”

And this very decretal of John XXI. which Thoco calls *admirable*, to mention no other proofs, is sufficient to evince, that what I have here said of the *Fratricelli* is accordant with truth. It is extant in the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. [Tit. vii. cap. i. *Tr.*] in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* tom. ii p. 1112, ed. Böhrmer. The pontiff says, “*Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli, seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi*

Francis, and who were usually called *Tertiarii*²; so also the sect of the *Fratricelli*, which wished to be thought the genuine fraternity of *St. Francis*, had numerous *Tertiarii* of its own. These were called, in Italy, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*; in France, *Beguini*; and in Germany, *Beghardi*, by which name *all the Tertiarii* were commonly designated.³ These differed from the

sive *Beguini* nuncupantur, in partibus Italiae in insula Siciliae—publicè mendicare solent.” These *Fratricelli* he then divides into *monks* and *Tertiarii*; or, what is the same, as I shall presently show, into the *Fratricelli* and the *Beguini*. Of the proper *Fratricelli*, he thus speaks, “Plurimi eorum regulam, seu ordinem *Fratrum Minorum*—se profiteri ad literam conservare configunt—præterdentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Coelestino Papa quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret; cum Bonifacius Papa octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Coelestino concessa—viribus penitus evacuaverit.” What could be more explicit and clear? The pontiff then proceeds to the other portion of these people, who were called *Bizochi*, or *Beguini*: “Nonnulli etiam ex ipsis asserentes se esse *de tertio ordine beati Francisci* Pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.”

² Besides his two rules, both very strict and austere, the one for the Friars Minors [or Minorites], and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarissians*, from *St. Clara*, [the first abbess among the Franciscans,] *St. Francis* also prescribed a *third rule*, more easy to be observed, for such as wished to connect themselves in some sort with his order, and to enjoy the benefits of it, and yet were not disposed to forsake all worldly business, and to relinquish all their property. This rule required only certain pious observances, such as fasts, prayers, continence, a coarse and cheap dress, gravity of manners, &c., but did not prohibit private property, marriage, public offices, and worldly occupations. This *third rule* of *St. Francis*, is treated of by all the writers on the Franciscan order: and especially by Lucas Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. ii. p. 7, &c., and by Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. Those who professed this *third rule*, were called *Fratres de pœnitentia* [Penitentiary brethren]; sometimes also, *Fratres de sacco*, on account of the meanness

of their dress; but more commonly *Tertiarii* [Tertiaries]. This institution of *St. Francis* was copied by other orders of monks in the Romish church, as soon as they perceived its advantages. And hence, most of the orders, at the present day, have their *Tertiarii*.

³ The *Tertiarii* connected with those rigid Franciscans who were distinguished by the title of *Fratricelli*, sprung up in the marquisate of Ancona, and in the neighbouring regions, in the year 1296 or 1297, and were called *Bizochi*; as we learn from the bull of Boniface VIII. against them, drawn up in 1297, and which is published by Boulay, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 441. John XXII. mentions the same appellation, in his bull quoted in a preceding note. See also C. du Fresne, *Glossar. Latinit. Media*, tom. i. p. 1188, who observes that the name is derived from *Bizochi*, in French *Besace*, on account of the wallet or bag which these mendicants used to carry. [No: he says, *Some* have supposed it so derived; but *he* thinks they were called *Bizochi* and *Bicchini*, from the *gray* colour of their garments; for from the Italian *bigio*, he says, is derived the French *bis*, *gray*, or *ash-coloured*. *Tr.*] The name *Bocasotus* or (as it is written in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 510,) *Vocasotus*, is undoubtedly of the same origin and import. It occurs in *Jordanus*; from whom a single passage will hereafter be quoted. The names *Beghardi* and *Beguini*, by which this sort of people were called in France and Italy, are very notorious in the church history of the middle ages. But what both the ancients and the modern state, concerning the persons who bore these appellations, is so vague and contradictory, that it is not strange we should find no part of the religious history of this period involved in more obscurity and uncertainty, than that of the *Beghardi* and *Beguini*. I will therefore dispel this obscurity, as far as I am able, and expose the origin of these sects.

The words *Beghardus* or *Begghardus*

Fratricelli, not in their opinions, but only in their mode of life. The *Fratricelli* were real monks, living under the rule of *St.*

and *Begutta*, and also *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, differ only in orthography, and are all of the same import. The Germans and the Dutch say *Beghard* and *Begutte* : which are the forms most used in the ancient German language. But the French substituted the Latin instead of the German orthography, and pronounced *Beghinus* and *Beghina*, after the Roman manner. Thus, those who in Germany and Holland were called *Beghardi* and *Begutte*, were in France and Italy called *Beghini* and *Beguine* ; yet the Latin form was gradually preferred before the German, even by the Germans and the Dutch ; for which, very probable reasons might be assigned, if this were the proper place. [It probably arose from the fact, that such as wrote on the subject were priests and retained the orthography that was adopted in the papal bulls. *Schl.*] Concerning the derivation and the import of these names, there are many opinions, which it would be tedious to enumerate and to refute. I have done this in another place : for I have commenced and nearly completed an extensive and copious work, concerning the *Beghardi* and *Beghine* ; in which I have carefully investigated the history of all the sects, to which these names were applied, examining numerous monuments, a great part of which were never published ; and I have detected very many mistakes of learned men, in this part of church history. In this place, therefore, disregarding the various conjectures and opinions of others, I will briefly state the true origin and signification of these terms. Beyond all controversy, they are derived from the old German word, *beggen* or *beggeren*, [in English, *to beg*. *Tr.*] which we now pronounce in a softer manner, *begehren*. It signifies *to beg* for anything *earnestly and heartily*. The syllable *hard*, which is a frequent termination of German words, being subjoined to this, produces the name *Beggehard*, which denotes a person who begs often and importunately. And as none ask and importune more frequently and earnestly than the mendicants do, hence, in the language of the old Germans, a *Beghard*, is a mendicant [or *beggar*], which word still exists in the language of the English. *Beghutta* is a female who gets her living by begging.

Christianity being introduced into Germany, the word *beggen* or *beggeren* was applied to religion, and denoted that duty which is enjoined upon Christians, namely to offer devout and fervent prayer to God. This word *beggen* therefore, as we may learn from the Gothic or Francic version of the IV. Gospels by Ulphilas, [in which, *bidjan* is *to pray* : and *bidagwa* is a *beggar*. *Tr.*] signifies, *to pray earnestly and devoutly to God*. This application of the word coming into use, a man distinguished from others by praying much and fervently, was called a *Beghard*, or *one that prays* ; and a woman constant in this duty, was called *Begutta*, a female that prays. And as those who pray more than others, make a display of unusual piety, therefore all who wished to be accounted more religious than others, were usually denominated *Beghardi* and *Begutte* ; that is, in modern phraseology, *Praying Brothers*, and *Praying Sisters*.

Whoever duly considers these statements, will successfully find his way amidst the many difficulties attending the history of the *Beghardi* and *Beghine* ; and he will see whence arose such a multitude of *Beghardi* and *Beghine*, in Europe, from the thirteenth century onward ; and why so many sects (more than thirty might be named) differing greatly in their sentiments, institutions, and practice, were all called by these names. In the first place, *Beghardus* (or *Beggert*, as it was commonly uttered,) was the term among the Germans for an *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when they saw persons, under the pretence of piety and devotion, addicting themselves to a life of poverty, and neglecting all manual labour, begging their daily bread, they called them all by the common name of *Beghardi*, or if females, *Beghutte* ; without any regard to the sentiments or opinions by which they were distinguished from each other. Those called *Apostoli*, were beggars ; the more rigid Franciscans were beggars ; the *Brethren of the free spirit*, (of whom we shall treat hereafter,) were beggars : and others were beggars. Among these there was a vast difference ; yet the Germans called them all *Beghardi*, on account of that mendicancy into which they had thrown themselves : nor was this strange ; for this

Francis; but the *Bizochi* or *Beguini* lived in the manner of other people, except in regard to dress, and a few observances prescribed for this class of persons by *St. Francis*; so that they were mere *laics*, or *secular brethren*, as the ecclesiastical phrase is.⁴ These *Bizochi*, moreover, were divided into two

their common characteristic was visible to all eyes; while their other traits of character were not so easily discerned.

But secondly, the term *Beghard*, in this century, also denoted a man who prayed very much, and affected uncommon piety. Thus it was equivalent to the modern term Pietist [among the Germans]. Therefore all those who forsook the ordinary mode of living, and were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners, were designated by the common appellation of *Beghardi* or *Begutta*, or, among the French, *Beguini* and *Beguine*. This use of these terms was at first so extensive, (as might be shown by many examples,) that even the monks and nuns were called *Beghardi* and *Begutta*. But afterwards, their application was more restricted; and they were appropriated to those who formed an intermediate class between the monks and common citizens, yet resembled the former in their habits and manners. The *Tertiarii*, therefore, of all the different orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. were called *Beghardi*, as is abundantly attested: for, although they were only citizens, yet they were more strict in their devotional exercises than common citizens. The Brother Weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerhard the Great, and many others, in short, all who exhibited an exterior of higher sanctity and piety, were *Beghardi* and *Begutta*, notwithstanding they obtained their support by labour, and troubled no one by their begging.

The terms *Beghardi* and *Begutta*, *Beguini*, and *Beguine*, if we regard them in their origin, were therefore honourable appellations; and they were used as such, in works of the highest respectability, in that age; as for instance, in the Testament of St. Lewis, the king of France. But gradually these words, as often happens, changed their original import, and became terms of reproach and derision. For among those mendicant monks, and among those professing more than ordinary piety, there were found many whose piety was childish and superstitious, or who were crafty impostors, concealing

crimes and villanies under a mask of piety, or who united with their piety corrupt doctrines which were contrary to the prevailing religion of the age. These characters caused the appellation *Beghard* or *Beguin* to become dishonourable, and to be used for one who is stupidly or anilely religious, or who imposes upon mankind by a show of piety and poverty, or who debases his piety by grievous errors in doctrine. The term Lollard underwent a similar change in its import, as will be shown hereafter.

⁴ See the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, published by Limborch, p. 298. 302. 310. 313, but especially p. 307. 329. 382. 389. &c. Of the other passages illustrative of the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguini*, I will subjoin one from Jordan's *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1294, in Muratori's *Antiquitates Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020, which will briefly confirm nearly all I have said. "Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio, apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et heretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures apostatæ adhæserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci," (he ought to have said *Fratricellos* or *parvos fratres de paupere vita*;) "et Sæculares" (these were the *Tertiarii*, the friends and associates of the *Fratricelli*, but who continued to be *seculars*, and were excluded from the rank of Friars). "Sæculares autem vocarunt *Bizocios*, vel *Fratricellos*, vel *Bocasotos*." (Here Jordan errs, in saying that the *sæculares* were called *Fratricellos*; for this name was appropriated to the real monks of St. Francis, and did not belong to the *Tertiarii*. His other statements are correct; and they show that these more rigid adherents to the rule of St. Francis, were divided into two classes; namely, Friars and Seculars; and that the latter were called *Bizochi*.) "Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem.—Et quod ipsi

classes, the *perfect*, and the *imperfect*. The former lived by begging, did not marry, and had no fixed residence; while the latter had permanent places of abode, married, possessed property, and engaged in the various occupations of life, like other citizens.⁵

§ 41. Totally different from these austere Franciscan *Beguini* and *Beguinae*, were the German and Belgic *Beguinae*, who did not indeed originate in this century, but now first came into notice, and in a short time became immensely numerous.⁶ Certain pious females, including both widows and maidens, in order to keep themselves pure from the corruptions of the age, formed themselves into associations, and lived in appropriate houses, amidst exercises of devotion, and regular manual labour, under a directress; yet reserving to themselves the right of marrying, and of withdrawing from the association at their pleasure. And as all females who made pretensions to more than ordinary piety, were called *Beguttæ* or *Beguinae*, that is, *praying Ladies*; so these also received the same appellation.⁷ The first

solī sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia," &c.

⁵ This distinction appears clearly, from comparing, among others, several passages in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*. See p. 303. 310. 312, 313. 319, &c.

⁶ There was much discussion in the Netherlands, in the seventeenth century, respecting the origin of these *Beghardi* and *Beguinae*, of which I have given a full account, in a work not yet published, *de Beguinis*. During this discussion, the *Beghinæ* brought forward diplomas or written documents, of the most authentic and unexceptionable character, from which it appears, that there were associations of *Beguinae*, in the Netherlands, as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were able indeed to produce but three such documents, the first dated A. D. 1065, the second A. D. 1129, and the third A. D. 1151. The whole were published at Vilvorden, by the *Beghinæ* then resident there. See Auber-tus Miræus, *Opera diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. cap. 26, p. 948; and tom. iii. p. 628, ed. nova. Erycius Puteanus, *de Beghinarum apud Belgas Instituto et nomine suffragium*; which tract, with another of the same Puteanus on the same subject, is extant in Joseph's Geldolph a Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ cum annotationibus*, p. 65.

227. Douay, 1631, 4to. Hence, while it must be admitted that those are in error who affirm that the class of females that are still called *Beguinae* or *Beguttæ*, first appeared in the twelfth or thirteenth century; yet the very small number of the documents and testimonies, puts it beyond controversy, that the *Beguinae* were a very obscure party, previously to the thirteenth century; it may be, that they possessed only that one *Beguinagium*, which was at Vilvorde, in Brabant.

⁷ All the *Beghardi* and *Beghinæ* still existing in the Netherlands, though existing under regulations very different from their original ones, eagerly maintain that they derived their name and their institution, in the seventh century, from St. Begga, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pipin, mayor of the palace in Austrasia, which lady they of course revere as their patroness, and regard as a kind of tutelary divinity. See Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, *Vita S. Beggæ cum annotat.* published at Douay and Louvain. This is a ponderous volume; but in other respects a slender work, and stuffed with anile fables. Those who are unfriendly to the *Beguini* and *Beguinae*, contend that they derived their origin from Lambert le Begue, a priest of Liege, in the twelfth century, and a very pious man. See Peter Coens (a learned canon

association of this description was formed at Nivelles, in Brabant, A. D. 1226; and so many others followed soon after, throughout France, Germany, and the Netherlands, that from the middle of the century onward, there was scarcely a city of any note which had not its *Beguinagia*, as they were called, or *Vineyards*, as such associations were sometimes denominated, borrowing a name from the book of Canticles.⁸ All these female associations did not adopt the same regulations; but the greater part of them devoted the time that was not occupied in prayer and other religious exercises, to various kinds of labour, especially to *weaving*. Such of them as were really indigent, or disabled, or sick, sought relief in the kindness of the pious and benevolent.

§ 42. This female institution was soon after imitated in the Netherlands, by unmarried men, both widowers and bachelors; who associated and lived together in appropriate houses, praying and labouring unitedly, under a director or chief, yet reserving to themselves, in the same manner as the females, the liberty of returning at any time to their former mode of life if they pleased.⁹ These were called, according to the phraseology of the age, *Beghards*, corruptly pronounced *Bogards* by the Belgians; and by some, *Lollhards*; and in France, at first, *Bons Valets* (boni valeti), or *Bons Garçons* (boni pueri), and afterwards *Beguins*, and also, from the occupation of most of them, *Brother Weavers* (Fratres textores). The first association of these *Beghards*, it appears, was formed at Antwerp, in the year 1228; and it continues still in a flourishing state, though the fraternity have departed widely from their pristine mode of life. This association was followed by many others, in Germany, the Netherlands, and France; yet these associa-

of Antwerp) in his *Disquisitio Historica de origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio*; Louvain, 1627, 12mo, than whom no one has more learnedly defended this opinion. Both these opinions have many and distinguished advocates, but none that are good authorities; and both of them may be easily confuted.

⁸ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ad ann. 1243 and 1250, p. 540. 696. Thomas Cantipratensis, in *Bono Universali, de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. 51, p. 478, ed. Colvener. Peter de Herenthal, in his unpublished Annals; an important

extract from which is exhibited by Jos. Geld, a Ryckel, in his notes *ad vitam S. Begga*, § 196, p. 355, &c. The origin and establishment of the *Beguinagia*, founded in the Netherlands, during this and the following century, are detailed at great length by Aub. Miræus, in his *Opera historico-diplomatica*; by Jo. Baptist Gramaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgica*; by Anton. Sanderus, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*; and by other historians of the Belgian affairs.

⁹ Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ad ann. 1253, p. 539, 540.

tions of *Beghards* were not so numerous as those of the *Beghinæ*.¹ The Roman pontiffs never formally approved, and confirmed with their sanction, these associations of male and female *Beghards*: yet they tolerated them; and often, at the request of principal men and women, protected them by their edicts and bulls against the violence and the plots of their enemies, of whom they had not a few. At the present day, most of the houses belonging to both the sexes of *Beghards*, are either destroyed, or converted to other uses: yet in the Belgic provinces, the houses of female *Beghards* are sufficiently numerous, while those for males are very few.²

§ 43. It remains, that we briefly notice the names and merits of those among the Greeks and Latins, whose writings gained a lasting fame that others missed. Of the Greeks, who thus outstripped contemporaries, must be mentioned³, *Nicetas Acominatus*, to whom we are indebted for a history, and a *Thesaurus of the orthodox faith*⁴: *Germanus*, patriarch of Constantinople, of whose productions there are extant, among others, a tract against the Latins, and an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy⁵: *Theodorus Lascaris*, who has left us several tracts on different topics in theology; and who also wrote against the Latins, as nearly all the Greek authors did, this being a subject to which they were prompted both by their genius and by their national attachments⁶: *Nicephorus Blemmida*, one of those who endeavoured

¹ [Or female *Beghards*. *Tr.*] See Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 635. Anton. Sander's *Flandria illustrata*, lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 136. Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in his *Antiq. Flandriæ*, and especially, in *Gandavo*, p. 22. Aubert Miræus, *Opera diplomatico-histor.* tom. iii. c. 168, p. 145, and in several other places. Hipp. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 248, who, however, makes many mistakes. Gerhard Antonius, the Pater Minister (as the head of the sect is called) of the *Beghards* of Antwerp, in his *Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis*; in Ryckel's *Vita S. Beggæ*, p. 489; who studiously casts obscurity on not a few things, in order to exalt his sect.

² [Some of these *Beguines* are still found in Belgium; being clusters of houses within a common enclosure, built round a church. Each house has the name of some saint, real or reputed, on the door, instead of its occupant's name. *Ed.*]

³ Concerning them all, in addition to the writers *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,

see Jo. Alb. Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*.

⁴ [See above, p. 493, note ¹. *Tr.*]

⁵ [He was called Germanus II., in distinction from a patriarch of the eighth century. He was a monk of the Propontis, created patriarch about A. D. 1222, deposed in 1240, restored again, and died in 1254. His exposition of the liturgy, sadly interpolated, was published, Greek and Latin, in the *Auctarium Ducanum*, tom. ii.; and about twelve of his sermons and homilies, with seven of his epistles and decrees, have been published in different collections of ancient works, by Combefis, Gretser, Leo Allat. Cotelier, Leunclavius, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Theodorus Lascaris was born at Nice, was much devoted to literature, became emperor, A. D. 1255, waged successful wars against the Bulgarians and others, during three years; then resigned the empire, and retired to a monastery, where he died A. D. 1259, aged thirty-six. Very few of his tracts have been published. *Tr.*]

to produce harmony between the Greeks and Latins⁷: *Arsenius*, whose Synopsis of the Greek ecclesiastical law is pretty well known⁸: *George Acropolita*, known as the author of a history, and for many things done with various fortune⁹: *John Beccus*, or *Veccus*, who brought himself into much trouble, by advocating the cause of the Latins with more warmth than the zeal of most Greeks for their church would tolerate¹; *George Metochita*², and *Constantine Meliteniota*³, who expended much effort, without effect, to unite the Greeks and Latins: *George Pachymeres*, famed for his Exposition of *Dionysius* the father of the mystics, and for a History of his own times⁴, and *George of Cyprus*, who acquired more fame by his invectives against the Latins, and his attack upon John Veccus, than by his other writings.⁵

⁷ [See above, p. 494, note⁵. Tr.]

⁸ [Arsenius, surnamed Autorianus, was born at Constantinople, became a monk and an abbot at Nice; retired from office, and lived at mount Athos; was made patriarch of Constantinople by Theodore Lascaris, A. D. 1255, and tutor to Lascaris' son, at his father's death, A. D. 1259; resigned the patriarchate soon after; resumed the office in 1261; opposed and excommunicated the emperor Michael, who had put out the eyes of Arsenius' royal pupil; was deposed and banished to the Proconnesus, where he lived in exile many years. The time of his death is not ascertained. His *Synopsis divinorum Canonum*, written while he was a monk, and arranged under one hundred and forty-one *Tituli*, is in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* Greek and Latin, tom. ii. p. 749. His Testament, or will, was published Gr. and Lat. by Cotelier, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Gr.* tom. ii. p. 168. Tr.]

⁹ [See above, p. 493, note². Tr.]

¹ [Veccus was *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, and a man of genius and learning. He at first strenuously opposed the Latins. For this the emperor Michael imprisoned him, with others. By reading the writings of Nicophorus Blemmida, Veccus was converted into a friend and most zealous advocate of the Latins. Michael now made him patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1274. On the death of Michael, A. D. 1283, fearing the rage of the people, he resigned his office; was the next year banished, and passed the remainder

of his days in exile. His writings in defence of the Latins, and in apology for his conduct, are numerous, and were published, Gr. and Lat. by Leo Allatius, in *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. i. and ii. and elsewhere. Tr.]

² [George Metochita was a deacon of the great church of Constantinople, and a friend and associate of John Veccus. With him he contended in behalf of the Latins, and with him suffered exile, for this offence. He flourished A. D. 1276; the time of his death is not known. His writings, all in defence of the Latins, were published by Leo. Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii. Tr.]

³ [Constantine Meliteniota was arch-deacon of Constantinople, under John Veccus; joined with Veccus and Metochita in defending the cause of the Latins; and passed through much the same sufferings. He died in exile, in Bithynia. His tract on a union of the Greek and Latin churches, and another on the procession of the Holy Spirit, are extant, Gr. and Lat. in Leo Allatius, *Græcia Orthodoxa*, tom. ii. Tr.]

⁴ [See above, p. 494, note³. Tr.]

⁵ [George of Cyprus, who assumed the name of Gregory, was born and educated in the Latin church in Cyprus. At the age of twenty, he went to Constantinople; changed his sentiments; became a monk, and one of the court clergy; was created patriarch A. D. 1284; opposed and persecuted Veccus; was obliged to resign his office in 1229; retired to a monastery, and died not long after. He wrote largely against the Latins, and

§ 44. The Latin writers form a long list; from which we shall produce those only who are most frequently quoted. *Joachim*, abbot of Flora in Calabria, was perhaps a pious man, and not wholly ignorant of the truth, but he was a man of small parts, of weak judgment, and given up to fanatical conceits; whom, both in his lifetime and after his death, the ignorant multitude regarded as inspired of God. His predictions became far-famed, and have been often published.⁶ *Stephen Langton*, archbishop of Canterbury, expounded many of the books of Holy Scripture.⁷ Francis, founder of the famous

in confutation of *Veccus*. His chief works are his *Tomus Orthodoxus*, or *Columna Orthodoxie*, and discourses against the blasphemies of *Veccus*, still remaining in manuscript.

Besides the Greek writers enumerated by Dr. Mosheim, the following are noticed by Cave, in his *Historia Litteraria*, tom. ii.

Nicolaus Hydrentinus, who flourished A. D. 1201, and was the Greek interpreter in all the negotiations of cardinal *Benedict*, both at Constantinople and in Greece, for a reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches. He wrote in Greek various tracts against the Latins, from which only some extracts have been published.

Nicetas Maronita, *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, and then archbishop of Thessalonica, who flourished A. D. 1201. He wished to effect a union of the Greek and Latin churches; and wrote six books on the procession of the Holy Spirit, with a view to reconcile the two parties. *Leo Allatius* has published some extracts from the work; *adv. Hottinger*. cap. 19. His Answers to the questions of *Basil* are extant, Greek and Latin, in the *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. v. p. 345.

Manuel Caritopulus, patriarch of Constantinople, about A. D. 1250, wrote some tracts on ecclesiastical or canon law; which *Leunclavius* published, Greek and Latin, in his *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. iii. p. 238, &c.

George Moschamper, *chartophylax* of the great church of Constantinople, who flourished about A. D. 1276. He was bitterly opposed to the Latins, and wrote several pieces against them, which were answered by *John Veccus*. Nothing of his has been published.

Simon, born in Crete, but of a Con-

stantinopolitan family, is supposed by *Cave* to have flourished about A. D. 1276. A long epistle of his, addressed to *John Nomophylax*, *de Conciliis quæ processionem Spiritus Sancti a Filio definiverunt*, was published, Gr. and Lat. by *Leo Allatius*, *adv. Hottinger*. p. 324. He wrote two other tracts on the same subject, never published. *Tr.*]

⁶ *Gregory di Lauro*, composed in Italian, a copious life of *Joachim*, which was published at Naples, 1660, 4to. His prophecies were first printed at Venice, 1517, 4to, and often subsequently. [He was a Cistercian monk and abbot of different monasteries in Italy; the last of which, that at Flora, he founded himself. He flourished A. D. 1201, and died previously to A. D. 1215. He wrote *de Concordia veteris et novi Testamenti Libri* v., Commentaries on *Jeremiah*, *Psalms*, *Isaiah*, some portions of *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, on the *Apocalypse*; also fifteen prophecies concerning the Roman pontiffs; besides some other prophecies. All the above were printed at Venice, in different years, previously to A. D. 1600. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Stephen Langton was an Englishman, but educated at Paris, where he became chancellor of the university, and a canon of Paris. *Innocent III.* invited him to Rome and made him a cardinal. In the year 1206, the same pontiff made him archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of the king, who refused him access to his see, till he was compelled to it by the pope in 1212. In 1215, Langton encouraged rebellion in England, and aided the invasion by the French; for which he was accused, and had to pay a heavy fine in 1218. He died in 1228. He wrote Commentaries on a large part of the Bible, besides letters and sermons; nearly all of which

society denominated *Minorites* or *Franciscans*, wrote some pieces designed to enkindle devotional feelings in the soul, but with little power or genius.⁸ *Alanus ab Insulis* was not the least among the dialecticians and acute reasoners of that age; he also paid attention to chemistry, and has said many things wisely and well.⁹ *Jacobus de Vitriaco* obtained reputation by his *Oriental history*¹: as did *Jacobus de Voragine*, by his *Historia Lombardica*.² Among those who cultivated metaphysical or philosophical theology in this age, the most distinguished were

remain in manuscript in the public libraries of England. *Tr.*—Although cardinal Langton was forced upon the see of Canterbury by Innocent III. justice to his memory demands that he should not be ranked among insignificant tools. He acted as primate with an independence worthy of his high station, taking part with the barons against the king, although the latter had countenance from the pope. In fact, he fully vindicated the discernment of Innocent's choice, and showed that his long residence on the continent had impaired none of the feelings which became an Englishman of commanding station and ability. He died in July, 1228, at Slindon, in Sussex, whence his body was carried to Canterbury for interment. The Bible, it is said, was first divided into chapters by him. Such a statement at least shows him to have been notoriously mindful of his professional pursuits. He would not have gained the credit of thus facilitating reference to the sacred volume, unless he had been known as a student of it. *Ed.*]

⁸ [See above, p. 524, § 25, and note ¹⁰. His works, consisting of Epistles, discourses, prayers, and monastic regulations, were collected and published by John de la Haye, Paris, 1651, fol. *Tr.*]

⁹ There were several of the name of Alan in this century, who have been strangely confounded, both by the ancients and the moderns. See Jac. le Beuf, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 300, and *Diss. sur l'Hist. Ecclés. et Civile de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 293, &c. [This Alanus de Insulis, or Alain de l'Isle, was a native of Flanders; studied at Paris, was called the *Doctor Universalis*, on account of his extensive learning; was for a time bishop of Auxerre, but resigned the mitre, and became a Cistercian monk. Cave supposes he flourished about A. D. 1215. His works, as collected

and published by Charles du Visch, Antw. 1655, fol. consist of a commentary on the Canticles, on the art of preaching, a penitential, on the parables, a collection of memorable sayings, a poem in eleven books on a perfectly good man, two books against the Waldenses, eleven sermons, and a few other tracts. Du Visch, in his *Biblioth. Scriptor. Cisterciens.* Colon. 1656, 4to, added Alain's commentary on the prophecies of Merlin, and his tract on the philosopher's stone. *Tr.*]

¹ [Jacobus de Vitriaco, or James of Vitri, was born (at a place of that name) near Paris, educated in that city, became a priest in his native village, and a regular canon in the diocese of Namur. His zeal led him to Toulouse, where he preached against the Albigenses; thence he went to Palestine, and became bishop of Aco or Ptolemais. About A. D. 1220, the pope recalled him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and sent him as his legate into France, to preach up a crusade. He returned to Rome, spent several years tranquilly, and died A. D. 1244. His oriental and occidental history is in three books; the first describes the country and nations of the east, and traces their history from the time of Mahomed to A. D. 1210: the second book gives the history of Europe during the author's own times: the third returns to the oriental nations, and brings down their history to A. D. 1218. The first and third books were printed at Douay, 1597, 8vo, and in Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. ii. He also wrote a letter, describing the capture of Damietta, which is in Bongarsius, l. c., and an epistle to pope Honorius III., and sermons on the gospels and epistles for the year. *Tr.*]

² See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Damiani*, tom. i. p. 454, and Jo. Bolland's *Prof. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9. [also p. 499, note ¹ of this vol. *Tr.*]

*Albertus Magnus*³, *Thomas Aquinas*⁴, and *Bonaventura*.⁵ That these men possessed very inquisitive minds, acute and superior

³ Concerning Albertus Magnus, see Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 162. [Albert the Great was born of noble parentage, at Lauingen in Suabia, A. D. 1205; was early sent to Passau for education, and became a Dominican monk in 1223. Strange stories are told of his obtuseness in early life, and of his subsequent miraculous facility in acquiring knowledge. He was a universal scholar; but particularly distinguished in mathematics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and scholastic theology. He taught at Hildesheim, Regensburg, Cologne, and other places in Germany, and likewise at Paris. In 1238, he was made vicar general of the Dominicans for two years; and afterwards provincial of the order for Germany. In 1249, he fixed himself at Cologne, and was president of the school there. In 1260, the pontiff obliged him to accept the bishopric of Ratisbon, or Regensburg; but he resigned it in 1263, and retired to his favourite literary retreat at Cologne. He died in 1280, aged 75. His works, in 21 volumes, folio, were published by Peter Jammy, at Lyons, A. D. 1651. They comprise eight works on dialectics; twenty-eight on natural philosophy; commentaries on the Psalms, Lamentations, Baruch, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, the four Gospels, and the Apocalypse; many sermons; a compendium of theology, in seven books; Commentaries on Lombard's four books of Sentences; and various other pieces. *Tr.*]

⁴ Concerning Thomas Aquinas, called *the Angel of the schools*, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Martii, p. 655, &c. and Ant. Touron's *Vie de St. Thomas*, Paris, 1737, 4to. [Thomas was of the family of the counts of Aquino, in the kingdom of Naples, and was born at Aquino, A. D. 1224. Educated in monasteries, where he displayed great precocity of genius, he became a Dominican monk at Naples, in the year 1241, contrary to the will of his parents. His mother was denied access to him by the monks, who sent Thomas from one place to another, to conceal him. At length, in his attempted removal to Paris, she and her other sons seized him. For two years they kept him a prisoner in their castle, and used every effort to persuade him to renounce a monastic life, without effect. In 1244

he escaped through a window, went to Naples, and was conducted to Paris, and thence to Cologne, where he heard the lectures of Albert the Great. From Cologne he was called to Paris, to lecture on the Sentences. He and Bonaventura received their doctorates in theology at Paris on the same day, A. D. 1255. A few days after, he returned to Italy, and taught theology in the universities of Bologna, Rome, Fondi, Foggia, and Pisa. In the year 1263, he was appointed provincial Definitor (Visitor) of his order, for the province of Rome, and in that capacity, attended the general convention of the order in London the same year. He at last settled down at Naples, on a stipend from the king, as a permanent teacher there. He now refused the archbishopric of Naples, offered him by the pope. In 1274, the pope called him to the council of Lyons, to maintain the principles of the Romish church against the Greeks: but he died on his way thither, at Terracina, on the 7th of March 1274, aged 50 years. His works, as printed at Rome, 1570, fill 18 volumes, folio, and in the edition of Paris, 1636—1641, 23 volumes, folio. They comprise comments on nearly all the works of Aristotle; and on the sentences of Lombard: a huge system of theology, entitled *Summa Theologiæ in partes iii. divisa*; many miscellaneous pieces, commentaries on the scripture, sermons, &c. *Tr.*]

⁵ Concerning Bonaventura, the patron saint of Lyons in France, see Colonia's *Histoire Littér. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307. *Histoire de la vie et du culte de S. Bonaventure, par un Religieux Cordelier*, Lyons, 1747, 8vo. [John Bonaventura (called Eustachius and Eutychius in Greek) was born of honourable parentage, at Bagnarea in Tuscany, A. D. 1221, and became a Franciscan monk in 1243. He studied and gave lectures on the Sentences at Paris, where he took his doctor's degree in 1255. The next year he was unanimously elected general of his order, an office which he held till his death, and filled with great advantage to the fraternity. He was called the *Seraphic Doctor*, and was a man esteemed and confided in by every one. In 1272, the cardinals being unable to agree upon a new pontiff, submitted the election to

understandings, and uncommon penetration in regard to abstruse and difficult subjects, no candid person will deny; yet notwithstanding they admitted various things very far from satisfactory. Of others who prosecuted the same species of theology, a long list appears, in which are found men of subtlety and dexterity. That age held in reputation *William of Paris*, a man of acuteness⁶; *Alexander Hales*, the expounder of Aristotle⁷; *Robert Capito*⁸; *Thomas Cantimpratus*⁹; *John Peckham*¹; *William Durand*²; *Roger Bacon*³; *Richard Middleton*⁴;

Bonaventura, who nominated Theobald of Liege, or Gregory X. In 1274, Gregory created Bonaventura cardinal bishop of Alba, and called him to the general council of Lyons. He died at Lyons, while the council was in session, July 15th, A.D. 1274, aged 53. His funeral was attended by the pope, the emperor, and the whole council. Bonaventura was a scholar, a man of an acute mind, a good writer, and a very devout man. He united mystic with scholastic theology, and was a voluminous writer on practical religion. His works, as printed at Rome, 1558, in eight volumes fol., comprise commentaries on the Scriptures; a full comment on the Sentences of Lombard; a great number of tracts, chiefly on ascetic and practical subjects; letters, sermons, &c. *Tr.*]

⁶ See especially the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95. [William of Paris, D.D. was born at Aurillac, in Auvergne (and thence called William Alvernus), became an eminent scholar and divine, and was bishop of Paris from A.D. 1228, till his death, March 29th, 1249. His works were printed by Bart. Ferroneus, Orleans, 1674, in two volumes, fol. They consist chiefly of tracts on moral and practical subjects; yet there are several on dogmatic theology. He is not to be confounded with Matthew Paris, the historian; as he too often is in the references throughout the original of this work of Mosheim, through the mistake, no doubt, of the printer. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Alexander Hales, or de Hales, was an Englishman, of Gloucestershire; but was early sent to Paris, where he spent most of his life in the study of scholastic theology and canon law, and in teaching them to others. He was called the *Irrefragable Doctor*. He was a Franciscan, flourished about A.D. 1230, and died at Paris, August 27th, 1245. His works,

as published separately, consist of commentaries upon the Scriptures; commentaries on certain books of Aristotle; commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard; a system of Theology; and a few tracts. *Tr.*]

⁸ Concerning him, Aut. Wood has written largely, *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 81, 105. [Robert Grossthead, or Capito, was born at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, and educated at Oxford and Paris. Returning to England, he became archdeacon of Leicester, and then bishop of Lincoln, from A.D. 1235, till his death, October 9th, 1253. He was a man of great learning, and of an independent mind. The physical sciences, law, divinity, and the original languages of the Bible, all engaged his attention. He resisted the domination of the pope, and laboured to reform the clergy. His writings consist of translations, comments on Aristotle, and Dionysius Areop., sermons, letters, and other tracts; most of which still remain in manuscript. For a full account of him, see Milner's *Church History*, cent. xiii. c. 7. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Thomas Cantimpratus was born of noble parents, at Lewe, near Brussels, studied under Albert the Great at Cologne, became a regular canon at Cantimpre, or Champre, near Cambray, and afterwards a Dominican monk, subprior at Louvain, and a bishop, suffragan, and assistant to the bishop of Cambray. He flourished A.D. 1255. His principal work is entitled *Bonum Universale, de Apibus*; in which he gives precepts for the conduct of all orders of men, deriving his illustrations from bees. He also wrote several lives of reputed saints. *Tr.*]

¹ [John Peckham was born of low parentage, at Chichester in Sussex, England: studied at Oxford and Paris; became a Franciscan; taught with applause at Oxford, Paris, Lyons, and Rome. While at Rome, A.D. 1278, the pope

*Ægidius de Columna*⁵; *Armand de Bello Visu*⁶; and others. But none of these attained to equal renown with the triumvirate above mentioned. *Hugo de S. Caro* was thought to have done much to advance sacred knowledge, by his *Concordance* to the

created him archbishop of Canterbury. On his arrival in England, the pope demanded of him 4000 marks of silver for the use of the holy see. Peckham had to pay it. He next had contention with the archbishop of York. He became vastly rich, founded a college, raised his relatives to affluence, and died about A.D. 1291. He wrote *Collectanea Bibliorum*, and 47 synodical decrees, which have been published; and a number of theological tracts, which remain in manuscript. *Tr.*]

² [William Durand, LL.D. was born in Provence, France, of noble parents. He studied the civil and canon laws at Bologna, and took his doctorate there. He also taught law at Bologna and Modena; and became so famous as a pleader, that he was called *the father of practice*. He was auditor general in the court of Rome, canon of Beauvais, and dean of Chartres. In 1274, he was the pope's proctor at the general council of Lyons. Nicolaus III. made him governor of the papal dominions, with the title of rector and count of the patrimony. In this capacity, he commanded successfully in several battles. In 1286, he was made bishop of Mende in France. In 1296, the pope sent him as ambassador to the Saracens in the East; but he died at Nicotia, in Cyprus. He was a learned man, a profound jurist, and a respectable theologian. He wrote *Speculum Juris*, a large work divided into three parts; *Repertorium Juris*, extracted from the preceding; *Rationale divinarum Officiorum*, in eight books; also some law tracts. *Tr.*]

³ [See above, p. 502, note³. Roger Bacon was nobly born at Ilchester Somersetshire, England, about A.D. 1206. He studied at Oxford, and then at Paris, where he took his degree. Languages, history, law, the physical sciences, and theology, were his pursuit. Returning to England, he taught at Oxford, became a Franciscan monk, devoted himself to the physical sciences, expended much time and money on experiments in optics, mechanics, and chemistry, was esteemed a magician, and confined many years as such to a monastery. He died about the

year 1284, aged 78, and was buried at Oxford. His *Opus Majus*, addressed to pope Clement IV. contains an abstract, by his own hand, of all the works he had then published, and nearly supersedes the necessity of reading any of his other printed works. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Richard Middleton, or de Medavilla, the *Doctor solidus et copiosus*, was an English Franciscan monk and theologian, who first studied philosophy, law, and theology at Oxford, and afterwards at Paris, where he obtained a high reputation. In the year 1282, he was one of the commissioners appointed by the provincial of his order, to try the cause of Peter John Oliva; which trial has been censured. He returned to England, and taught with great applause at Oxford, and died about A.D. 1300. He wrote four books of questions on Lombard's Sentences; and *Quodlibeta theologica*, containing eighty questions in theology; both of which works have been published; also commentaries on the Gospels, and the epistles of Paul, and some tracts, which are not published. *Tr.*]

⁵ [*Ægidius de Columna*, or Giles Colonna, the *Doctor fundatissimus*, was born at Rome, of the illustrious family of Colonna; studied at Rome and in other places; became an Augustinian eremite monk; was invited to Paris, to be tutor to prince Philip, son of Philip the Bold; and taught many years in the university of Paris. In 1292, he was made prior general of his order. In 1296, Boniface VIII. made him archbishop of Bourges. Whether he became a cardinal or not, has been disputed. He died A.D. 1316, aged 69. His writings are very numerous, though but partially published, and never collectively. They are on scholastic theology, dialectics, on the Sentences of Lombard, vindications of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, and numerous other tracts. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Armand of Bellevue, or de Bello Visu, was a Dominican monk, born at Bologna, and master of the sacred palace at Rome. He is supposed to have lived near the end of this century. His works are a commentary on the Psalms, meditations, prayers, sermons, and an expla-

Holy Scriptures.⁷ *William* of St. Amour waged war upon the fraternities that sought renown for piety in mendicity, with boldness and resolution, but not successfully.⁸ *Humbert* de Romanis endeavoured by his writings to guide the conduct and regulate the lives of the monks.⁹ *William Perald* acquired very high reputation in that age, by his *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*.¹ *Raymond Martini* still lives in his *Pugio Fidei*, or his work against the Jews and Saracens.² *John* of Paris deserves an honourable place among the defenders of the truth and the right, because he contended for the power of temporal sovereigns against the machinations of the pontiffs, and because he openly professed his dissatisfaction with the prevailing doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper.³

nation of difficult terms in theology and philosophy. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Hugo of St. Cher, D.D. or de Sancto Caro, a Dominican monk, was born in Dauphiny, and studied at Paris; was papal ambassador to Constantinople under Gregory IX., became provincial of his order for France; was created a cardinal in 1245, after which he was repeatedly papal legate especially to Germany. He died A.D. 1260. His works are, *Postilla*, or a brief commentary on the whole Bible, Venice, 1600, in 8 volumes; sermons for the year; *Speculum sacerdotum et ecclesie*; and a Concordance to all the declinable words in the Latin Bible, to which Conrad of Halberstadt added the particles, about A.D. 1290, and which has been often printed. *Tr.*]

⁸ [William of St. Amour, or de S. Amore. He was a native of Burgundy, and one of the leading doctors at Paris, in the middle of this century. In the controversy between the university and the Dominicans, he stood in the front of the battle. The pope ordered him to be degraded and banished, in 1256. But supported by the university, he held his ground, and fought more eagerly. See above, p. 528. His works were published at Constance (Paris), 1632, 4to. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Humbert de Romanis, or of Romans, in Burgundy, became a Dominican friar while studying at Paris, A.D. 1225, was made general of the order in 1254, resigned the office 1263, and died in 1274. He wrote Instructions for monks, in six books; a commentary on the rule of St. Augustine; two hundred sermons on various subjects; lives of monks; on

the three monastic vows; and on the erudition of preachers. Most of these are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv. *Tr.*]

¹ See Colonia, *Histoire Littéraire de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322, &c. [William Perald, or Peralt, i. e. de Petra Alta, was born in the diocese of Vienne, became a Dominican friar in 1219, and some say archbishop of Lyons in 1272. He died in 1275. His *Summa* (elementary treatise) *de virtutibus et vitiis*, has passed through numerous editions. This is his only work known; unless he is the author of the sermons for the year, ascribed to William of Paris. *Tr.*]

² [Raymund Martini, or des Martins, a Catalanian, and a very celebrated Dominican friar, who flourished in Spain, A.D. 1278. At the suggestion of Raymond de Pennafort, general of his order, he composed his celebrated *Pugio Fidei* (Dagger of the Faith), in three parts, in which he confutes the Jews and Saracens out of their own writers. It is a learned work, was long the chief arsenal for other writers against the Jews and Mahumedans, and was printed with notes, by Voisin, Paris, 1651, fol., and Lips. 1687, fol. *Tr.*]

³ His *Determinatio de S. Cana*, was published by Peter Alix, London, 1686, 8vo. See Echart's *Scriptores Domini*, tom. i. p. 501, &c. Stephen Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Avenicn.* tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577, &c.—[John of Paris was a Dominican friar, and a distinguished theologian of Paris, about A.D. 1290. When Boniface VIII. attacked Philip the Fair, king of France, John stood forth in defence of the king, in a tract *de Regia*

Potestate et Papali. While he was preaching in the assemblies of his order, and giving theological lectures in the schools, with much applause, he advanced the idea, that possibly Christ's presence in the eucharist was by impanation, or uniting himself to the elements, and not by a transmutation of their substance: the masters of Paris cried out against him. He was condemned of error, and forbidden to preach or to lecture: but he appealed to the pope, went to Rome, and died soon after his arrival, A.D. 1304. His tract *de Regia Potestate et Papali* is in Goldast's *Monarch. Imp.* tom. ii. p. 107.

Besides those named by Dr. Mosheim, Cave notices the following Latin writers of this century.

Sylvester Gyraldus, called Cambrensis from his country, and Barrius from his family. He was the son of William de Barri, and born at Mainarpu, near Pembroke in South Wales, England. His uncle David, bishop of St. David's, made him archdeacon of Brecon. He went to Paris for study, and there taught theology in the English college three years. On his return, he made some figure at the court of Henry II. In 1185, he attended the Prince John, commanding an expedition to Ireland, was offered the bishopric of Wexford, which he refused. He continued some time in Ireland, to examine its geography and antiquities; then returned to Wales, where he composed his history. Afterwards, he accompanied Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in his pilgrimage to Palestine. In 1198, he was made bishop of St. David's: and a controversy arising respecting that see, he went to Rome in the year 1300, and finally lost his prelacy. He lived to be more than seventy years old, but the time of his death is unknown. His printed works are, a Topography of Ireland; the Conquest of Ireland by the English; Travels in Cambria (Wales), in two books; and a Description of Cambria: all extant in the *Scriptores X. Anglici Normanici*, Francf. 1602, fol. Several of his theological productions remain in manuscript.

Gervasius, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, well acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon history. He flourished A.D. 1201, and wrote an account of the conflagration and repair of the cathedral of Canterbury; Sketches of the dissensions between the monks of Canterbury, and the archbishop Baldwin; a Chronicle of English history, from A.D. 1112 to A.D. 1199; and Lives of the

archbishops of Canterbury, from Augustine to Hubert, inclusive: all of which are in the *Scriptores X. Anglici*, Lond. 1652, fol.

William de Seligniaco, made bishop of Auxerre, A.D. 1206, and afterwards bishop of Paris, till his death, 1223. He wrote a *Summa Theologica*, (system of theology,) printed at Paris, 1500.

Arnold of Hildesheim, and abbot of Lubeck, flourished A.D. 1209, and continued Helmold's *Chronicon*, from 1171 to 1209. He is considered as good authority in Slavonic affairs, but not in others. His continuation is published, in some editions imperfect, with Helmold.

Abсалom, a canon of St. Victor, Paris, and an abbot in the diocese of Treves, A.D. 1210, has left us fifty-one sermons on the festivals.

Robert de Monte, or Robert de Torineio, abbot of St. Michael du Mont, in the diocese of Avranches, in Normandy. Some think he flourished A.D. 1210; but others make him to have died A.D. 1186. The continuation of the *Chronicon* of Sigebert Gemblacensis, from 1112 to A.D. 1210, or at least to A.D. 1182, is ascribed to him. He also wrote some historical and other tracts. All are published by Lu. d'Achery, in *Append. ad Opp. Guiberti*, Paris, 1651, and in his *Spicilegium*.

Willibrand of Oldenburg, canon of Hildesheim A.D. 1211. After visiting Palestine, he wrote an account of his travels in that country; published by Leo Allatius, *Symmict.* part i. p. 104.

Helinandus, a Frenchman, who after a dissolute life became a Cistercian monk, at Mons Frigidus, in the diocese of Beauvais. He flourished A.D. 1212, and died A.D. 1227. His great work, or Chronicle, from the Creation, to A.D. 1204, in forty-eight books, with some sermons, martyrdoms of saints, &c. was published by Betr. Tissier, in his *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, and by Surius.

Alexander Neckam, born at St. Alban's, studied in England, visited the universities of France and Italy, returned to St. Alban's, removed to Exeter, became a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was abbot there from 1215 till his death, A.D. 1227. His works, which are chiefly commentaries on the Scriptures, were never published; but are preserved in manuscript.

Honorius III. pope A.D. 1216—1227, famous for his zeal for crusades against the Saracens and the Albigenes, and

for excommunicating the emperor Frederic II., has left us nineteen epistles; extant in the Collections of councils, Baluze's *Miscellanies*, and Wadding's *Annals*.

Antonius de Padua, a Portuguese of Lisbon, who removed to Italy, lived at Padua, became a Franciscan theologian and preacher, was called to Rome and honoured by the pope and cardinals, and died A.D. 1231. He was a weak man, though a popular preacher. Many of his sermons, and mystic expositions of the Scripture, have been published.

Jordan, of Saxon origin, born in the diocese of Mentz, became a Dominican monk in 1220, provincial of his order for Lombardy, in 1222, and general of the order in 1223. He died about 1236, leaving a tract on the origin of his order, and one or two devotional works.

Cæsarius, a German, who became a Cistercian monk at Heisterback, in the diocese of Cologne, A.D. 1119, was made master of the novices there, and then prior of a monastery near Bonn. He flourished A.D. 1225; and wrote *de Miraculis et Visionibus sui temporis*, in twelve Books or Dialogues (full of fables); a life of St. Englebert, bishop of Cologne, in three books; and a number of sermons, all of which have been published.

Gregory IX. pope A.D. 1227—1241, famous for his conflicts with the emperor Frederic II. His works, consisting of numerous epistles and decrees, were collected, and published with notes, by Jac. Pamelius, Antw. 1572, fol.

John Alegrin, a French divine, dean of Amiens, chanter of Abbeville, archbishop of Besançon in 1225, and a cardinal A.D. 1227; after which he was sent into Spain, to preach a crusade against the Saracens. He died A.D. 1236. His commentary on the Canticles was printed, Paris, 1521, fol.

Raymund de Pennaforti, or de Rupe-Fori, a Catalonian of Barcelona, descended from the royal line of Aragon and the counts of Barcelona, born A.D. 1175, taught canon law at Bologna, became canon and archdeacon of Barcelona, a Dominican friar, served the papal court in the department of confessions, was general of his order, A.D. 1238—1240, resigned, and refused the archbishopric of Tarragona, and some other sees, and died A.D. 1275, aged one hundred years. He wrote *Summa de Casibus Penitentialibus, seu de Penitentia et Matrimonio*, in four books, printed with notes, Fribourg, 1603; and compiled,

by order of Gregory IX., the part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, called libri v. *Decretalium*, or the *Decretals* of Gregory.

Philip Greuvius, chancellor of the university of Paris, about A.D. 1230; has left us 330 sermons on the Psalms of David, printed Paris, 1523, 8vo. Some other of his commentaries exist in manuscript.

Conrad, of Marburg, a distinguished Dominican friar and preacher, confessor to Elizabeth, margravine of Thuringia. He flourished A.D. 1230, and wrote the *Life and Miracles of Elizabeth*, his patroness: published by Leo Allatius, *Symmicta*, P. i. p. 269.

Petrus de Vineis, chancellor to the emperor Frederic II., and the defender of his rights against the pope. He made a public speech against the papal encroachments, in a diet at Pavia, A.D. 1239; and was the emperor's ambassador and advocate in the council of Lyons, A.D. 1245. His six Books of Epistles relating to the affairs of the emperor Frederic, were first published, Basil, 1566, 8vo.

Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1234—1240. He was a great patron of learning, as his foundations at Oxford declare, and a zealous reformer of the discipline of the church and the morals of the clergy. He went to Rome to complain of the vices and corruptions in the church, spoke boldly there, incurred enmity and a heavy fine, returned discouraged, resigned his office, and went to France, where he died. In 1456, he was canonized as a saint. His *Speculum Ecclesie* is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. and his twelve ecclesiastical laws are in Linwood's *Provinciale Anglicanum*.

Lucas, a Spaniard of Leon, who, after travelling in Italy, Greece, and Palestine, was in 1236 made bishop of Tuy, in Galicia, Spain. He wrote a confutation of the errors of the Albigenses, in three books, printed in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv.; the life and miracles of St. Isidore, published by Mabillon and Bolland; and continued the *Chronicon* of Isidore by his own times, extant in Schott's *Hispania Illustrata*, tom. iv.

Godtfridus, a German monk in the convent of St. Pantaleon within the city, Cologne. He flourished A.D. 1237, and wrote *Annals*, from A.D. 1162 to A.D. 1237; published by Freher, *Scriptores Germanici*, tom. i. p. 239.

Innocent IV. pope A.D. 1243—1254, a very ambitious and arrogant pontiff. He wrote commentaries on the five books

of Decretals; and a very large number of epistles, which are extant in the Collections of Councils, and in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

John de S. Geminiano, a Dominican monk, intimate with Thomas Aquinas, and an eminent theologian and preacher, who flourished about A.D. 1244. Gregory IX. sent him to preach up a crusade in the region about Naples, against the emperor Frederic II. His *Summa de Exemplis et Rerum Similitudinibus* was often published, and particularly Cologne, 1670, 4to. His funeral and quadragesimal sermons have also been published.

Peter, the son of Cassiodorus, was an English knight, who flourished about A.D. 1250. His epistle to the English church, advising to shake off the tyrannical yoke of the Roman pontiff, is in the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 365.

Theobald Stampensis, an English secular priest, who perhaps flourished A.D. 1250, by some placed much earlier, has left us five epistles; in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. iii.

David de Augusta, a Franciscan friar of Augsburg, A.D. 1250, wrote some directions for monks; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv.

John Semeca, a distinguished jurist, and rector of the church of Halberstadt, A.D. 1250. When Clement IV. demanded a tenth of all clerical salaries in France and Germany, for a crusade to Palestine, A.D. 1265, John resisted openly, and accused the pontiff of avarice, for which he was deposed and excommunicated. He died A.D. 1267. His commentary on the *Decretum of Gratian* has been often printed with the text.

Gertrude, a German Benedictine nun at Rodalsdorf, abbess there in 1251, and afterwards removed to Helfenden, where she died A.D. 1290. She wrote in German, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, which being translated into Latin, were published with the works of Mechtilda, a contemporary sister in the same nunnery.

Robert de Sorbona, or de Sorbonne, confessor, or at least chaplain, to St. Lewis, king of France; a canon, first at Soissons, and then at Paris. In the year 1252, he founded the divinity college, called the Sorbonne, in the university of Paris. He died after the year 1271, leaving three devotional tracts, on conscience, on confession, and the journey to Paradise; extant in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv.

Reincrius Sachonus, of Placentia, a

distinguished philosopher and theologian. He was first a leading man among the Waldenses, but abandoning them he became a Dominican friar, and Inquisitor general. He flourished A.D. 1254, and died in 1259. He wrote *Summa de Catharis et Leonistis*, in ten chapters; extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv. and with the notes of Grester, Ingolst. 1614, 4to.

Alexander IV. pope A.D. 1254—1261, has left us nearly three hundred epistles; three of which are in the Collections of Councils, and the rest in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontificum*.

Albert, a Benedictine monk of Stade, in the archbishopric of Bremen; and A.D. 1232, abbot there till 1236, when he went to Rome, resigned his abbacy in 1240, became a Franciscan, and at length general of the latter order. He wrote a Chronicle from the creation to A.D. 1256, which is better than most others. It was printed Helmst. 1587, 4to. and Wittemb. 1608, 4to.

John Guallensis, or Wallis, an English Franciscan friar of Worcester, who taught philosophy and theology at Oxford and at Paris; and was called the Arbor Vitæ, on account of his excellent doctrines. He flourished A.D. 1260, and died at Paris, in a year not ascertained. His *Alphabetum Vitæ Religiosæ*; *Breviloquium de Philosophiæ dignitate et ejus abusu*; *Breviloquium de IV. Cardinalibus Virtutibus antiquor. philosophor. et principum*; *Compendiloquium de Vitis Illustr. Philosophorum*; and *Margarita Doctorum seu Summa de Regimine Vitæ humanæ*, were all published at Lyons, 1511, fol. Some other of his works, on canon law, have also been published.

Bonaventura Brocardus, of Strasburg, a Dominican friar, who went into the East, and resided long there, about the middle of the century. His description of places in the Holy Land was printed, Ingolst. 1604, 4to, Cologne, 1624, 8vo. and elsewhere, often.

Urban IV. was papal legate in Pomerania, Prussia, Livonia, and Germany; then patriarch of Jerusalem; and A.D. 1261—1264 pope. His paraphrase on the 50th Psalm is in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, two of his epistles are in the Collections of Councils, and twenty-four others in Wadding's *Annales* and *Regestum Pontif.*

Henry de Segusio, bishop of Ambrun, before A.D. 1258, and cardinal bishop of Ostia, A.D. 1262, died A.D. 1271; so distinguished for knowledge of both civil and canon law, that he was called, *Fons*

et Splendor Juris. He wrote *Summa utriusque Juris*, which is often called *Aurea Summa Hostiensis*; also an exposition of the six books of the Decretals: both have been printed.

Clement IV. pope, A.D. 1265—1268, has left us numerous epistles and bulls; extant in various collections of documents.

Gilbert, or Guibert, a Franciscan friar, and professor of theology in the university of Paris, A.D. 1270. Several of his tracts are extant.

Nicolaus Hanapus, a Dominican monk, penitentiary in the court of Rome, and then patriarch of Jerusalem, died at Ptolemais, A.D. 1288. His *Biblia Pauperum*, or Examples of Virtue and Vice, has been often printed.

Gregory X. pope, A.D. 1271—1276, has left us twenty-five epistles.

Robert Kilwarbius (Kilwarby), studied at Oxford and Paris, became a Franciscan, and archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1272, went to Rome in 1277, was made a cardinal, and died in 1280. He left a number of theological and scientific works, preserved in manuscript, but never published.

Innocent V. pope, A.D. 1276, during five months; left a *Compendium Theologie*, and a Commentary on the four books of Sentences.

John XXI. (or XIX.) pope, A.D. 1276—1288, has left several epistles, some treatises on logic, and one on the cure of diseases, which have been published.

Henry of Ghent, or Gandavensis, long a teacher of philosophy and theology in the Sorbonne, and called *doctor Solennis*. He died A.D. 1293, leaving a *Summa Theologie*; *Quodlibeta Theologica*, on the four books of Sentences; *de Viris Illustratibus*, or an account of ecclesiastical authors; besides several other works never printed.

Udalric, Ulric, a German of Strasbourg, pupil of Albertus the Great, a Dominican monk, and theologian of Paris, died prematurely, about A.D. 1280, leaving a *Compendium of theology*, besides other works not printed.

Mechtildis, a German lady of high family, and a Benedictine nun of Helfenden. She flourished A.D. 1280, and died before A.D. 1290. Her *Revelation*, or five books of spiritual grace, composed in German, and translated into Latin, were published, with other works of a similar character, Paris, 1513, and Cologne, 1536.

Guido Batius, a native of Reggio, and

a citizen and archdeacon of Bologna, an eminent jurist, flourished A.D. 1283. He wrote three books of Commentaries, entitled the *Rosarium*, on the five books of the Decretals; published, Venice, 1580.

Nicolaus IV. pope, A.D. 1288—1292, left numerous epistles, many of which are published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides commentaries on the Scriptures, and theological treatises and sermons, never published.

Theodoric de Apoldia, a native of Erfurth, and a Dominican friar, who flourished A.D. 1289. He wrote the life of Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, and widow of Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia, in eight books; published by Canisius, *Lectiones Antiq.* pt. ii. p. 147; also the life of St. Dominic, founder of the order of Dominicans, in eight books; published by Surius, at August 5th.

Augustinus Triumphinus, of Ancona, an Augustinian eremite friar, who spent several years at the university of Paris, but more at Venice, and at last fixed his residence at Naples, where he died A.D. 1298, aged 85. He wrote *Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica*; published, Rome, 1479, 4to, and 1582, fol.; several devotional pieces, a book of extracts from St. Augustine; besides several theological works, extensive commentaries on the Scriptures, and many sermons, never published.

William Major, a Frenchman, penitentiary of Angers, and bishop of the same, A.D. 1290—1314. He wrote the history of his episcopacy up to the year before his death; published by D'Achery, *Spicileg.* tom. x.

Guido, of noble birth in Burgundy, studied theology and canon law nine years at Paris and Orleans, and after filling several other offices, was abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, from A.D. 1277 to 1309, when he resigned his office, and lived a retired life till his death in 1313. He wrote the history of the abbots of his monastery, from A.D. 1189 to 1277, published by Labbé, *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. i.

Henry (according to some Amandus) Suso, of noble birth in Swabia, a distinguished Dominican theologian, and lecturer at Constance, who flourished A.D. 1290, and died about the close of the century. He wrote various tracts, epistles, and sermons, in German, which Laur. Surius translated into Latin, and published, Cologne, 1588, 8vo.

Boniface VIII. pope, A.D. 1294—1303, has left numerous epistles and bulls, published by Bzovius and Wadding; besides the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, which is a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Engelbert, a Benedictine monk, distinguished as early as A.D. 1273, and abbot of Admont in Styria from A.D. 1297. He wrote an heroic poem, or panegyric, on the coronation of Rodolph of Hapsburg; and a tract on the rise, progress, and fall of the Roman empire;

the last is in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxv. and the first is in all the collections of German historians.

Thomas Wickes, or Wiccius, an English regular canon of St. Augustine, in the monastery of Oseney, near Oxford, who flourished about A.D. 1299. He wrote a Chronicle of England, from William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066, to the year 1304, which was published among the *Scriptores Historie Anglicanæ*, tom. ii. Oxford, 1687, fol.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. The general state of religion.—§ 2. New articles of faith introduced by Innocent.—§ 3. The sect of Flagellants.—§ 4. Exegetical theology.—§ 5. Dogmatic theology.—§ 6. The greater part pursued *positive* theology.—§ 7. A few Sententiarii.—§ 8. The opposers of the dialecticians.—§ 9. The mystics.—§ 10. Moral theology.—§ 11. Its character.—§ 12. Polemic theology.—§ 13. Controversies between the Greeks and the Latins.—§ 14. Dispute concerning Christ's presence in the eucharist.

§ 1. THE inveterate defects of the prevailing religion, though very great and fundamental, were yet increased by considerable accessions. The Greeks and Orientals were gradually diverted more and more from the principles of truth and rectitude, by their hatred of the Latins, by their immoderate veneration for the fathers and the former ages, by the calamities of the times, and by the heedlessness and stupidity of their prelates. Among the Latins, besides the sovereign pontiffs, who, it appears, would tolerate nothing that was even remotely injurious to their majesty and authority, the scholastic doctors, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks stood foremost, and were the most subtle, by philosophising, disputing, dividing, and distinguishing, exceedingly obscured the simple and beautiful religion of Christ. The most pernicious among them,—for all

were not equal offenders, — were those who led the mass of people to believe, that men can perform more than God requires of them, and that all religion consists in the external homage of the lips, and in certain bodily gestures.

§ 2. In the *fourth*, and a very full council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, *Innocent III.*, a most imperious pontiff, without asking the opinion of any one, published seventy decrees: in which, besides other enactments, calculated to increase the power of the pontiffs and to give importance to the clergy, he widened the religious system, by adding to it some new doctrines, or as they are called, *articles of faith*. For whereas there had hitherto been different opinions respecting the *manner* in which Christ's body and blood are present in the eucharist, and no public decision had defined what must be held and taught on this point, *Innocent* pronounced *that* opinion to be the only true one, which is now universal in the Romish church; and he consecrated to it the hitherto unknown term *Transubstantiation*.¹ He also required it to be held as an article of faith, that every one is bound, by a positive divine ordinance, to enumerate and confess his sins to a priest; which indeed had before been the opinion of some doctors, but it was not the public belief of the church; for up to this time, although the confession of sins was held to be a duty, yet every one had been at liberty, according to his pleasure, either to confess them mentally to God alone, or orally to a priest also.² The reception of both these dogmas, as of divine authority, in consequence of the injunction of *Innocent*, produced many regulations and decisions, wholly unknown in the Scriptures or in the early ages of the church, and calculated to foster superstition rather than piety.

¹ See, among many others, Edm. Albertin, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972. [The decree of Innocent is in Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 16, 17. "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse Sacerdos et Sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, *transubstantiatis*, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite or-

dinatus secundum claves ecclesie, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Jesus Christus." *Tr.*]

² See Jo. Dalkens, *de Confessione Auriculari*; and many others. [This decree of Innocent is in Harduin, l. c. p. 35, art. xxi. It is in this form: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi penitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, &c. alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesie arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura." *Tr.*]

§ 3. Nothing perhaps will show more clearly the unsoundness of the religion of the age generally, and its discordance with the Bible, than the history of the societies of *Flagellants*; which first originated in Italy, in the year 1263, and afterwards spread over a large part of Europe. A great multitude of persons, of all ranks and ages, and both sexes, ran about the streets of cities and country towns, with whips in their hands, lashing miserably their naked bodies; and they expected, by this voluntary punishment, by their frightful countenances and their distracted cries, to procure the divine compassion for themselves and others.³ This method of appeasing the Supreme Being, was perfectly accordant with the nature of religion as it existed in that age. Nor did these *Flagellants* do any thing that had not been learned from the monks, and particularly from the mendicant orders. And hence they were at first highly revered, and extolled for their sanctity, and not only by the populace, but also by their rulers and governors. But when the turbulent and extravagant, and those contaminated with ridiculous opinions, joined themselves to the primitive more decent and moral *Flagellants*, the emperors and the pontiffs issued decrees to put a stop to this religious frenzy.

§ 4. The expounders of the sacred volume, in this century, differed not at all from those who assumed that office in the previous times. Most of them declare themselves bent upon drawing out the internal juice and marrow of the sacred books, that is, to elicit their recondite or secret sense; and they do it so clumsily, for the most part, that a discerning man can hardly help growing rather sick in reading their commentaries. Let any who wish to try how far their patience will hold out, read, if they please, the lucubrations of *Hugo* of St. Cher, *Stephen Langton* and *Anthony* of Padua, on various parts of the Bible. None pursued this course more diligently, or rather more foolishly, than the *mystic* doctors; of whom not one is so obtuse but he can see clearly, in the sacred writers, all the principles of his mystic theology. Nor were their adversaries, the *scholastics*, entirely averse from this method of interpretation; though they were at more pains to collect the opinions of the ancient

³ Christ. Schötgen, *Historia Flagellantium*. Jac. Boileau, *Histoire de Flagellans*, cap. ix. p. 253. A drawing descriptive of this penance of the Fla-

gellant is given by Edm. Martene. *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 105. Compare Muratori's *Antig. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469, &c.

interpreters, than to devise new ones; as the example of *Alexander Hales*, *William Alvernus*, and *Thomas* himself⁴, will show. They likewise call in occasionally the aid of dialectics. To assist the expounders of the sacred books, *Hugo* of St. Cher composed his index of the words in these books, or his *Concordance* to them.⁵ The Dominicans, by direction of *Jordan*, the general of their order, set forth a new edition of the Latin version of the Scriptures, carefully corrected by the older copies.⁶ The Greeks attempted nothing in this department which is worthy of notice. But among the Syrians, *Gregory Abulpharajus* very learnedly explained a large part of the Bible.⁷

§ 5. It would be tedious to enumerate all those who treated systematically, either theoretical or practical theology: for all that possessed a tolerable share of discernment and ability to write, applied themselves to this branch of theology: and especially all those who taught in the schools; among whom the Dominicans and the Franciscans held the first rank. Nor is it necessary to recite the names of these doctors, or to specify all their lucubrations; for whoever has made himself acquainted with *Albertus Magnus*, or with *Thomas Aquinas*, his disciple, has knowledge of them all. The first place among these writers on systematic theology belongs to *Thomas Aquinas*, who was commonly called the *Angel of the schools*, or the *Angelic Doctor*. For as soon as his *Summa*, or system of theology, both dogmatical and practical, began to circulate, all eagerly caught hold of the work, and made it, in connexion with *Lombard*, the Master of the Sentences, the basis of instruction and the source of correct knowledge. Some indeed have denied that this celebrated work was the production of *Thomas*⁸: but their reasons are by no means solid and satisfactory.⁹

§ 6. The greatest part of these doctors followed *Aristotle* as their model; and applied his principles, both dialectical and philosophical, to the investigation and explication of Christian doctrines. In explaining metaphysically the more abstruse

¹ [Aquinas. *Tr.*]

² See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

³ Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclési.* par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 341.

⁴ Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. ii. p. 277.

⁵ See Jo. Launoi, *Traditio Ecclesiæ Romana circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

⁶ See Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles.* sæcul. xiii. p. 391. Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.* sæcul. xiii. tom. i. p. 293, &c. Ant. Tournon's *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

doctrines, they followed the opinions of the *Realists*. For this sect had far more followers, in this century, than the *Nominalists*; which may be attributed to the vast influence of *Albertus* and *Thomas*, who stood at the head of the *Realists* at this time. But although these *most lucid, irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic* doctors, as they were called, may have viewed themselves as sagacious and powerful defenders of revealed religion, yet they very often poured darkness rather than light upon their subjects. For, not to mention their intolerable and often ridiculous phraseology, or their disgusting barbarism of style, and to pass by their senseless eagerness for prying into subjects inscrutable to man, they failed in the very points in which true philosophers ought least of all to be found defective. For their definitions are obscure and inaccurate, and their divisions are unsuitable and illogical. And these faults, which necessarily produce confusion of thought and obscurity in reasoning, are chargeable on the great *Thomas* himself.

§ 7. This propensity to examine religious subjects by the powers of reason and human sagacity, greatly lessened the number of those who were accustomed, in the manner of the ancients, to demonstrate religious truths by the Scriptures and by the authority of the fathers, without employing philosophy, and who were therefore called *biblical divines*. Certain pious men indeed¹, and even the Roman pontiffs², seriously admonish the theologians, and more especially those of Paris, to avoid the subtleties of philosophy, and to teach the doctrines of salvation according to the Scriptures, with simplicity and purity: but their admonitions were fruitless. For so great was the enthusiasm for metaphysics, dialectics, and philosophy, that no arguments or exhortations could control it. The scholastic doctors did not indeed wholly disregard the *Scriptures* and *tradition*; but what they adduced from either source showed plainly that neither had been carefully consulted by them.³ At

¹ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129. 180. Anton. Wood's *Anciq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 91. 92. 94.

² See especially a sharp and memorable epistle of Gregory IX. to the Parisian masters; in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129, which concludes with these words: "Mandamus et districte precipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ doceatis theologicam puritatem, non adulterantes

verbum Dei philosophorum figmentis—sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cœlesti eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant de fontibus Salvatoris."

³ Peter Faydit's *Altération du Dogme Théologique par la philos. d'Aristote*, p. 289. Rich. Simon's *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecclés. par M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 170. 187.

length they gave up all such care to others, reserving to themselves nothing more than skill in disputing and philosophising. Of this thing not the least obvious reason may be detected in the circumstances of the parties themselves. For most of these doctors were of the Dominican or Franciscan bodies. Now these communities, from holding no property, wanted even libraries, and were moreover required to lead an unsettled life. Of course, therefore, such of them as wished to make a figure as writers, were under a necessity to rely wholly upon their own ingenuity.

§ 8. The followers of the old divines deemed it the more necessary to resist strenuously these new dialectical theologians, in proportion as they instilled corrupt and dangerous sentiments into the youth in their schools. For they not only explained the mysteries of religion according to the principles of their dialectics, subjecting them to the empire of reason, but they also brought forward doctrines that were absolutely impious, and manifestly hostile to religion, doctrines relating to God, to matter, the world, the origin of all things, and the nature of the human soul; and if any one taxed them with the fact, it was their custom to answer, that these doctrines were *philosophically true*, and consonant with right reason; but that they readily admitted them to be *theologically false*. And hence, throughout this century, in all the universities, and particularly at Paris and Oxford, you might see the ancient and biblical divines opposing the decisions, the opinions, and the treatises of the dialectic theologians, and both publicly and privately accusing them of corrupting the religion of the Scriptures.⁴ Even *St. Thomas* was judged by the Parisians to be unsound, or to deviate on many points from the simple truth.⁵ He escaped indeed, though involved in various contests, without harm: but others who had less weight of character, were required publicly to confess their errors while alive or were severely censured after their deaths.

§ 9. Still more dangerous to the scholastic divines were the

⁴ See Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 541. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. in many places, but especially p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

⁵ See Jo. Launoï, *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, pt. iii. lib. iii. c. cxvi. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. i. p. 485. Boulay's

Historia Acad. Paris, tom. iv. p. 204. Peter Zornius, *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445. Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 266, &c. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, tom. i. p. 435, &c.

mystics, and all those who maintained that piety was the only thing to be regarded, and that men should wholly give up disputations on religious questions; for these opinions were acceptable to the people, and had great influence over them. Hence accusations and antipathies from such quarters, the dialecticians thought were not so fit for repelling by force, as for conciliating by prudent measures. They therefore extolled mystic theology with lavish praises; and even explained its principles in various treatises, combining it with the theology taught in the schools, notwithstanding a total difference of character between the two systems. The works written upon this principle by *Bonaventura*, *Albert the Great*, *Robert Capito*, and *Thomas Aquinas* are well known. Nor did they blush to publish comments on *Dionysius* himself, the coryphæus of the mystics, whom perhaps they at the same time viewed with secret contempt.⁶

§ 10. Therefore, in this century, both the scholastics and the mystics wrote treatises on the duties of a Christian life, and the way in which the soul is to be purified from its corruptions; but, as may readily be supposed, their treatises are very different in character. What the *mystics* taught and recommended as being a life of piety, may be learned from the annotations of *George Pachymeres* on *Dionysius*, written in Greek, and from the *Spiritual Institutes*, or Compendium of mystic theology, by *Humbert de Romanis*. The primary object of the *scholastics* was to explain the nature of virtues and vices; as is manifest from the numerous *Summas*⁷ of the virtues and vices that appeared in this age. The virtues they divided into the *moral*, (which are precisely those that *Aristotle* recommended to his disciples,) and the *theological*, of which they reckon three, faith, hope, and charity, under countenance from St. Paul's words, 1 Corinth.

⁶ [Whether Dr. Mosheim has here stated the real motives of these men in extolling and expounding the principles of the mystics, those must judge who are familiar with their writings. Metaphysical theology, and mystical, will be found often associated in the minds of the devout in every age. And in that age, the mystics gave at least as good evidence of deep-toned piety, or of intimate communion with God, as any others; and such men as Bonaventura may easily be supposed to have felt not a little sympathy with them in their de-

vout contemplations. Who does not know how much the writings of Thomas à Kempis (a mystic of the fourteenth century) have been admired, even by protestants, quite to the present times? Besides, those more devout scholastics give too much evidence of sincerity and integrity to admit, without strong proof, that they would, deliberately and systematically, commend and write books in defence of a religious system, which, in their hearts, they viewed with contempt. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Or systems. *Tr.*]

xiii. 13. In explaining both, they spend more time on questions and controversies, than in giving direct and lucid instruction. In this department, the pre-eminence is due to *Thomas*, who devotes the entire second part of his *Summa* to moral or practical theology, and on whom innumerable others wrote commentaries.

§ 11. But great care is necessary in reading the writers on moral theology of this and the following centuries. For, though they use the same terms that the inspired writers and ourselves also do, yet they assign to them very different imports. The justice, charity, sanctity, and faith of most of the doctors of this age, are not identical with the virtues which Christ and his apostles designate by these terms. According to our Saviour's judgement, he is a holy and pious man, who devotes his entire soul to God and to his law: but the writers of these times denominate *him* a holy and pious man, who divests himself of his possessions and worldly goods, in order to enrich the priests, and to build churches and monasteries, and who does not deny or neglect to do any thing which the pontiffs would have men believe or do. And it is lawful and right, if we may believe these writers, to treat with all possible severity, and even to massacre, a *heretic*; that is, one who will not be submissive to the will of the Roman pontiff. The *justice*, therefore, which was inculcated in that age, was a very different thing from that which the Scriptures enjoin.

§ 12. Among the Greeks, *Nicetas Acominatus*, in his *Treasury of the Orthodox Faith*, attacked all the sects, but it was in the manner of the Greeks, that is, by the testimonies and the authority of the fathers and ecclesiastical councils, rather than by the declarations of Holy Scripture and by sound arguments. Among the Latins, *Raymund* of Pennafort, a Spaniard, attempted to confute the Jews and Saracens, not in the manner practised previously, by penalties and the sword, but by arguments.* This led many others, who were no contemptible disputants, and who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages, to assail these nations in a similar manner: among whom, *Raymund Martini*, the author of the *Pugio Fidei*, stands indisputably pre-eminent.⁹ *Thomas* also contended for the truth of

* Jac. Echard and Quetif's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator*, tom. i. sæcul. xiii. p. 106, &c.

⁹ Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, article *Martini*; tom. ii. p. 2077. Paul Colomesius, *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 209.

Christianity, in his *Summa contra gentes*; which is no contemptible performance.¹ And *Alanus ab Insulis* [*Alain de l'Isle*] did the same, in his work *Against the Jews and the Pagans*. Those who engaged in other controversies, were far inferior in merit to these, and aimed rather to render their adversaries odious, than to make them love the truth.

§ 13. The principal controversy of this century was that which had produced separation between the Greek and Latin churches; and in discussing and endeavouring to settle which, nearly the whole century was consumed in unsuccessful efforts. *Gregory IX.* employed the Franciscan monks, especially after the year 1232, in negotiations for peace with the Greeks: but their efforts were unavailing.² Afterwards, in the year 1247, *Innocent IV.* sent *John* of Parma, with other Franciscans, to negotiate with the Greeks: and on the other side, the Greek patriarch came in person to Rome, and was created legate of the apostolic see.³ But still, several causes prevented an adjustment of all difficulties. Under *Urban IV.* the business was managed more successfully, For *Michael Palæologus*, as soon as he had expelled the Latins out of Constantinople, in order to establish his empire and secure the friendship of the Roman pontiff, sent ambassadors to Rome, declaring his readiness to conclude a peace. But *Urban* died before the difficult

¹ Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delectus Argumentorum et Scriptorum, pro Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, p. 270.

² The records of the transaction are extant in Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ii. p. 279. 296, &c., and in Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, tom. i. p. 103. 911, &c. See also Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 386, &c. [The union was prevented by the well-known principles of the Romish court, which had all one aim, namely, to subject the whole world to themselves, or to make all nations tributary to the see of Rome, and thus to enrich themselves at the expense of others. At least, the Greek patriarch Germanus, in his letter to the cardinals, in the above-cited passage of Matthew Paris, says, "Destroy the cause of the ancient hostility between the Latins and the Greeks—we have commenced the negotiation for peace, and have written to the pope: let God purge your hearts of all high thoughts, that exalt themselves against a

fraternal union. The severing of our union proceeds from the tyranny of your oppression, and the exactions of the Romish church; which, from being a mother, has become a step-mother, and is like a rapacious bird, that drives away her own young; which tramples upon the lowly, in proportion as they are the more prostrate. Therefore, let Roman avarice, inveterate as it is, be subdued; and let us proceed to an examination of the truth. — You, eager solely for earthly possessions, collect together silver and gold, from every quarter; and yet you say, that you are the disciples of him who said, *Silver and gold have I none*. You make kingdoms tributary to you; you increase your revenues by navigations: your deeds contradict the profession of your lips. *Schl.*]

³ See Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanæ*, tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 397. 497, 498. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. and iv. p. 37, &c.

negotiations were brought to a conclusion.⁴ Under *Gregory X.*, after various discussions in the second council of Lyons, A. D. 1274, *John Veccus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, and some other Greek bishops agreeing to it, the Greeks publicly consented to the terms of compromise prescribed by the pontiff.⁵ But on a change in the state of public affairs, the fear of a war from the Latins being at an end, *Andronicus*, the son of Michael, in the council of Constantinople, held in the palace of Blachernæ, A. D. 1284, annulled this disgraceful compromise, and sent its author *Veccus* into exile.⁶ After this, the rancour and the disputes became more violent than ever.

§ 14. We pass over the private and minor controversies that arose here and there. The only one that remains, and that deserves notice, is the discussions in France, and in other countries during this century, respecting the Lord's Supper. Notwithstanding that *Innocent III.*, in the Lateral council of 1215, had placed *transubstantiation* among the public doctrines of the Latin church, yet many had doubts of the validity of this decree; and they maintained, that other opinions were not improbable. Those who approved the Berengarian sentiment that the bread and wine were only symbols of the body and blood of Christ, dared not publicly avow and defend their opinions.⁷ Yet there were many who deemed it sufficient to maintain what is called the *real* presence; though they might explain the *mode* of that presence differently from *Innocent*.⁸ Pre-eminent among these was *John* surnamed *Pungens-Asinum*⁹, a subtle doctor of Paris, who near the close of the century avowed at Paris his preference of *consubstantiation* before *transubstantiation*; and yet was not condemned by the doctors there, for advancing such an opinion.¹

⁴ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303.

⁵ See Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62. Colonia, *Histoire Littér. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 284.

⁶ Leo Allatius, *de Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. 15. 16. p. 727. &c. Fred. Spanheim, *de Perpetua Dissensione Græcorum et Latinorum*, in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 488. &c. and elsewhere.

⁷ Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 373.

⁸ Peter Allix, *Præfatio ad F. Johannis*

Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris, Lond. 1686, 8vo.

⁹ [The Ass-goader. *Tr.*]

¹ His book was published by Peter Allix, [Lond. 1686, 8vo.] See Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 576. D'Achery, *Spicilæg. Vêter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 58. Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 561. [According to Du Pin, *Auteurs Ecclesiast.* sæcul. xiv. ch. v. John of Paris, surnamed *Pungens Asinum*, lived in the fore part of the thirteenth century, and was a different person from that John of Paris, who opposed the papal doctrine of *transubstan-*

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Increase of rites.—§ 2. Eucharistical rites.—§ 3. Year of Jubilee.

§ 1. IT would be endless to enumerate all the additions which the pontiffs made publicly, and the priests and monks privately, to the exterior of religion, in order to render it more splendid and imposing. We shall, therefore, despatch the extensive subject, in a few words. Those who directed public worship conceived that the religion generally embraced in those times, was not so much to be presented to the understanding as to the eyes and the senses of mankind, in order to render it more striking and impressive. Hence at stated times, and particularly on the festivals, they were accustomed to exhibit the divine works and beneficent acts, and all the more striking facts in sacred history, by signs and emblems, or rather by mimic representations.¹ These spectacles, partly comic and partly tragic, though they might gratify the senses, and produce some slight emotions in the soul, were still rather prejudicial than advantageous to the cause of religion; and they afforded matter for ridicule to the more discerning.

§ 2. No one will think it strange, that after the establishment of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, the consecrated bread of the eucharist should have received divine honours. This having become an established custom, the various ceremonies by which that bread was honoured, followed of course. Hence

tiation. Neither did this latter John escape censure from the divines of Paris, for in the year 1305 they silenced him, and forbade his either preaching or lecturing, on pain of excommunication. He appealed to the pope, then at Bordeaux, who appointed commissioners to try the case; but before the day of trial, John

died, on the 15th Jan. 1306. Similar to this are the statements of Dr. Cave, (*Historia Litteraria*,) and Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis*, lib. ix. p. 322. *Tr.*]

¹ This extravagance in getting up religious shows, originated, I suspect, with the mendicant orders.

those splendid caskets, in which God, in the form of bread, might reside as in his house, and be carried from place to place : hence, lamps and other decorations were added to these reputed domiciles of a present deity : hence, this bread was carried in splendid processions along the streets to the sick ; and other rites of the like character were introduced. This superstition reached its zenith, when the festival of *Corpus Christi*, as it is called, was instituted. One *Juliana*, a nun who lived at Liege, in the Netherlands, gave out that she had been divinely instructed, that it was the pleasure of God, that an annual festival should be kept in honour of the holy supper, or, rather, of the body of *Christ* present in the holy supper. Few persons gave credit to her vision.² But *Robert*, the bishop of Liege, in the year 1246, ordered this new festal day, though very many were opposed to it, to be celebrated throughout his district. After the death of *Juliana*, her friend *Eve*, another woman of Liege, ceased not from prosecuting the business ; till at length *Urban IV.*, in the year 1264, imposed that festival upon the whole church. Yet this pontiff died shortly after signing this decree ; so that this festival was not universally observed by the Latin churches, until *Clement V.*, in the council of Vienne, A. D. 1311, confirmed the edict of *Urban*.³ And this festival contributed to establish the people in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, more than the decree of the Lateran council under *Innocent III.*

§ 3. At the close of the century, *Boniface VIII.* added to the public ceremonies of the church, the *year of jubilee* : which is still celebrated at Rome, with great pomp and splendid preparations. In the year 1299, there arose among the people at Rome a rumour that all such as should the next year visit the temple of St. Peter, would obtain the pardon of all their sins : and that this privilege was annexed to every hundredth year. *Boniface*

² [“ This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it ; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the Spirit, that the *moon* signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.” *Mack*.]

³ See Barthol. Fisen’s *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex visa Sancta virginis Julianæ divinitus oblato*, Liege, 1619, 8vo. Jo. Dallæus, *de Cultus Religiosi Objecto*, p. 287, &c. *Acta Sanctor. Aprilis*, tom. i. p. 437. &c. and p. 903 ; and (one who should have been named first,) Benedict XIV., the Roman pontiff, *de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. cap. xii. in his *Opp.* tom. x. p. 360.

ordered inquiry to be made into the truth of this opinion; and he learned, from many witnesses of good credit, that, according to very ancient ecclesiastical law and usage, all those who devoutly visited St. Peter's church, in the course of the years that terminate centuries, merited thereby indulgences for a hundred years. The pontiff, therefore, in an epistle sent throughout Christendom, decided, that in every centennial year, all that should confess and lament for their sins, and devoutly visit the temples of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, would receive plenary abolition of their sins.⁴ The successors of *Boniface* adorned this institution with many new rites; and after finding by experience, that it brought both honour and gain to the church of Rome, they limited it to shorter periods, so that, at the present time, every twenty-fifth year is a jubilee.⁵

⁴ Such is the statement of Jac. Cajetan, nephew of Boniface VIII., and cardinal of St. George, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo Anno*; which is in all the *Bibliothecas* of the Fathers, and particularly in the *Biblioth. max. Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason why we should suppose that he misrepresents facts, or that Boniface acted craftily and avariciously, in this matter. [When we consider the ambitious and avaricious character which Boniface manifested in innumerable ways, it is difficult to believe that he was so passive a being in this whole transaction, and that he had no other object in view, than the furtherance of piety, and the continuation of an ancient usage, which he found to be confirmed by the testimony of four aged persons, of whom one was a hundred and seven years old. The belief had long prevailed, that Romish indulgences were more efficient than any others; and the pilgrims, who travelled to Rome, in order to obtain remission of sins there, stood under the immediate protection of the popes. (See the *Decret. Gratiani* pt. ii. caus. xiv. quest. iii. c. 23. *Siquis Romipetas*, and c. 25. *Illi qui*, &c. and others also, pt. i. distinct. 78.) These pilgrims made many voluntary offerings to the Romish church, which went into the pope's treasury, and also increased the business of the citizens, notwithstanding they could obtain nothing at Rome, which they could not obtain at a cheaper rate of their own bishops at home. In these circumstances,

what was more natural than for the thought to occur to Boniface, of deriving some advantages from the rumour that was spreading at Rome, and which perhaps was set on foot, or at least helped forward, by his own creatures, and therefore to rather fabricate, than search after, proofs that a jubilee of indulgences was sanctioned by the ancient ecclesiastical law? Plenary indulgence had hitherto been confined to the crusaders. But those enterprises had now ceased, and a journey to Rome was less hazardous to life than a journey to Palestine. The public roads in Italy exhibited an almost continuous procession, or a line of march from one end to the other; and nearly every day, 200,000 foreigners might be counted at Rome. Indeed, it has been estimated that 2,000,000 of people visited Rome during the year 1300; and the concourse there was so great, that many were trodden to death by the throng. So happy a result of this experiment made both the pope and the citizens of Rome wish, that a century was not so long an interval. Therefore, Clement VI. repeated the Jubilee A.D. 1350, and Nicholas V. established the festival to be held once in twenty-five years. *Schl.*]

⁵ The writers on the jubilee are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Antiquar.* p. 316, &c.; to his list others may be added, and among them, especially, Charles Chais, a recent author, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, were

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. The Nestorians and Jacobites.—§ 2. Conflicts of the pontiffs with heretics little known.—§ 3. Commencement of the Inquisition in Languedoc, in France.—§ 4, 5. Its form.—§ 6. Its prerogatives. General odium against it.—§ 7. Severer measures against the heretics, especially the Albigenses.—§ 8. The count of Toulouse in vain opposes the pontiff.—§ 9. The brethren and sisters of the free spirit.—§ 10. Their mystic theology.—§ 11. Some of them held better sentiments, and others worse.—§ 12. Amalric.—§ 13. Joachim. Wilhelmina.—§ 14. The sect called Apostles.—§ 15. The grievous fault of Joachim.

§ 1. THE Greeks mention the rise of no new sects in this century. The oriental communities of Jacobites and Nestorians, who spurn the Latin laws no less firmly than the Greeks, were solicited repeatedly by pontifical legates from the orders of *St. Francis* and *St. Dominic*, to put themselves under the dominion of the Roman pontiffs. *Innocent IV.* endeavoured to unite both bodies under himself in the year 1246. And *Nicolaus IV.* offered terms of reconciliation to the Nestorians, and particularly to those inhabiting northern Asia, in the year 1278.¹ And some of the bishops of both those sects seemed not averse from the proposed terms. But after a short time, from various causes, all hopes of such a reconciliation vanished.

§ 2. During the whole of this century, the Roman pontiffs were engaged in fierce and bloody conflicts with *heretics*; that is, with such as taught differently from the teaching prescribed by the church of Rome, and brought under discussion the power

published at the Hague, 1751, 3 vols. 8vo. [He was a minister of the French church at the Hague. The first volume of the Letters is devoted to the history of the Roman jubilees, traces their origin to the avarice of Boniface VIII. A. D. 1300, points out their resemblance to the Roman secular games, and gives a particular account of each jubilee, from their

origin in the year 1300 to the year 1750. The second and third volumes are devoted to the subject of Indulgences. *Tr.*]

¹ Odor. Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad ann. 1247, § 32, &c. and tom. xv. ad ann. 1303, § 22, and 1304, § 23. Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 372.

and prerogatives of the pontiffs. For the sects of the *Cathari*, the *Waldenses*, the *Petrobrusians*, and many others, spread over all Europe, and especially over Italy, France, Germany², and Spain, collected congregations, and threatened great danger to the Romish domination. New sects were added to the old ones, differing indeed widely in their opinions, but all agreeing in this, that the prevailing religion was false, and that the Roman pontiffs most unjustly arrogated to themselves dominion over Christians and their religious worship. And not a few of the noblemen listened, with favourable and even eager attention, to the doctrines maintained by these classes of persons out of the

² [In Germany they were called Stedingers, from a district in ancient Friesland, where they were most numerous, and Halleian heretics, from a town in Swabia where they resided. The Stedingers were accused of magic and of Manichæism, but seem rather to have been Waldensians than Manichæans. Their chief difference was, that they refused to pay tithes to the bishops, particularly to the bishops of Bremen and Minden, and, in general, resolved to be free from the oppressive slavery of the clergy. These poor people, in the year 1234, were nearly exterminated by an army of 40,000 crusaders. See Ritter's *Diss. de pago Steding et Stedingis Hæreticis*; and Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 551, &c. The Halleian heretics may be best understood from the account of Albrecht of Stade, in his *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1248. He thus describes them: "Strange and miserable heretics began to multiply in the church of God; who striking the bells, and calling the barons and freeholders together, at Hallæ in Swabia, thus preached in public: that the pope was a heretic; and all the bishops and prelates, simoniacs and heretics; and also the inferior prelates, and the priests; because, being defiled with vices and mortal sins, they had no authority to bind and loose; and that they all seduced the people: that priests guilty of mortal sins, could not administer the sacrament: that *no man living, neither the pope, nor the bishops, could interdict the worship of God*; and that those who prohibited it, were heretics and seducers; that the Dominicans and Franciscans corrupted the church, by preaching falsehood; and that all those monks, and likewise the Cistercians, led sinful and unrighteous lives: that there

was no one who declared the truth, and who observed good faith in action, except themselves and their associates;—that hitherto your preachers have buried the truth, and have preached falsehood; while we do the contrary. The indulgence (pardon) which we offer to you, is not fictitious and fabricated by the apostolic (the pope) nor by the bishops, but comes solely from God and from our order. We dare not make mention of the pope, because he leads so wicked a life, and is a man of so bad example.—Pray ye for the emperor Frederic and for Conrad—the pope has not the power of binding, nor of loosing, because he does not lead an apostolical life."—See also John Gottfr. Bernhold's *Diss. de Conrado IV., imperatore, Hallensium hæreticorum aliquando defensore*; Altdorf. 1758.—Among the Inquisitors in Germany, Conrad of Marpurg rendered himself particularly famous. He was a Dominican, and confessor of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, whose biography he composed; and with much simplicity he united all the qualities requisite for so bloody and inhuman an office, as that of an inquisitor. This abominable man, burning with hatred for heretics, raved against high and low, allowed no one a legal trial, but imprisoned the innocent, till they would themselves confess guilt, of which they were unconscious. See Albrecht's *Chronicon*, ad ann. 1233. The German archbishops counselled him to use greater moderation; but the delirious man continued his mad career, preaching a crusade against the heretics, till at last he was put to death by some noblemen, near Marpurg. See Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iii. p. 543, &c. *Schl.*]

Scriptures, against the power, the wealth, and the vices of the pontiffs and of the whole clerical order. Hence new and extraordinary arms were requisite, to overcome and subdue an opposition so numerous and so powerful.

§ 3. Nowhere was there a greater number of heretics of every description, than in Languedoc and the adjacent regions. For several persons, and especially *Raymund VI.* count of Toulouse³, afforded them protection; and the bishops in those provinces were so negligent and remiss in their proceedings against heretics, that they could found and augment their congregations without fear. On being apprised of these facts, *Innocent III.* sent extraordinary legates into these provinces, near the beginning of the century, to correct the faults committed by the bishops, and to extirpate the heretics by all possible means. These legates were *Ranier*, a Cistercian monk, and *Peter de Castronovo*, or *Castelnau*⁴, archdeacon of Maguelonne, and afterwards, likewise, a Cistercian monk. To these were subsequently added others; the most noted of whom was *Dominic*, a Spaniard, the well-known founder of the order of preaching friars, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, connected himself with these papal legates, and, as well by sermons as in other ways, very strenuously assailed the heretics. Those men acting by authority from the pontiff, and without consulting the bishops, or asking their aid, hunted after *heretics*; and such of them as they could not convert by arguments, they caused to be subjected to capital punishments. In the language of common parlance, they were called *Inquisitors*; and from them, that terrible tribunal for heretics, called the *Inquisition*, took its rise.

§ 4. As this new class of functionaries, the *Inquisitors*, performed effectually the duties assigned them, and purged the provinces in which they laboured, of numerous heretics, similar

³ [Son of Raymund V., by Constance, sister to Lewis VII., king of France. He was born Oct. 27, 1156, and succeeded his father, Jan. 6th, 1194. He seems to have imbibed very early that antipathy to the Roman church which was general in his extensive territories, but he did not publicly embrace any doctrine, branded as heretical, at the outset of his reign. He very soon, however, showed himself without any monastic prepossessions, by an attack upon

one abbey, and by imprisoning the abbot of another. For these acts he was excommunicated by Celestine III. But Innocent III. absolved him. Hurter's *Innocent III.* iii. 55. *Ed.*]

⁴ Very many of the Romish writers denominate this Peter the first Inquisitor; but in what sense he was so, will appear from what we are about to say. See, concerning him, the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 411, &c.

papal legates were stationed in nearly all the cities whose inhabitants were suspected, notwithstanding opposition from the people, who often either expelled or massacred the *Inquisitors*. The council of Toulouse, in which *Romanus*, cardinal of St. Angelo, presided as pontifical legate, A. D. 1229, proceeded still further; for it ordered the establishment of a *board of Inquisitors* in each city, composed of *one priest and three laymen*.⁵ But *Gregory IX.* altered the institution in the year 1233, and conferred on the preaching friars or Dominicans, the Inquisition for heresy in France; and by a formal bull freed the bishops from that duty.⁶ And upon this, the bishop of Tournay, as papal legate, stationed *Peter Cellani* and *William Arnald*, as the first *Inquisitors of heretical pravity*, at Toulouse; and soon after, he created similar inquisitors in all the cities where the Dominicans had convents.⁷ From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *Inquisition*; which, in this and the following centuries, subdued such hosts of heretics, either by forcing them back into the church, or by committing them to the temporal authorities to be burned. For the Dominicans erected, first at Toulouse, and then at *Carcassonne* and other places, permanent courts, before which were arraigned not only *heretics*, and those *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all that were accused of *magic, soothsaying, Judaism, sorcery*, and similar offences. And these courts were afterwards extended to other countries of Europe, though not every where with equal facility and success.⁸

⁵ See Jo. Harduin's *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

⁶ Bernh. Guido's MS. Chronicle of the Roman pontiffs, in Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator*, tom. i. p. 88. P. Percin's *Historia Inquisitionis Tolosane*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus Frat. Prædicator*. Tolosa, 1693, 8vo, and *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

⁷ Echard and Percin, *locis cit.*

⁸ The account here given of the origin and early history of the Inquisition differs very much from what is stated in numberless books; yet it is supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies, which cannot here be adduced. Learned men tell us that St. Dominic invented the court of the Inquisition, and first instituted it at Toulouse; that he was himself the first inquisitor that was ever

appointed; that the year is uncertain; yet that it is beyond dispute that Innocent III., in the Lateran council A. D. 1215, approved and confirmed this tribunal. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorians*, p. 569. Phil. Limboreh, *Historia Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. x. p. 39, &c., and other writers, who are mentioned by Fabricius. I believe, that those who make such statements, have their authorities for them; but those authorities are unquestionably not of the first order. Most of the modern writers follow Limboreh, whose *History of the Inquisition* is an excellent work on the subject, and, indeed, may be considered the principal work. Limboreh is to be commended for his diligence and his fidelity. But he was very indifferently acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages; nor did he derive

§ 5. The method of proceeding in the courts of the *Inquisition* was at first simple, and not materially different from that in the ordinary courts.⁹ But gradually, the Dominicans, guided by experience, rendered it far more complex; and so shaped their proceedings, that the mode of trying *heretical* causes (if the phrase be allowable) became altogether different from that usually practised in judicial proceedings. For these good friars, being wholly unskilled in forensic affairs, and acquainted with no other tribunal than that in which the Romish church is called the *penitentiary tribunal*, regulated these new courts of the *Inquisition*, as far as possible, according to the plan of those religious proceedings. And hence arose that strange system of jurisprudence, bearing in many respects the most striking features of injustice and wrong. Whoever duly considers this history of their origin, will be able to account for many things that seem unsuitable, absurd, and contrary to justice, in the mode of proceeding against offenders in the courts of the *Inquisition*.¹

his materials from the original sources, but from second-hand writers; and he therefore fell into not a few mistakes. At least, what he tells us respecting the origin of the *Inquisition*, is not true. Nor are the accounts of others much better. In particular, not one of the positions stated above is true. Many of the Dominicans, who to this day preside in the courts of the *Inquisition*, and highly extol its sanctity, yet deny that St. Dominic invented the *Inquisition*, or that he was the first inquisitor; nay, that he was an inquisitor at all: and they also deny that the tribunal of the *Inquisition* was instituted during the lifetime of St. Dominic. Nor are they rash in making these assertions. Yet the dispute, whether St. Dominic was an inquisitor, or not, is a contest about a term, rather than about a fact; for it turns wholly on the different acceptations of the term *Inquisitor*. At first, an *Inquisitor* was a person sent forth, under the authority of the Roman pontiff, to subdue and extirpate heretics, but without any judicial powers. But the term afterwards changed its meaning, and was used to denote a *judge*, appointed by the Roman pontiff to try the causes of heretics and of those suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence upon them, and to deliver over the pertinacious to the civil

magistrates. In this latter sense, Dominic, most certainly, was not an inquisitor; nor were there any such judges appointed by the pontiffs before the time of Gregory IX. But, that Dominic was an inquisitor, in the former sense of the term, admits of no doubt.

⁹ The documents published by the Benedictines, in their *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371, &c. show what was the first and simple method of proceeding in the *Inquisition*.

¹ [A more definite account of the peculiar characteristics of the tribunal of the *Inquisition* [as it existed in the subsequent centuries, *Tr.*] will not here be out of place. The persons arraigned before this tribunal, besides those mentioned in the text, were the abettors, encouragers, and protectors of heretics, the blasphemers, and such as resisted the officers of the *Inquisition*, or interrupted them in the discharge of their duties. A person became suspected of heresy, if he said any thing that might offend others; if he misused the sacraments or other sacred things; if he treated the images with disrespect; if he possessed, read, or gave to others to read, books prohibited by the *Inquisition*; if he said mass, or heard confessions, without being in orders; if he attended, even for once, the preaching of heretics; if he

§ 6. That this tribunal, devised for subduing heretics, might awaken more terror, the pontiffs prevailed on the emperors and

did not appear before the Inquisition, as soon as he was cited ; if he showed any kindness to a heretic, or aided him in making his escape. Abettors of heresy were those who harboured heretics, or did not give them up ; those who spoke to arrested heretics, without permission, or even trafficked with heretics. When the Inquisition discovered a transgressor of their laws, either by common report, or by their spies, or by an informer, he was cited three times to appear before them ; and if he did not appear, he was forthwith condemned. It was safest to appear on the first citation ; because the longer a man delayed, the more guilty he would be ; and the Inquisition had their spies, and a thousand concealed ways for getting an absconding heretic into their power. When a supposed heretic was once in the hands of the Inquisition, no one dared to inquire after him, or write to him, or intercede for him. When every thing belonging to the person seized was in their hands, then the process began ; and it was protracted in the most tedious manner. After many days, or perhaps months, which the accused dragged out in a loathsome dungeon, the keeper of the prison asked him, as it were accidentally, if he wished to have a hearing. When he appeared before his judges, they inquired, just as if they knew nothing about him, who he was, and what he wanted. If he wished to be informed what offence he had committed, he was admonished to confess his faults himself. If he confessed nothing, time was given him for reflection, and he was remanded to prison. If after a long time allowed him, he still confessed nothing, he must swear to answer truly to all the questions put to him. If he would not swear, he was condemned without further process. If he swore to give answer, he was questioned in regard to his whole life, without making known to him his offence. He was, however, promised a pardon if he would truly confess his offences ; an artifice this, by which his judges often learned more than they knew before against him. At last the charges against him were presented to him in writing, and counsel also was assigned him, who however only advised him to confess fully his faults. The accuser and informer against him were

not made known to him, but the real charges against him were put into his hands. He was allowed time for his defence ; but his accuser, and the witnesses against him, he could know only by conjecture. Sometimes he was so fortunate as to discover who they were ; but rarely were they presented before him, and confronted with him. If his answers did not satisfy the judges, or if the allegations against him were not adequately proved, resort was had to torture ; a transaction which well-nigh exceeded the sufferings endured by the first Christians when persecuted by the pagans. The torture was, by the rope, by water, and by fire. The rope was passed under the arms, which were tied behind the back of the accused. By this rope he was drawn up into the air by a pulley, and there left to swing for a time, and then suddenly let fall to within half a foot of the ground ; by the shock of which fall, all his joints were dislocated. If he still confessed nothing, the torture by water was tried. After making him drink a great quantity of water, he was laid upon a hollow bench : across the middle of this bench a stick of timber passed, which kept the body of the offender suspended, and caused him most intense pain in the back-bone. The most cruel torture was that by fire : in which his feet, being smeared with grease, &c. were directed towards a hot fire, and the soles of them left to burn, till he would confess. Each of these tortures was continued as long as, in the judgement of the physician of the Inquisition, the man was able to endure them. He might now confess what he would, but still the torture would be repeated, first to discover the object and motives of the acknowledged offence, and then to make him expose his accomplices. If when tortured, he confessed nothing, many snares were laid to elicit from him unconsciously his offence. The conclusion was, that the accused, when he seemed to have satisfied the judges, was condemned, according to the measure of his offence, to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, or to the galleys, or to be scourged ; and he was delivered over to the civil authorities, who were intreated to spare his life, as the church never thirsted for blood ; but yet they would experience persecution if they did not

sovereigns of Europe, especially on *Frederic II.* and *Lewis IX.*, or *Saint Lewis*, king of France, to enact severe laws against heretics; requiring the magistrates both to punish with death, and particularly with burning at the stake, all such as should be adjudged obstinate heretics by the *Inquisitors*; and also to afford their special protection and support to the courts of the Inquisition. The laws which *Frederic II.*, in particular, enacted from time to time on this subject are well known; and nothing could be more efficient, both to support the *Inquisition* against all its enemies, and to exterminate such as might be odious to the *Inquisitors*, however high and honourable their characters.² And yet these atrocious laws could not prevent the inquisitorial judges, who were generally inhuman, insolent, superstitious, jealous, and indiscreet, from being driven ignominiously out of many places by the populace, and from being murdered in others. Such was the fate of several, and among them of *Conrad* of Marpurg, who was appointed by *Gregory IX.* the first inquisitor of Germany.³

§ 7. As the labours of the inquisitors did not at once produce all the results which *Innocent III.* anticipated, in the year 1207,

carry the decisions of the court into execution. What an infernal device is the Inquisition! What innocent person could escape destruction, if an inquisitor was disposed to destroy him? A heretic, even if he had been acquitted by the pope himself, might still be condemned to die by the Inquisition. — An equivocal promise of pardon might be given to induce him to make confession, but the promise must not be fulfilled when the object of it was obtained. Even death did not free a person from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition; for a deceased heretic must be burnt in effigy. — Would not every feeling of humanity be outraged by following such horrid principles? The inquisitorial judges do not deny that by such proceedings many innocent persons unavoidably perish, along with the guilty: but this does not trouble them. Better, say they, that a hundred innocent persons, who are good catholics, should be cut off and go to Paradise, than to let one heretic escape, who might poison many souls, and plunge them in endless perdition. See *Cramer's Bossuet's History*, vol. v. p. 468—477. — *Von Ein.*]

² The laws of *Frederic* are exhibited in the epistles of *Peter de Vineis*, in

Limbore's Historia Inquisit. p. 48, and by *Bzovius*, *Raynald*, and many others. The law of *St. Lewis* was by the French jurists called *Cupientes*, because it began with this word: and that it was enacted in the year 1229, is shown by the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378, 575. It may be found in *William Catel's Histoire des Comtes de Tholose*, p. 340, &c., and in many other works. It is not a whit milder than the Laws of *Frederic II.* For a great part of the sanctity of this sincere *Lewis* consisted in his flaming zeal against heretics, who, in his opinion, were not to be vanquished by reasoning and sound arguments, but to be forthwith exterminated. See *du Fresne's* notes on *Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 11, 39.

³ The life of this noted and ferocious man has been compiled by *Jo. Herm. Schmiuk*, from documents both manuscript and printed, and is most worthy of being printed. In the mean time, for an account of him, see *Luc. Wadding's Annales Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151, 355, &c. and *Jac. Echard's Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 487, &c. [See also some notice of him, p. 372, note², above. *Tr.*]

he exhorted *Philip Augustus*, king of France, and his nobles, to make war upon the heretics, promising them ample *indulgences* as their reward.⁴ And this exhortation, he repeated, in a much stronger and more urgent manner, the following year, A. D. 1208, when his legate and inquisitor, *Peter de Castronovo*, was murdered by the patrons of the heretics.⁵ Soon after, the Cistercian monks, in his name, *preached a crusade* (or *the cross* according to the language of that age,) *against the heretics throughout France*; and *Raymund VI.*, the earl of Toulouse, in whose territories *Peter* had been murdered, being now excommunicated, *took the cross* himself, in order to obtain release from that punishment. In the year 1209, a very large army of crusaders commenced their holy war against the heretics, that bore the general name of *Albigenses* ⁶: and continued the war in the

⁴ See the Epistles of Innocent III. lib. x. ep. 49. ["On connaît le jugement généralement porté sur cette démarche du pape; mais ce qui est moins connu, c'est que le tolérant Bèze écrivit à Genève un écrit: *De hereticis a magistratu civili puniendis*, et que Calvin, son maître, établit dans son ouvrage contre Servet, cette thèse: *Jure gladii coercendos esse hereticos*." Nachon, *Lettre sur la tolérance de Genève*, p. 123, apud Hurter, *Innocent III.* iii. 76. This is fair enough, and it is also no more than justice to Innocent's memory to state, that he was tolerant towards the Jews, even claiming a sort of respect for them, as living witnesses of the truth of Christianity. (Ibid. i. 274.) Still, he must be holden largely responsible for the enormous guilt of the Albigensian crusade. *Ed.*]

⁵ Epistles of Innocent III. lib. ix. ep. 26, 27, 28, 29. *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii, tom. i. p. 411, &c. ["Count Raymond, when he signed the peace with his enemies, had engaged to exterminate the heretics from his states; but Peter de Castelnau very soon judged that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal. He went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his indulgence, which he termed baseness, treated him as perjured, as a favourer of heretics, and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where count Raymond had given a meeting to the two legates.

"1208. This lord, exceedingly provoked, threatened to make Castelnau pay

for his insolence with his life. The two legates, disregarding this threat, quitted the court of Raymond without a reconciliation, and came to sleep on the night of the 14th of January, 1208, in a little inn by the side of the Rhone, which river they intended to pass on the next day. One of the count's gentlemen happened to meet them there, or perhaps had followed them. On the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter de Castelnau, respecting heresy and its punishment. The legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of tolerance; the gentleman, already irritated by the quarrel with his lord, and now feeling himself personally offended, drew his poignard, struck the legate in the side, and killed him." Sismondi's *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses*, English transl. London, 1826, p. 20. *Ed.*]

⁶ The name Albigenses had a twofold application, the one more extended, the other more limited. In the broader sense, all the heretics of every sort, who at that time resided in Languedoc (*Gallia Narbonensis*), were called Albigenses. Peter Sarnensis, a writer of that age, in the dedication of his *History of the Albigenses* to Innocent III. (first published by Nicol. Camusat, Troyes, 1615, 8vo), says expressly, "*Tolosani, et aliarum civitatum et castrorum hæretici, et defensores eorum generaliter, Albigenses vocantur*." Afterwards, cap. ii. p. 3, he divides these Albigenses into various sects: and in p. 8, says, that the

most cruel manner, during several years, with various success. The director of the war was one *Arnald*, a Cistercian abbot and the pontiff's legate: the commander in chief of the forces was *Simon*, earl of Montfort.⁷ *Raymund VI.*, the earl of

Waldenses were the best among them, "Mali erant Valdenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum, longe minus perversi." And thus, in general, all the French heretics were called Albigenses; not, however, from the city of Albi (Albigea), but from the fact, that the greatest part of Languedoc was, in that age, called Albigeum; as is clearly shown by the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 552, note xciii. [With this, Fuessli agrees, *Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der mittlern Zeit*, vol. i. p. 320. *Schl.*]—In the more limited sense, the Albigenses were those who, in Italy, were sometimes called *Cathari*, *Publicani*, or *Pauliciani*, and *Bulgari*, and who approximated to the Manichæans in their sentiments. [That many such persons were mingled with the Albigenses, in the broader sense, is proved by Fuessli, l. c. p. 413. 432, &c. *Schl.*]—This appears from various documents; but most clearly from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*, published by Limborch; in which the Albigenses are carefully distinguished from the other sects. [Among the sects in the south of France, there appear to have been some remains of the Arians, who took root there under the Visigoths. There certainly was a considerable diversity of belief in that country: at the same time existing accounts of its different varieties are to be received with caution, because they all come from bitter enemies. Mr. Faber well observes, that these odious and senseless imputations are in strict harmony with those that Paganism threw upon the primitive Christians. He has even gone very far towards a complete vindication of the Paulicians, whom he considers the origin of southern French opposition to Romanism, from the charge of Manichæism. There are obvious reasons for this charge both in ancient and modern times, which render it very suspicious. The ancients, besotted by image-worship, were naturally anxious to blacken the character of its opponents, and hence excuse their own cruelty to them. Modern Romanists are eager to make it appear that really nothing of Protestantism is anterior to Luther. The

south of France, however, in the thirteenth century, presents a picture highly unfavourable to this view. An immense proportion of the population, both high and low, was in active opposition to the church of Rome, and as the different religious parties were gradually fused into one mass, was found to entertain very much the same principles that are professed by modern Protestants. An ultimate junction with the Waldenses may have done something towards this: but unless the way had been prepared by a previous soundness of belief in many quarters, if not in all, it could hardly have occurred. See Faber's *Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Vallenses and Albigenses*. Hurter's *Innocent III.*, iii. 52. *Ed.*]

⁷ [Simon was lord of Montfort, not far from Paris, and earl of Leicester in England; and the unrighteous liberality of the pope in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, made him duke of Narbonne, earl of Toulouse, and viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, territories which were, in part, fiefs of the German empire, and, in part, fiefs of the kings of France; and which the pope had no right thus to dispose of without the consent of the liege-lords. In Simon, fanaticism appears to have been closely united with selfishness. He was certainly a fanatic. He supposed he was doing God service while persecuting the heretics with fire and sword; and he was so zealous in performing the external duties of religion, that he often neglected his official duties for the sake of them. While besieging Toulouse, as he was attending mass, word was brought him that the enemy had made a sally, and that his army was in imminent danger. He replied, that he could not come till he had seen his Saviour. Another message arrived, that if he did not come, his whole army would be thrown into disorder: and he replied again, that he would not leave the altar till he had seen his Creator, even if he must be slain there for it. When the mass was ended, he went away to oppose the enemy, but was killed by a stone. See Peter of Vaux Cerney, cap. 86. *Schl.*]

Toulouse, who at first fought against the heretics, became himself involved in the war, in the year 1211.⁸ For *Simon* coveted his territories, and engaged in the war, not so much to advance religion and put down heresy, as to promote his own interests and to enlarge his dominions. *Simon* obtained his object; for, after numerous battles, sieges, and a great many deeds of valour, but of extreme cruelty⁹, he received at the hands of *Innocent III.*, in the Lateran council of 1215, not only the earldom of Toulouse, but also the many other territories that he had subdued, as his reward for so nobly supporting the cause of God and the church. He was slain, however, in the siege of

⁸ [The papal legate criminated Raymund, for not treating the murderers of Peter de Chateaufort with due severity, and prescribed hard conditions for his reconciliation with the church. He must promise to be subject to the legate in every thing, and especially in all matters relating to religion; and must give up to the legate seven fortresses, for his security. He must also do public ecclesiastical penance, and suffer himself to be scourged with rods by the legate. And in proof of his sincerity, he must assume the cross, and take the field against his own friends and vassals. But when he saw that Simon and the legate advanced against his territories, and aimed to get the castles of the heretics there into their hands, he separated himself from the crusading army, in the year 1210, and sought for aid from France, England, Germany, and Rome, in vain. His near friend and relative, indeed, Peter, king of Aragon, took up arms in his behalf, against Simon of Montfort; but he unfortunately was slain in the first battle; and Raymund was obliged to witness the misfortunes of his own country, while he remained in Aragon, an inactive spectator. At length, many lords and districts of country revolted from Simon, and recalled their legitimate sovereign, who threw himself into the city of Toulouse, and was there besieged by Simon. Raymund appears to have been a warlike and energetic prince, and one who had no partiality for prelates. To the Cistercians also he was no friend; and he used to say, they could not possibly be good men, because they were so voluptuous. On the contrary, he had very high regard for the heretics that inhabited his territories; and he protected them, partly as sub-

jects, and partly as his personal friends. *Schl.*]

⁹ [The cruelties that were practised under the command of Simon, are indescribable. It must be admitted, however, that the heretics sometimes returned like for like. At the capture of Minerbe, Simon found one hundred and forty Manichæans; all of whom were burned at the stake, because they would not abjure their religion. At Beziers, 6000 persons were slain; and at Toulouse, 20,000; and at Carcassonne the priests shouted for joy, at the burning of so many miserable beings, whose only crime was, that they did not believe what the church believed. Still more shocking is the account given by Peter of Walcerney, cap. 34, that the crusaders captured a castle called Brom, in which were found one hundred persons; and that the papal general, Simon, ordered all their noses to be amputated, and their eyes to be put out, except a single eye of one individual, who might serve as a guide to the rest, who were sent to Cabrières to terrify others. It is true, the monk informs us of similar cruelties by the other party. But retaliation in such a case is cruelty, and especially in the assailing party, and one which pretends to fight only for the cause of God and religion. Who can refrain from adopting the wish of the poet:

Périssé à jamais l'affreuse politique,
Qui prétend sur les cœurs un pouvoir
despotique :
Qui veut le fer en main convertir les
mortels,
Qui du sang hérétique arrose les autels,
Et suivant un faux zèle ou l'intérêt
pour guides,
Ne sert un Dieu de Paix, que par des
homicides. *Schl.*]

Toulouse, A. D. 1218. His antagonist, *Raymund*, died in the year 1222.

§ 8. After the death of the two generals, this lamentable war was prosecuted vigorously, with various success, by their sons, *Raymund VII.*, earl of Toulouse, and *Amalric* of Montfort. When the former of these, *Raymund*, seemed to get the advantage of the other, the Roman pontiff, *Honorius III.*, persuaded *Lewis VIII.*, the king of France, by great promises and favours, to march in person, at the head of a powerful army, against the enemies of the church. He dying soon after, his successor, *Lewis IX.*, called *Saint Lewis*, vigorously prosecuted the work begun by his father. *Raymund*, therefore, being pressed on every side, made peace, in the year 1229, on the hardest terms; for he ceded the greatest part of his territories to the king, besides some cessions to the Romish church. After this peace, it was all over with the heretics; for the tribunal of the Inquisition was established at Toulouse, and besides *Saint Lewis*, *Raymund* himself, formerly a patron of the heretics, became their unrelenting persecutor. He did indeed renew the war, afterwards, against both the king and the *Inquisitors*, who abused their power beyond measure; but it was attended with little or no success. At last, exhausted and broken down by a series of afflictions and troubles, he died, without issue, in the year 1249, being the last of the once very powerful counts of Toulouse. This crusade, of which religion was in part the cause, and in part only the pretext, was of course exceedingly advantageous both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.¹

¹ Many writers, both ancient and modern, have given us histories of this crusade, against the earls of Toulouse and their associates who favoured the heretics, and against the heretics themselves. But, among them, I have not found one that was free from partiality. The protestant writers, among whom Jac. Basnage (in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, and in his *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*) stands pre-eminent, all favour too much the Raymunds and the Albigenes. On the contrary, the Roman Catholic writers, of whom the most recent are Benoist, a Dominican monk, (*Histoire des Albigeois, des Vandois, et des Barbets*, Paris, 1691, 2 vols. 12mo.) Jo. Bapt. Langlois, a Jesuit, (*Histoire des Croisades contre les*

Albigeois, Rouen, 1703, 12mo.) Jo. Jac. Percin, (*Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis Frat. Predicator. in quibus Historia hujus conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigenensium facti narratio*, Toulouse, 1693, fol.) these all are very unjust to the Raymunds and the Albigenes; and they cover over and conceal the horrid deeds of Simon de Montfort, and the ambitious designs of the kings of France to extend their power. The most full and most accurate history of these wars against the heretics, is that of the Benedictine monks, Claude le Vie and Joseph Vaissette, two very learned men, in that excellent work, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, &c. fol. nearly the whole of tom. iii. Their only fault is

§ 9. All this severity of the pontiffs against the *heretics*, and the numerous safeguards erected against the enemies of the church, could not prevent new and most pernicious sects from starting up. Passing by the more obscure and short-lived among them, one not the least considerable was, that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit*; which at this time secretly spread itself over Italy, France, and Germany; and by a great show of piety, drew after it many persons of both sexes. Few decisions of councils against these people, in this century, can be found; but in the next century, the councils in every part of Germany, and in other countries, published decrees against them; and numbers of them, being seized by the *Inquisitors*, were cruelly committed to the flames. These people found a name for themselves from the words of Paul, *Rom. viii. 2. 14.*, and they maintained, that the true sons of God were brought into the most perfect freedom from the law.² The Germans and Belgians called them *Beghardi* and *Beghardæ* or *Beguttæ*, which were the common designations of all such as pretended to uncommon piety. Some call them, by way of contempt, *Bicorni*, that is, *Idiots*. In France, they were called

that they sometimes omit what they ought not. [A detailed account of the Albigensian wars, extracted and translated from the French history of Sismondi, was published at London, in 1826, under the title of *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses in the thirteenth Century*. It is no less fairly than ably written, especially exposing the selfish ambition which engaged the court of France in these expeditions. The French monarchs at the beginning of the thirteenth century, were little different from the emperors of Germany, in recent times. "The north of France might be considered as Walloon, a name afterwards confined to the French Flemings, and which was then given to the language spoken by Philip Augustus; towards the west, was an English France; to the east, a German France; and in the south, an Aragonese France. Till the reign of Philip Augustus, the first division possessed the least extent of riches or of power." The odious and contemptible character of John, king of England, enabled Philip to gain the northern part of English France, leaving only Aquitaine to the insular crown. The cry of heresy, eagerly set up by Rome, enabled him to seize pretty completely

Aragonese France. Thus the French king, instead of really governing a very moderate territory, and nominally exercising superiority over several powerful vassals, obtained a vast increase of solid power, and opened a way to his successors for the gradual absorption of all those mighty fiefs which practically split the French people into different nations. *Ed.*]

² These statements are derived from documents of the most credible character, many of them not yet published; from the decrees and councils in France and Germany, the bulls of the popes, the decisions of the Inquisition, and others, of all which a great many have fallen into my hands. I have also extracts from certain books of these people; and particularly, from a book on the *nine spiritual rocks*, which they highly recommended, as being full of divine sentences. As these documents cannot here be exhibited, I will merely refer the reader to a long edict against them, by Henry I., archbishop of Cologne, in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, p. 58, ed. Colon. 1554, 4to. In perfect harmony with this, are the decrees of Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Treves, Paderborn, Beziers, and others.

Beghini and *Beghinæ*; and by the populace (I know not why), they were called *Turlupins*.³ Clothed in a singular manner, they ran about the cities and the country, begging their bread with loud vociferations: for they maintained, that labour prevented the elevation of the soul to God, or religious contemplation. They were accompanied by women, with whom they lived in the greatest familiarity: and for this reason, the Germans called them *Schwestriones*⁴; as appears from the enactments of councils. They distributed books containing the principles inculcated by them, held nocturnal assemblies in retired places, and dissuaded the people from attending the public worship in the churches.

§ 10. These *brethren*, who boasted of being free from the law, and of having attained to the *freedom of the spirit*, professed a rigid and austere species of *mystic theology*, based upon philosophical principles, that were not far removed from the impiety of those called *pantheists*. For they held, that all things emanated from God, and would revert back into him; that rational souls were parts of the supreme Being; and that the whole universe was God; that a man, by turning his thoughts inward, and withdrawing his attention from all sensible objects, may become united in an inexplicable manner with the Parent and first cause of all things, and be one with him; that persons thus immersed in the vortex of the Deity, by long contemplation, attained to perfect freedom, and became divested not only of all their lusts, but likewise of the instincts of nature. From these and similar principles, they inferred, that a person thus raised up to God, and absorbed as it were in the Divine nature, was himself God; and such a *son of God*, as Christ was: and, therefore, was raised above all laws, human and divine. And they maintained, of course, that all external worship of God, prayer, fasting, baptism, the sacred supper, &c. were mere elements for children, which a man no longer needed, when converted into God himself, and detached from this visible universe.⁵

³ Concerning the Turlupins, many have written much; but none accurately. See Isaac de Beausobre, (*Diss. sur les Adamites*, pt. ii. p. 384, &c.) who has committed numerous errors, as he usually does on such subjects. The origin of the name, I know not: but I am able to prove, from substantial documents, that

the Turlupins, who were burned at Paris and in other parts of France, were no other than the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, whom the pontiffs and councils condemned.

⁴ [Sisterers. *Ty.*]

⁵ I will here subjoin some positions extracted from their more private books.

§ 11. Among these people, there were some upright and conscientious persons, who did not extend that *liberty of the spirit*, which they said was possessed by persons united to God, beyond an exemption from external worship and from ecclesiastical law. They made religion to consist exclusively in internal worship, despising that which is external; and they maintained, that a perfect man ought to look with contempt on the rules of monastic discipline, and the other institutions which were regarded as sacred. Of this character were those who, in the middle of this century, persuaded many monks and nuns in Suabia, *to live without any rule; saying, that in this way, they could serve God better, in the liberty of the spirit.*⁶ Not a few persons of this description, being apprehended by the *Inquisitors*, expired cheerfully and calmly in the flames. — But there were others of a worse character among them; and whose piety was

I. *Every good man is the only-begotten son of God, whom the Father hath begotten from eternity.* For all that the sacred Scriptures teach respecting a distinction of three persons in the Divine nature, they maintained, was not to be understood literally, but to be explained in conformity with their recondite system of doctrines. II. *All created objects are nothing: I do not say that they are small and trivial; but that they are nothing.* III. *There is something in the human mind, that is not created, nor creatable; and that is, rationality.* IV. *God is neither good, nor better, nor the best; whoever calls God good, talks as foolishly, as the man who calls a thing black, while he knows it to be white.* V. *God still begets his only-begotten son, and begets the same son that he begat from eternity. For every operation of God is uniform and one; and he therefore engenders his son without any division.* VI. *What the Scripture says of Christ, is true of every godly man. And what is predicable of the Divine nature, is also predicable of every godly man.* To these we shall add the following, taken not from their own books, but from the long rescript of John, bishop of Strasburg, against the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, or the *Bechardi*, A. D. 1317, on the sabbath before the assumption of the Virgin Mary. VII. *God is, formally, whatever exists.* VIII. *Every perfect man is Christ by nature.* IX. *A perfect man is free totally; nor is he required to obey the precepts which God gave to the church.* X. *Many things in the Gospel are poetic, and not [literally] true;*

and men ought to believe the conceptions which proceed from their souls when united to God, rather than the Gospel.

The six first of these propositions, in the language of the old Germans, and the others in Latin, are as follows. “I. Der gute Minsch ist der ingerdurne Sune Gates, den der Vatter eweclycken geburen hat. II. Ich sprecke nüt, dass alle Kreaturen syn etwas kleines, oder das sie etwas sind, sondern dass sie sind om [*nihil*]. Es ist etwas in der Seelen, das nüt geschaffen ist und ungeschaffelick: Und das ist die Vernünftigkeit. IV. Gat ist noch gut, noch besser, noch allerbest, und ich thuë also unrecht, wenne ick Gat gut heisse, recht ase ob ick oder er etwas wiz weiss und ich es schwarz heisse. V. Der Vatter gebiret nock sinen Sun und denselben Sun. Want was Gat wircket, das ist ein, durch das so gebirt er auch sinen Sun an allem Unterscheid. VI. Was die heilige Schrift gesprichet von Christo, das wird alles vor war geseit von einem jiglichem gottlickem Menschen. Was eigen ist der gottlicken Naturen, das ist alles eigen einem jiglichen gottlickem Menschen. VII. Deus est formaliter omne quod est. VIII. Quilibet homo perfectus, est Christus per naturam. IX. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesie data a Deo. X. Multa sunt poetica in Evangelio, quæ non sunt vera; et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo juncta profectis, quam Evangelio.”

⁶ See Martin Crusius, *Annales Suevi-*

as foolish as it was dangerous. These maintained, that by persevering contemplation, all the instincts of nature might be eradicated, and excluded from the godlike soul, and a kind of holy or divine stupor be brought over the mind. Persons of these sentiments, throwing off all clothing, held their secret assemblies in a state of nudity; and in the same state, slept upon the same bed with the spiritual sisters and other women. For modesty and shame, they said, indicated a mind not yet sufficiently detached from the sentient and libidinous soul, nor brought back to the source from which it originated, that is, the Divine nature; and those who still experience the carnal emotions of nature, or are excited and inflamed by the aspect or touch of bodies of a different sex, or who are unable to repress and subdue the occasional emotions of concupiscence, are still far, very far, from God.⁷—There were also among these people some who abused their doctrines to justify all iniquity; and who did not fear to teach, that a godlike man, or one who is closely united to God, cannot sin, do what he may. This senseless, impious dogma, all did not explain in the same way. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no connexion with a soul, which was translated into the Divine nature itself, and blended with it. But others blasphemously argued, that emotions and desires arising in the soul, after its union with God, were the acts and operations of God himself; and therefore, though apparently criminal and contrary to the law, they really were holy and good, because God is above all law.⁸

corum, pt. iii. lib. ii. cap. 14, ad ann. 1216, p. 99, old ed. He extracts from Felix Faber, a writer of that age.

⁷ Those who study to vindicate and defend the character of the heretics, and who think that all such as seceded from the Romish church in the middle ages were holy persons, conjecture that the things here stated are falsehoods, invented by the Inquisitors, for the purpose of defaming pious men; but they are strictly true. This we may infer from the fact, that the Inquisitors themselves admit, that the Beghards, though divested of all sense of shame, yet in general did not offend against chastity and modesty. This firmness of mind, and unsusceptibility of emotion, the Inquisitors attribute to the power of the devil. For they believed, with the simple Jo. Nieder, (*Formicarium*, lib. iii. cap.

v. p. 346,) that *the devil can render men cold*, or extinguish the natural emotions; and that he so operated upon his friends, as to render them utterly insensible, so that they might appear to common people more exalted and holy. “Credo,” (says Nieder, who was a Dominican, and an Inquisitor,) “quosdam ex eis demonis opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ. Facillimum enim est demonibus infigidare.”

⁸ That I may not seem chargeable with misrepresentation, I will cite the very words of a private book of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, entitled *de Novum Rupibus*. “Ueber das so wücket und geberet der göttliche Mensch eben das, das Gat wücket und geberet. Denn in Gate wücket er und hat geschaffen Himmel und Erden. Und ist ein Geberer des ewigen Wortes. Und Gott enckunde

Lastly, these *Beghards*, as they were called, were sometimes joined by unprincipled and flagitious persons, intent upon lulling the suspicions of simple and honest minds by a simulated piety, and thus removing obstacles to the gratification of their own lusts.⁹

§ 12. Of the sect now described, undoubtedly, was *Amauri*¹⁰

nutz nicht ohne diesen Menschen gethun. Der göttliche Mensch soll also sinen willen einformig machen mit Gates willin, dass er alles das soll wellen, was Gat will. Will Gat in etlicker Weise das ick gesundet habe, also soll ick nit wellen, dass ick nit gesundet habe. Und das is gewarig rewe. Und wenn das der Mensch tusend Todsunde gethan hette, und über das der Mensch wel besetzt oder geordnet were, er en solte nit wellen, dass er derselben Sunde nit gethan hette: aber er solte e wellen tusend Tode liden e er yme nie de keine Todsunde wolte tun." This passage, rendered verbatim, is thus: "Moreover, the godlike man operates and begets, the same that God operates and begets. For in God he worked, and created heaven and earth. He is also the generator of the eternal Word. Nor can God do any thing, without this man. The godlike man should, therefore, make his will conformable to God's will: so that he should will, all that God wills. If, therefore, God wills, that I should sin, I ought by no means to will, that I may not have sinned. This is true contrition. And if a man have committed a thousand mortal sins, and the man is well regulated and united to God, he ought not to wish that he had not done those sins; and he ought to prefer suffering a thousand deaths, rather than to have omitted one of those mortal sins." Here is that sentiment, with which the Inquisitors often tax this sect: *that the sin of a man, who is united to God, is not sin; because God works all in him.* In the next century, Henry Suso, a celebrated writer among the mystics, and a Dominican monk, composed likewise a book *de Novem Rupibus*; which is extant among his works, published by Laurence Surius. But this book of Suso is altogether different from that which was in so much estimation among the Beghards. The latter was much more ancient, and was in circulation among the *Brethren of the free Spirit* in Germany, before Suso was born. There has fallen into my hands an old manuscript book of the fifteenth century, composed in Alsace,

containing various revelations and visions of that age. I find there a piece entitled *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam, super revelatione Cartusiano cuidam de Ecclesia per gladium Reformatione, Leodia, anno 1453, facta*: near the beginning of which, there is the following passage relating to the book of the Beghards, *on the Nine Rocks*: "Homo quidam devotissimus licet laicus, librum de novem rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de ecclesie renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione." According to the doctrine of this sect, the *nine rocks* were so many steps, by which the man that desires to rise to God must be elevated to a union with him.

⁹ By whom, where, and when, this celebrated sect was first instituted, is uncertain. I have before me *Octoginta novem Sententiae Bechardorum, quos vulgus Schwestrones, ipsi vero se de secta liberi spiritus et voluntarie paupertatis vocant, cum confutatione*; written by an Inquisitor at Worms, at the close of this century. The 79th of these *sayings (sententiae)* is this: *To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere.* From these words, it appears that Rhetia was the chief seat of the church of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*: and that from this province they passed into Germany. Yet probably Rhetia was not the place where this sect originated: I apprehend, rather, that being expelled from Italy, it took refuge in Rhetia; so that it was Italy which gave birth to this, as well as to many other parties which seceded from the general church. And there is extant, in Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. xv. ad ann. 1311, § 66, p. 90, a long Epistle of the sovereign pontiff, Clement V., addressed to Ranerius de Casulis, bishop of Cremona, exhorting him to suppress and eradicate the sect of the *free spirit*, resident in certain *parts of Italy*, and particularly in the *province of Spoleto, and the regions adjacent.*

¹⁰ Analricus.

of Béne, the Parisian dialectician and theologian; whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt, in the year 1209, notwithstanding that he had abjured his errors while alive, by command of *Innocent III.*, and many of whose followers endured at the stake the penalties of their unsound faith.¹¹ For though the barbarous writers of that age give different and confused statements of his opinions, and attribute some sentiments to him, which he never held; yet thus much it is certain that he taught; namely, that all things are *one*, that is, *God*; that not only the forms of things, but also their matter, proceeded from God; and all would revert back into God: and hence he derived that mistaken piety or religious system of these mystics; maintained, that a man may become changed into the Divine nature, if he will; and proved that all external worship was vain and useless. His disciples were men of very distinguished piety and austerity; and many of them endured the flames with the greatest fortitude. One of his most distinguished followers was *David Dinant*, a Parisian doctor, who was accustomed to state the fundamental doctrine of his master in this manner: *God is the original matter of all things*. He composed a work called *Quaternarii*, and some other books, in a popular style, and well calculated to captivate the common people; and saved his life by a timely flight.¹ The bishops, assembled in council at Paris, A. D. 1209, supposed that the philosophy of *Aristotle* gave rise to this impiety; and they, therefore, prohibited the reading and expounding of his metaphysical and other works.²

§ 13. If what some tell us be true, (which, however, I question,) this *Amauri*, and his followers, gave credit to those predictions, which were circulated as coming from *Joachim*, abbot of *Flora*, in *Calabria*, respecting an approaching reformation and purification of the church by the sword; an impending age of

¹¹ This did not escape the notice of those enemies of the *Brethren of the free Spirit*, or *Bechards*, the Inquisitors. Hence the sixty-eighth of the *eighty-nine M.S. sayings of the Bechards, with their confutation*, is this: 'To say that *all creatures are God*, is the heresy of *Alexander*; (that Epicurean, whom *Plutarch* mentions in his *Symposium*;) who said, "*materiam primam et Deum et hominem, hoc est, mentes esse in substantia*:" which afterwards one *David de Dinant* followed who, in our times, fled from France on account of this heresy, and would have

been duly punished, if he had been caught.

¹ See the *Hereses pro quibus sacerdotes Parisiis* (A. D. 1209) *igne consumpti sunt*; in *Edm. Martene's Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. iv. p. 163, &c. *Natalis Alexander, Historia Eccles. Sæcul. xiii. cap. iii. Art. ii. p. 76, &c. Gerh. du Bois, Historia Eccles. Paris, tom. ii. p. 244, &c. Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris, tom. iii. p. 24, 48, 53. Jac. Themasius, De Exustione Mundi Stoici*, p. 199, &c.

² *Jo. Launoï, De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna in Acad. Paris. p. 127, &c.*

the Holy Spirit, to succeed the ages of the Father and the Son; and similar things, with which the Franciscan *Spirituals* were carried away. This, however, is certain, that some others did suffer themselves to be led, by these predictions, to found new sects, and to declare war against the reigning church. *Wilhelmina*, an infatuated and delirious Bohemian woman, who resided in the territory of Milan, took occasion from these predictions concerning an age of the Holy Spirit, for foolishly persuading first herself, and then many others, that the Holy Spirit had assumed human nature, in her person, for the sake of saving a large part of mankind: for Christ, she said, had procured salvation, by his blood, for all real Christians: and the Holy Spirit, by her, would save the Jews, the Saracens, and false Christians: and for this end, all the things that befel Christ, when incarnate, the same things must also befall her, or, rather, the Holy Spirit, *incarnate in her*. This foolish woman died at Milan, in the year 1281, with the highest reputation for sanctity; and after her death she was honoured, as well by her followers, who were considerably numerous, as by the ignorant populace, both publicly and privately, with the highest veneration. But in the year 1300, the *Inquisitors* detected her sect, destroyed her splendid tomb, and committed her bones, and with them the leaders of the party, of both sexes, to the flames.³

§ 14. On similar predictions, the *sect of the Apostles* was grounded; a sect which made little change in the received religion, but aimed to revive the apostolical mode of life. Its founder, *Gerhard Sagarellus*, of Parma, ordered his followers to travel up and down the world, in the manner of the Apostles, clad in white, with heads bare, beards and hair long, and attended by women, whom they call sisters; to possess no property at all, but to live upon the voluntary gifts of the pious;

³ The Milanese historians, Bernhard Corio, and others, give an account of this woman. But their statements differ widely from those of Lud. Ant. Muratori, (*Antiq. Ital. Medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 95, &c.) derived from the record of the judicial proceedings. He also informs us, that a learned man, named Puricelli, composed a history of *Wilhelmina* and her sect, which still exists in manuscript. [She pretended to be the daughter of Constantia, queen of Premislaus, king of Bohemia; and that her birth was an-

nounced to her mother by the angel Raphael, just as the birth of Christ was announced to Mary by the angel Gabriel. Her most noted followers were one Andrew, and a nun named Mayfreda. As Christ appointed Peter his vicegerent, and the head of his church, on earth: so she appointed Mayfreda her vicegerent, and placed her on a footing of equality with the Romish popes. She promised her followers to appear to them before the day of judgment. See Muratori, l. c. *Tr.*]

and publicly, to exhort the people to repent, but in their private meetings, to announce the impending downfall of the utterly deformed Romish church, and the rise of a new, purer, and holier church, according to the prophecies of the abbot *Joachim*. This *Gerhard* being burned at the stake, at Parma, A. D. 1300, his successor, *Dulcinus*, of Novara, a bold and energetic character, and familiar with the Scriptures, preached much more spiritedly, that the Roman pontiff, *Boniface VIII.*, and all the flagitious priests and monks, would shortly be slain by the emperor *Frederic III.*, son to Peter, the king of Aragon; and that a new and most holy pontiff would be placed over the church. For in many of the predictions ascribed to the abbot *Joachim*, it was announced, that an emperor, called *Frederic III.*, would complete what the emperor *Frederic II.* had left unfinished. With this *Dulcinus*, who was both the general and the prophet of the *Apostoli*, and who had collected an armed force, *Raynerius*, bishop of Vercelli, waged fierce war in behalf of the pontiff, for more than two years; and at length, after several battles, *Dulcinus* was taken alive, and was executed with exquisite tortures, at Vercelli, A. D. 1307, together with *Margaretha*, the sister whom he had chosen according to the practice of his sect. After the horrid death of *Dulcinus*, the sect long existed in France, Germany, and other countries; nor could it be wholly extirpated, till the times of *Boniface IX.*, in the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁴

§ 15. This *Joachim*, abbot of Flora, whose prophecies induced so many respectable people to menace the Romish church with a *reformation by the sword*, as the phrase was, and the pontiff's with great disasters, and to proclaim open war against them, was himself brought under suspicion of heresy, not indeed on account of these predictions, but on account of a new explication of the doctrine of three persons in the Godhead. He had, in a special treatise, opposed *Peter Lombard*, the master of the

⁴ I have composed, in the German language, a particular history of this famous sect, so imperfectly known in our age, in three books, which was published at Helmstadt, 1746, 4to. I could now add some things to that history. That the sect continued to exist, in Germany and other countries, down to the times of Boniface IX., we are informed by Herm. Coerner, in his Chronicle;

published in Geo. Echart's *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. And the fact may be corroborated by many proofs. In the year 1402, an apostle, named William, was burned at Lubee. See Coerner, l. c. p. 1185. The Germans, who called all that affected uncommon piety, and sought a reputation for sanctity by begging, Beghards, gave this appellation also to the *Apostoli*.

Sentences, because the latter distinguished the Divine essence from the three persons in the Godhead; for *Joachim* supposed that this distinction introduced a fourth subject into the divine Trinity, namely, this *essence*. But his ignorance of dialectics, led him, in this discussion, to use less caution than the subject demanded. For he denied that there was in the sacred Trinity, a something, or an *essence*, which was common to the three persons: from which position it seemed to follow, that the union of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is not a simple or natural union, but merely a moral union, like that of several persons all having the same views and opinions. As this sentiment appeared to many to approach very near to the doctrine of *Arius*, *Innocent*, in the Lateran council of 1215, condemned, not indeed the man, but his opinion. *Joachim*, however, even to the present day, has many patrons and advocates, especially among those Franciscans who are called *Observants*; of whom, some maintain that his book was altered by his enemies; and others, that his views were misunderstood.⁵

⁵ See Dan. Papebroch's *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetiis Doctrina B. Joachimi*; in the *Acta Sanctor. Maii*, tom. vi. p. 456, &c, where is a life of *Joachim*, written by Jac. Syllanaeus,

a Greek; and some other documents. Natalis Alexander, *Historia Eccles. Sac.*, xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331, &c. Lu. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 6, &c.

CENTURY FOURTEENTH.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROSPEROUS EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Crusades attempted in vain.—§ 2. State of the Christians in China and Tartary.—§ 3. The Lithuanians converted. The Jews compelled by persecution to become Christians.—§ 4. Project for the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain.

§ 1. SOME of the Latin kings, being admonished by the Roman pontiffs, thought repeatedly of renewing the war against the Turks and Saracens, and of rescuing Syria from their hands. In particular, the pontiffs who resided at Avignon, in France, omitted no motive which they thought would induce the kings of France and England to engage in such a military enterprise. But from various causes, their expectations were always disappointed. *Clement V.* urged this holy war, with great energy, in the year 1307 and 1308, and appropriated to it a vast sum of money.¹ *John XXII.*, in the year 1319, fitted out a fleet of ten ships, for transporting an army to Palestine²; and in order to raise the money necessary for so great an enterprise, he commissioned, in the years 1322 and 1323, certain nuncios to offer

¹ Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 577.

i. p. 14. 594, tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391,
&c. Ant. Matthæi, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*,

² Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125, tom. ii. p. 515.

great *indulgences* to the liberal every where, who should contribute to it. But the emperor *Lewis*, of Bavaria, and others, complained, that he merely brought forward a sacred war to cloak his own avarice and ambition.³ Nor does his character shield him from such a charge. Under *Benedict XII.*, in the year 1330, *Philip de Valois*, king of France, collected a large army for this holy expedition, as it was called⁴; but when he was about to embark, impending dangers from his neighbour, the king of England, induced him to abandon the enterprise. In the year 1345, *Clement VI.*, at the request of the Venetians, persuaded a vast multitude, by his *indulgences*, to embark for Smyrna, over whom *Guido*, Dauphin of Vienne, was appointed commander-in-chief. But in a short time, their want of provisions obliged them all, and their commander also, to return to Europe.⁵ Again, in the year 1363, at the solicitation of *Urban V.*, a great army was collected, to sail for Palestine, of which John, king of France, was appointed commander. But he dying soon after, the army dispersed.⁶

§ 2. The missionaries sent by the Roman pontiffs, in the preceding century, to the Chinese, the Tartars, and the adjacent countries, continued to gather numerous and large congregations among those nations. In the year 1307, *Clement V.* constituted *John de monte Corvino*, archbishop of *Cambalu*, that is, Peking; for it is now beyond a doubt, that the celebrated city of Cathai, then called *Cambalu*, is the same with *Peking*, the modern capital of China. The same pontiff sent seven new bishops, all of them Franciscans, into those regions.⁷ *John XXI.* appointed *Nicolaus de Bentra*, to succeed *John de monte Corvino*, in the year 1333; and also sent letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who was then the sovereign of China. *Benedict XII.*, in the year 1338, sent new nuncios into China and Tartary, after being honoured with a solemn embassy from the Tartars which he received at Avignon.⁸ So long as the Tartar empire

³ Baluze, l. c. tom. i. p. 175. 786. Matthæi, *Analect. Vet. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

⁴ Baluze, l. c. tom. i. p. 200.

⁵ *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori, *Antiqq. Ital. Mediæ Ævi*, iii. p. 368.

⁶ Baluze, *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401, &c.

⁷ Lu. Wadding's *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, tom. vi. ad ann. 1305, § 12, p. 69,

and ad ann. 1307, p. 91, and p. 368, tom. vii. p. 53. 221, tom. viii. p. 235. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. § ii. p. 521, &c. Add Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicatores*, tom. i. p. 537. *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Januarii, p. 984, &c. and Mosheim's *Historia Tartorum Ecclesiastica*.

⁸ Steph. Baluze, *Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium*, tom. i. p. 242.

in China continued, not only the Latins, but the Nestorians also had liberty to profess their religion freely all over northern Asia, and to propagate it far and wide.

§ 3. Among the European princes, *Jagello*, duke of Lithuania and the adjacent territories, was nearly the only one that still adhered to the idolatry of his ancestors. And he, in the year 1386, embraced the Christian rites, was baptized under the assumed name of *Uladislaus*, and persuaded his subjects to do the same thing. For *Lewis*, king of Poland, dying in the year 1382, among the candidates for the crown, *Jagello* offered his name; nor were the Poles averse from having so potent a prince for their king. But neither *Hedwig*, the youngest daughter of the deceased king, and by a decree of the senate heiress of the kingdom, would consent to marry, nor would the Poles consent to obey, a man who rejected Christianity. He must therefore change his religion.⁹ What remains there were of the old religions in Prussia and Livonia, were extirpated by the Teutonic knights and crusaders, with war and massacres. We are likewise informed, that many Jews, in one place and another, made profession of Christianity. They were rendered docile by the exquisite punishments every where inflicted upon Jews, especially in France and Germany. For a rumour being spread, either truly or calumniously, that they had poisoned the public fountains, had murdered the infants of Christians, and drunken their blood, had treated with extreme contumely what were called the *hosts*¹, and had committed other crimes equally heinous; whatever hardship and cruelty could be devised, was decreed against that miserable race.

§ 4. In Spain, the Saracens still held the sovereignty of Granada, Andalusia, and Murcia; and against them, the Christian kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, waged perpetual war; though not always successfully. The kings of Morocco, in Africa, sent aid to the Saracens against the Christians. The Roman pontiffs roused and encouraged the Christians, by subsidies, and by their counsels and promises, to unite and drive the Saracens from Spain. The difficult enterprise proceeded but slowly; yet it became evident, in this century, that the

⁹ Odor. Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* ad *de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241, &c.
ann. 1386. § 4. Wadding's *Annales Mi-*

norum, tom. ix. p. 71. Solignac, *Histoire* ¹ [The consecrated waters of the eucha-
rist. *Tr.*]

time was approaching, when the Christians would triumph, and would become sole masters of Spain.²

CHAPTER II.

ADVERSE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. Christianity prostrate in various parts of Asia.— § 2. Its overthrow in China and Tartary.

§ 1. THE Turks and the Tartars, who were dominant in Asia, and who assailed on the one hand the Greeks, and on the other the Saracens and Mamelukes, wholly extirpated the Christian religion in many cities and provinces, and caused the religion of Mahumed to be inculcated on the people in its stead. The nation of the Tartars, in which such numbers once professed Christianity, or at least tolerated it, from the beginning of this century, universally submitted to the Koran. And this religion, though in a corrupted form of it, was embraced by that most potent emperor of the Tartars, *Timur Beg*, or as he is commonly called *Tamerlane*.¹ Having subjugated the greatest part of Asia by his arms, and even conquered the Turkish sultan *Bajazet*, and moreover caused the terrors of his name to pervade Europe, his mere nod was almost sufficient to cause vast multitudes to abandon Christianity. But he also employed violence and the sword. For being persuaded, as the most credible historians of his life inform us, that it was the duty of every true disciple of *Mahumed* to make war upon Christians, and that

² Jo. de Ferreras, *Historia Hispania*, tom. iv., v., vi., in various passages. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ*, in Muratori's *Antiqq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319, where, however, true and false are blended. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 267.

¹ The great Tamerlane, whose name struck terror, even long after his death,

wished to be regarded as belonging to the sect of the Sonnites, and to be an enemy of the Schiïtes. See Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p. 228. But what his religion was, is very doubtful, although he professed that of Mahumed. See Mosheim's *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, p. 124.

those who should compel many Christians to embrace the religion of the Koran, might expect high rewards from God², he inflicted numberless evils on persevering Christians, cruelly butchering some, and dooming others to perpetual slavery.³

§ 2. The Christian religion was likewise overthrown, in the parts of Asia inhabited by the Chinese, the Tartars, the Moguls, and other nations, whose history is yet imperfectly known. At least, no mention has been found of any Latin Christians resident in those countries, subsequent to the year 1370. Nor has it yet been ascertained, what became of the Franciscan missionaries sent thither from Rome. But of the *Nestorians* living in China, some traces can be found, though not very clear, as late as the sixteenth century.⁴ There can be little doubt, that this fall of Christianity was a consequence of the wars of the Tartars with the Chinese and with other nations. For in the year 1369, the last Tartar emperor of the family of *Genghis Kan* was driven out of China, and the *Mim* family was placed on the throne, and they have excluded all foreigners from entering China.

² Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 9. 137. 243. 265, &c.

³ Examples are given in the *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, (taken from the Persian writer Scherifeddin,) tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117, ed. Delft, 1723, in 4 vols. 8vo. Her-

belot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*; article *Timur*, p. 877.

⁴ Nicol. Trigaut, *de Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116. &c. Jos. Sim. Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient. Vaticana*, tom. iii. pt. i. p. 592, &c. and pt. ii. p. 445. 536, &c. Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 175.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

§ 1. The state of learning among the Greeks.—§ 2. Philosophy.—§ 3. The state of learning among the Latins.—§ 4. The languages.—§ 5. The arts and sciences.—§ 6. Philosophy.—§ 7. The Realists and Nominalists.—§ 8. Astrology : credulity as to magic.—§ 9. The art of Lully.

§ 1. **ALTHOUGH** the Greeks were greatly oppressed by both external and internal troubles, yet they did not suffer literature wholly to lose its lustre and dignity ; as is manifest from the number of learned men among them in this century. The liberal arts, antiquities, criticism, and grammar, were reputably prosecuted by *Nicephorus Gregoras*¹, *Manuel Chrysoloras*²,

¹ [Nicephorus Gregoras, or son of Gregory, was born at Heraclea in Pontus, about A. D. 1295 ; studied under the best masters at Constantinople ; became a teacher there, and acquired the title of *the philosopher*. He was one of the ambassadors to the prince of the Serbians. In the year 1328, when the younger Andronicus dethroned his grandfather Andronicus Palæologus, Nicephorus not only lost his patron, but suffered otherwise. Yet he continued a teacher, and had eminent men for pupils. Theodorus Metochita made him overseer of a monastery. He engaged in the public controversies between Barlaam and Palamas ; became a monk, and retired from court. He died soon after A. D. 1359. Besides some orations and smaller tracts, he wrote a valuable history of the Byzantine empire, from A. D. 1204, where Nicetas Acominatus ends, to the year 1359, in 38 books. The 24

first books, reaching to A. D. 1351, were published, Gr. and Lat., by Boivin, Paris, 1702, and Venice, 1729, 2 vols. fol. *Tr.*]

² [Manuel Chrysoloras, one of the first and most active of the Greeks who promoted learning in the West, was born of noble parentage, at Constantinople, about the middle of the fourteenth century ; and for some time taught literature and science in his native city. About A. D. 1393, the Greek emperor, Manuel Palæologus, sent him twice as an ambassador to various European courts, to solicit aid against the Turks. After visiting the English and various other courts, he took up residence in Italy ; and taught Greek to several of the first scholars of that age in the West. He gave instruction at Florence, Milan, Venice, Pavia, and Rome. In the year 1409, the pope sent him to Constantinople, to negotiate a union be-

*Maximus Planudes*³, and many others. History was prosecuted, though with different degrees of success, by *Theodore Metochita*⁴, *John Cantacuzenus*⁵, *Nicephorus Gregoras*, and by several others of less note. An ecclesiastical history was composed by *Nicephorus Callistus*, which, notwithstanding it contains many fabulous and superstitious accounts, yet throws light on a number of subjects.⁶

tween the Greek and Latin churches. In the year 1413, he was sent to the emperor Sigismund, to settle arrangements for the general council of Constance, in the following year. He attended that council; and died shortly after, in the year 1415. *Æneas Sylvius* and *Poggius* give him very high commendations, in their notices of his death. Among his pupils in the West, were *Leonard Aretinus*, *Francis Barbarus*, *Guarinus of Verona*, *Poggius*, and *Philadelphus*. His only work that has been published, was his *Erotemata Grammatica*; which was the first good Greek grammar among the Europeans, and was that studied by *Erasmus* and *Reuchlin*. *Tr.*]

³ [*Maximus Planudes* was a learned Greek monk of Constantinople, well acquainted with the Latin language. In the year 1327, the Greek emperor sent him with others on an embassy to Venice. He suffered considerably for his attachment to the cause of the popes; but afterwards he changed sides, and espoused that of the Greeks. He appears to have died soon after A. D. 1353. He translated, from Latin into Greek, the writings of *Cicero*, *Cæsar*, *Ovid*, *Cato*, and *Boëthius*; also *Augustine's* fifteen books on the Trinity; composed a life of *Æsop*; and compiled a Greek Anthology, in seven books. He likewise wrote against the Latins, composed some orations, and many letters, and smaller pieces. *Tr.*]

⁴ [*Theodorus Metochita* was a learned Greek, of the kindred of the emperor, and the favourite and prime minister of *Andronicus Palæologus*. In the latter part of the preceding century, the emperor sent him, with *John Glycas*, to conduct *Maria*, sister of the German emperor, who was espoused to the oldest son of the Greek emperor, to Constantinople. It was about the year 1314, he was made prime Logotheta, and took nearly the whole government of the empire on his shoulders. But about A. D.

1328, *Andronicus senior* being dethroned by his grandson *Andronicus junior*, *Metochita* of course fell into disgrace, and was made a state prisoner till his death, A. D. 1333. He transcribed the third book of *Glycas' Annals*; which *Meursius* published, in 1648, as an original work; entitled a *Compendium of Roman History*, from *Julius Cæsar* to *Constantine the Great*. He wrote comments on *Aristotle's* eight books of *Physics*; besides some historical tracts, never published. He was esteemed one of the most learned Greeks of his age. *Tr.*]

⁵ [*John Cantacuzenus* was of the illustrious family of the *Cantacuzeni*, on the father's side, and of that of the *Palæologi* on the side of his mother. His youth was devoted to literature and arms. He then became a statesman under the elder *Andronicus*. In the year 1320 he was found to be a partizan of the younger *Andronicus*, and fell under displeasure. But his friend supported him; and on the elevation of his friend to the throne, *Cantacuzenus* was loaded with honours and offices. On the death of *Andronicus junior*, A. D. 1341, *Cantacuzenus* was made regent of the empire, and guardian of the prince, *John Palæologus*, then nine years old. But the empress mother, and others, became jealous of him; and a civil war ensued. *Cantacuzenus* was victorious, and in 1347 concluded a peace, by which he and *John Palæologus* were to be joint emperors. Civil war again broke out; and in 1355, *Cantacuzenus* resigned the purple, and voluntarily retired to mount *Athos*; where he became a monk, and spent the remainder of his days in literary pursuits and monastic devotions. Here he wrote the history of the empire, during the reigns of the two *Andronici* and himself, or from A. D. 1320 to 1357, in four books, published Gr. and Lat. with notes, Paris, 1645, 3 vols. fol. He also wrote three orations, and some tracts against the *Mahumedans*; which are extant. *Tr.*]

⁶ [*Nicephorus Callisti*, or the son of

§ 2. Such of the Greeks as devoted themselves to philosophy for the most part followed *Aristotle* as their guide. No one among them, so far as I know, ventured upon philosophical speculations, relying on his own ingenuity. In what manner they explained the precepts of the Stagirite, we may learn from the tracts of *Theodore Metochita*. Yet *Plato* had likewise some followers; especially among the cultivators of mystic theology, which had long been in high estimation among the Greeks. In the mathematics and astronomy, *Nicolaus Cabasilas* was their most distinguished scholar.⁷ The Stoic principles, in regard to morals, were recommended by *Barlaam*, and exhibited in his *Ethics according to the Stoics*.⁸

§ 3. There was no country of the Latins, in which efforts were not made, and successful efforts, for the advancement of learning and the improvement of the human mind. Hence

Callistus, lived at Constantinople, and was probably a priest or monk there, about 1333. His personal history is little known. From Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and others, he compiled an Ecclesiastical History, in twenty-three books, from the Christian era to A. D. 911. The style and arrangement are deemed good for that age; but it abounds in useless trash and fables. The eighteen first books, extending to A. D. 610, were published, Greek and Latin, Paris, 1630, 2 vols. fol. He also wrote catalogues of the Greek emperors, and of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs. *Tr.*]

⁷ [Nicolaus Cabasilas, nephew and successor to Nilus Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica; was employed as a negotiator between the parties in the civil wars, A. D. 1346 and 1347. The time of his death is unknown. He was a learned man, and a violent opposer of the Latins. His works are, an Exposition of the Greek Liturgy; on a life in Christ, or the efficacy of the sacraments, in six books; an oration against usurers; an encomium on St. Theodora; a Commentary on Ptolemy's third book of constructions; some astrological diagrams; remarks on Ezekiel's vision of four beasts; and some tracts against the Latins. The three last were never published. *Tr.*]

⁸ Henry Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405. [Barlaam was a native of Calabria in Italy; became a monk of

the order of St. Basil; lived at Constantinople; and was a very learned, ambitious, and factious man. Being born and educated among the Latins, he at first agreed with them against the Greeks. But changing sides, he became a most powerful champion among the Greeks, against the Latins. While an abbot at Constantinople, he investigated the state of the monks of mount Athos; and brought a complaint against the Hesuchists there, before the patriarch of Constantinople. George Palamas appeared as their advocate. The cause was tried before a council, A. D. 1337, and the monks were acquitted. (See below, ch. v. § 1, 2, of this century.) In the year 1339, Barlaam was the emperor's ambassador to the pope, at Avignon, for negotiating a union of the two churches. In the year 1341, he withdrew from Constantinople, on a change in the government; came to Italy, again espoused the cause of the Latins against the Greeks, and was made bishop of Geraci in Naples. He died about the year 1348. His works, besides his *Ethica secundum Stoicos libri ii.* are various letters, orations, and tracts, both for the Greeks against the Latins, and for the latter against the former; and six books on arithmetic. The last was printed, Gr. and Lat., Paris, 1600, 4to. All the others, in Latin, are in Henry Canisius, l. c. and in the *Bibliotheca Max. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. *Tr.*]

academies and universities were erected in various places, as Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa; in which all the liberal arts and sciences were taught, and were distributed into the same classes that remain to this day. In the universities, colleges were founded by the opulent, and endowed with ample revenues; in which, not only *monks*, but also young men of narrow circumstances, were educated in the useful arts and sciences. Libraries were also collected; and men of learning were excited by honours and rewards to aspire after fame and distinction. But the advantages to the church and the state from the numerous teachers and learned men, were not correspondent with the vast expense and care bestowed by the great on these institutions. Yet all who assumed the office of teachers in this age, were not, as many have rashly supposed, mere dolts and clods; but an advance had gradually been made from humbler things to greater and higher.

§ 4. The sovereign pontiff, *Clement V.*, himself required the Hebrew and other Oriental languages to be taught in the public schools; that there might be men competent to enter into discussions with the Jews and the Saracens, and to preach divine truth in the countries of the East.⁹ Of course, there were some persons in that age who were acquainted particularly with those languages. The Greek language, which previously very few had regarded at all, was now first taught by *Leontius Pilatus*, a Calabrian, the translator of *Homer*, and by a few others¹; and afterwards, with far greater applause and success, by *Manuel Chrysoloras*, a Constantinopolitan², who awakened ex-

⁹ Anton. Wood's *Antiquitates Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156. 159. [This bull of Clement is in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementina*, lib. v. tit. i. cap. i. and bears date A.D. 1311. It required Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, to be taught, each by two competent instructors, wherever the papal court might be, and also in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. The pope was to support the teachers in his court; the kings of France and England, those at Paris and Oxford; the clergy of Italy, those at Bologna; and the clergy of Spain, those at Salamanca. *Tr.*]

¹ See Humphry Hody, *de Græcis Illustribus linguae Græcæ, litterarumque humaniorum institutoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. Lond. 1742, 8vo. Calogera, *Opusculi scientifici*,

tom. xxv. p. 258. [Leontius Pilatus came to Venice in the year 1360, on his way to the papal court at Avignon. Boccaccio met him, and persuaded him to go with him to Florence. Here he taught Greek, with which he was well acquainted, to Boccaccio and to Petrarch; and for their use translated Homer's *Iliad* into Latin. His admiration of the Greeks led him, in 1363, to go to Constantinople. But he found that people not such as his imagination had represented them. He therefore set sail for Italy the next year; and was killed by lightning on board the ship. See Schroeckh, *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxx. p. 154. *Tr.*]

² H. Hody, l. c. lib. i. p. 10. Angelo Calogera, *Opusculi scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 248, &c. and especially, Christ. Fred.

tensively ardour for this study. The real and genuine excellence of Latin composition was revived by certain distinguished geniuses in Italy: among whom, the first place is due to *Francis Petrarch*, a great and superior man³; and the second place belongs to *Dante Alighieri*.⁴ These men felt it to be their duty, in general, to excite mankind to cultivate their minds, and to place a high value on all sorts of learning; and they found numbers disposed to listen to them, as well among their own countrymen as among the French and Germans.

§ 5. Of the grammarians, historians, jurists both civil and canon, and physicians, it would be easy to make out a long list from the monuments of this age, but it would not comport with our design. It is sufficient for the reader to know, that among the vast number, there were few of them whose labours were of much service to mankind. The study of civil and canon law

Boerner, *de Græcis Litterarum Græcar. in Italia Instauratoribus*, p. 1—35. [Some notice of Chrysoloras is given above, p. 596, note². *Tr.*]

³ See Jac. Phil. Thomasin's *Life of Petrarch*; in Jo. Gerh. Muschen's *Vita Claror. Virorum*, tom. iv., who, in the preface, enumerates the other biographers of Petrarch. [The Abbé de Sade's *Mémoires pour la vie de François Petrarque*, Amsterd. 1764, 3 vols. 4to. See also a paper by A. F. Tytler, Esq. in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. v. Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, A.D. 1304. When eight years old, his father being banished, carried him to Avignon, in France. Here he was educated for the civil law. But he hated the pursuit, fell in love, and became a poet. He passed his life either in travelling about France and Italy, or in different retreats, particularly at Vacluse, near Carpentras, in the south of France. But he also spent considerable time at the courts and seats of different princes, noblemen, and prelates, in Italy and France; and was in high reputation as a scholar, a poet, a philosopher, and a theologian. Honours were heaped upon him; but that which he valued highest, was to be publicly crowned with the poet's bays, at Rome, A.D. 1341. He died at his own villa, near Padua, A.D. 1374. His works are numerous short pieces, particularly letters and poems, with some moral and political writings, partly in Latin, and

partly in Italian. The whole were never collected; though a large part of them were, in one vol. fol. Basil, 1554, 1581, and Lyons, 1601. The best edition of his poems is said to be that of Venice, 1756, 2 vols. 4to. *Tr.*]

⁴ The life of Dante, the celebrated poet, has been treated of by many, but especially by his annotator Benevenuto de Imola; from whom Muratori has given numerous extracts, in his *Antiquit. Ital. Mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. [Dante was born at Florence A.D. 1265; studied there, and at Bologna and Padua. The *Belles Lettres* were his favourite pursuit. He married, became a soldier, and a statesman at Florence. But belonging to an unsuccessful faction, he was banished from Tuscany in the year 1302; and after wandering in Italy, and making some excursions to France and Germany, he settled at Ravenna, where he died A.D. 1321. He has left us two considerable works. The first is a poem in Italian, entitled *La Divina Comedia*, or vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, as seen by himself A.D. 1300, divided into three parts. It abounds in vivid descriptions; and has been extolled to the highest by the Italians. The other is shorter, and in Latin, entitled *de Monarchia*. Its object is to evince, that the pontiffs have no right to control princes in civil affairs. The best edition of his collected works is that of Venice, 1757, 1758, 4 vols. 4to. *Tr.*]

was pursued by an immense number; because this was the avenue to preferment in church and state; and who has not heard of *Bartolus*, *Baldus*, *Andreas*⁵, and other jurists of this age, who gave reputation to the Italian universities? Yet the jurisprudence of this age offered nothing that could be alluring to an ingenuous mind. It was rather a barren, thorny field, on which the light of history and polite learning never shone. Mathematics engaged the attention of many: but excepting *Thomas Bradwardine*, an acute man who was archbishop of Canterbury⁶, few obtained much applause from these studies.

§ 6. Of the immense crowd of philosophers, who rather deformed than adorned this age, *Aristotle* was the guide and

⁵ [Bartolus was born at Sassoferratto in the duchy of Urbino, A. D. 1313. At the age of 13, he commenced the study of the civil law, first at Perugia and then at Bologna. He was made doctor at the age of twenty, and commenced teacher of law three years after at Pisa. He also taught at Padua and Bologna; and died A. D. 1356. His lectures and his legal opinions were highly esteemed; and his Glosses on the civil law, for two centuries, were of the highest authority. They were printed at Venice, A. D. 1615, in eleven vols. fol. He was more distinguished for acumen and nice discrimination, than for extensive reading.—Baldus Ubaldus was nobly born at Perugia, A. D. 1324, and was first the pupil and then the rival of Bartolus. He taught both civil and canon law, and lectured at Perugia, Padua, and Pisa. He died at the last-mentioned place, of the hydrophobia, A. D. 1400, aged 76. In readiness and metaphysical acumen he was thought superior to Bartolus, but not his equal in solidity of judgment. He wrote commentaries on the Decretals; five volumes of legal opinions; Glosses on nearly the whole *Corpus Juris Civilis*; besides various law tracts; all of which have been printed. These two were the greatest jurists of the age, so far as the civil law is concerned. Yet Andrew Horne, an Englishman of Gloucestershire, distinguished himself by his attempt to reform the English laws, by expunging from them every thing that was not in accordance with the Scriptures and natural justice. His work was written in French, and entitled *a Mirror for the Judges*; and was printed in French, Lond. 1642, 8vo, and in English, Lond. 1646, 8vo. Of his age we only

know, that his book was written under Edward III., and before A. D. 1324, and that he defended the abbot of Waltham in a court, A. D. 1343. See H. Wharton's Append. to Cave's *Hist. Litterar.*—John Andreas, the celebrated doctor of canon law, taught that science at Bologna for forty-five years, and died there A. D. 1348. His works are commentaries on the five books of Decretals; Glosses on the *Liber sextus Decret.* and the *Clementina*; and tracts concerning feuds, marriage, affinities, &c. all of which have been published. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Thomas Bradwardine was an Englishman, educated at Oxford, where he was proctor in 1325, and afterwards doctor of divinity, and lecturer on theology. He became confessor to Edward III., whom he attended in his French wars. In the year 1348, he was elected archbishop of Canterbury; but the king preferring another, Ufford was chosen. But Ufford dying before his consecration, Bradwardine was re-chosen, and with the king's consent, was ordained by the pope at Avignon. He, however, died very soon after his arrival at Lambeth, A. D. 1348. He was a profound reasoner, eminently pious, a strong Augustinian in theology, of plain unpolished manners, and particularly fond of mathematics. His great work is, *The Cause of God and the Truth of Causes*, against *Pelagius*, in three books; published by H. Savile, Lond. 1618, fol. He also wrote *Geometrical Speculation*, and *Arithmetical Speculation*, published together, Paris, 1512; also *Tractatus Proportionum*, published, Venice, 1505. See Wharton's Appendix to Cave's *Hist. Litter.* and Milner's *Eccles. History*, cent. xiv. ch. ii. *Tr.*]

master, though imperfectly understood, and divested of all his beauties. In so high estimation was the Peripatetic philosophy, that kings and princes ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the languages of their people, that greater numbers might acquire wisdom. In particular, *Charles V.*, king of France, has been commended for directing *Nicholas Oréme* to translate into French, among other works of the ancients, the principal works of *Aristotle*.⁷ Those, however, who professed to be philosophers, were less solicitous to discover and support truth than to have the pleasure of wrangling; and they perplexed and obscured the pure and chaste precepts both of reason and religion, by their insane subtleties, useless questions, and over-nice distinctions. I need not mention the barbarous diction, in which they thought lay a great safeguard of their art; or that contempt for all elegant literature, which they almost looked upon as an especial credit. This wrangling tribe's whole system and modes of working it may be learned by reading the works of only *John Scotus*, or *Walter Burley*; for they all followed in one common track, though they differed among themselves as to some opinions.

§ 7. The old disputes between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*, which had been long dormant, were again brought up in the schools by *William Occam*, an English Franciscan monk of the more rigid cast, a pupil of the great *Scotus*, and a doctor in the university of Paris: nor was it possible afterwards to bring these contentions to an end. Never was there fiercer war between the Greeks and Persians, than between these two sects of philosophers, down to the time when *Luther* obliged the scholastic doctors to terminate their intestine conflicts. The *Realists* despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, and branded them with the name of *Moderns*; while to their own doctrine they ascribed the highest antiquity. But in this they were undoubtedly under a mistake. The *Nominalists*, on the contrary, regarded *them* as being visionaries, who mistook the creations of their own imaginations for real existences and solid substances. The *Nominalists* had, particularly at Paris, a number of acute, subtle, and eloquent doctors; among whom, besides *Occam*, the celebrated *John Buridan*, a Parisian doctor, stood

⁷ Jo. Launoï, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni*; in his *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. i. p. 504. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p.

379. Le Bœuf's *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Ecclés. et Civile de Paris*, tom. iii. p. 456 463, &c.

pre-eminent⁸: but the *Realists* were the more numerous, and were also strong in the countenance given them by the Roman pontiffs. For *Occam* having joined the order of Franciscans, who were openly opposed to *John XXII.*, this pontiff first, and afterwards his successors, left no means untried to put down the philosophy of the *Nominalists*, which seemed to be opposed to the church.⁹ Hence, in the year 1339, the university of Paris, by a public edict, condemned and prohibited the philosophy of *Occam*, which was that of the *Nominalists*.¹ But, as men are apt to press after what is forbidden, the effect of this decree was, that a still greater number than before followed the system of the *Nominalists*.

§ 8. Many of these philosophers joined *astrology*, or the art of prognosticating the fortunes of men from the stars, with their philosophy. For this fallacious science was prosecuted even to madness by all orders, from the highest to the lowest, in those times.² But these astrological philosophers had to be very cautious and circumspect, if they would escape the hands of the Inquisitors, and a charge of magic. Such caution was neglected, to his ruin, by *Cecus Asculanus*; a very noted peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, mathematician, and physician first to the pontiff *John XXII.*, and then to *Charles Lackland*, duke of Calabria. For having, by mechanical arts, performed some things which appeared miraculous to the vulgar, and by his predictions, which were reported to have proved true, given offence both to his patron and to others, he was looked upon as having intercourse with the devil; and was committed to the flames by

⁸ A biography of this noted man was written by Robert Gnaquin; as we are told by Jo. Launoi, *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, in his *Opp.* tom. iv. pt. i. p. 722. Launoi also speaks of him in other places; as p. 296, 297, 330. See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 282, 307, 341, &c. [John Buridan was a native of Bethune, in Artois, studied at Paris under Occam, and taught philosophy there with great applause. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's logic, morals, and metaphysics; which are still extant. Some say, that he was rector of the university of Paris; and that he afterwards went to Vienna, and there commenced that university: but these circumstances, as well as the exact time when he lived, are uncertain. To him

is ascribed the noted metaphysical maxim that a hungry ass placed between two equal bundles of hay, would not be able to eat of either. See Bayle's *Dictionnaire Hist. et Critique*, art. *Buridan*. *Tr.*]

⁹ Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

¹ Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 257, tom. v. p. 708. Card. Pless. d'Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 337. On the contests of these sects in England, see Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 169, &c.

See Imola; in Muratori's *Antiq. Italica Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1039. Le Beau's *Dissertation sur l'Hist. de Paris*, tom. iii. p. 445, &c.

the Inquisitors at Florence, A. D. 1327.³ His *Commentary* on the Sphere of *John de Sacrobosco* is still extant, which is represented as affording proof of the extreme superstition of the author.⁴

§ 9. A new and singular species of art was invented and elucidated in numerous treatises by *Raymund Lully*, of Majorca; a man of surprising and very prolific genius, a compound of folly and reason, who, after many journeys and various efforts for the advancement of the Christian cause, was put to death in the year 1315, at Bugia in Africa, by the Mahumedans, whom he attempted to convert to the Christian faith. The Franciscans, to whose third order he is said to have belonged, extol him to the skies, and have long endeavoured most earnestly to persuade the pontiffs to enrol him among the saints: but the Dominicans and others, on the contrary, endeavour to make him a heretic, a magician, a delirious alchymist, a plagiarist from books written by Mahumedans; and some represent him as deranged and fanatical: of the pontiffs, there are those who have pronounced him an innocent and pious man; and others, a heretic and irreligious. He who shall read his works without prejudice, will coincide with neither party. *Lully* would have been a truly great man, if the warmth and fertility of his imagination had been tempered and restrained by a sound judgment.⁵

³ An apology for him was written by Paul Ant. Appian, the Jesuit; which may be seen in Domin. Bernini's *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sæcul. xiv. c. iii. p. 210, &c. An account is also given of this unhappy philosopher and poet (for he was also a poet) by Jo. Maria Crescimbeni, *Commentarij della volgar Poësia*, vol. ii. pt. ii. lib. iii. c. 14.

⁴ Gabr. Naudé, *Apologie pour les grands qui ont soupçonné de magie*, p. 270, &c.

⁵ See Jo. Salzinger's Preface to the works of Raymund Lully, which the elector Palatine, John William, caused to be collected and published at a great expense, in five vols. folio, A. D. 1720, Luc. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 421, &c. tom. v. p. 157. 316, &c. tom. vi. p. 229, &c. On the famous *Lullian art*, see Dan. Geo. Morhof's *Polyhist.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352, &c. ["It consisted in collecting a number of general terms, common to all the sciences, of which an alphabetical table was to be provided. Subjects and predicates taken

from these, were to be respectively inscribed in angular spaces upon circular papers. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of subjects were fixed in a frame, and those of predicates were so placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects and predicates, whence would arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying endlessly." See Rees's *Cyclopædia*, art. *Lully Raymond*; Brückner's *Historia Crit. Philos.* tom. iv. p. 9, &c. The life of Lully, written by a contemporary, is in the *Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp. tom. v. p. 633, &c. He is said to have been born A. D. 1236, to have been dissipated in his youth, and afterwards to have applied himself much to chemistry, as well as to metaphysics and theology. He died aged 79, A. D. 1315. As a chemist, Boerhaave thought him much in advance of his age; if the works ascribed to him are all genuine. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE TEACHERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE
CHURCH.

§ 1. Corruption of the clergy.—§ 2. Philip, king of France, opposed the domination of the pontiffs.—§ 3. Issue of the conflict.—§ 4. The pontifical court is removed to Avignon.—§ 5. Decrease of the pontifical authority.—§ 6. New arts devised by the pontiffs for acquiring wealth.—§ 7. Obsequiousness of Clement V. to Philip.—§ 8. John XXII. and Nicolaus V.—§ 9. The former charged with heresy.—§ 10. Benedict XII.—§ 11. Clement VI.—§ 12. Innocent VI.—§ 13. Gregory XI.—§ 14. The great schism of the West commences.—§ 15. The evils of it.—§ 16. Projects for terminating it.—§ 17. Vices of the monks, especially the Mendicants.—§ 18. Hence, general hatred against them.—§ 19. John Wicliffe.—§ 20. His opposers.—§ 21. Impiety of the Franciscans.—Book of the conformities of St. Francis.—§ 22. Vices of the *Fratricelli*, &c.—§ 23, 24. Projects for terminating the discords of the Franciscans.—§ 25. Their ridiculous contests.—§ 26. They produce more serious disturbances.—§ 27. A new contest arose respecting the poverty of Christ.—§ 28. Its continuation.—§ 29. Their conflict with John XXII.—§ 30. Their attempts against the pontiff.—§ 31. Their patron Lewis the Bavarian.—§ 32. Peace with the pontiff.—§ 33. Sufferings of the Spirituals, the *Beghardi*, &c. in Germany.—§ 34. Yet they were not exterminated. Two great sects of Franciscans are produced.—§ 35. New religious orders.—§ 36. The sect of the Cellite brethren and sisters.—The Lollards.—§ 37. The Greek writers.—§ 38. The Latin writers.

§ 1. THAT the governors of the church, as well of highest rank as of inferior, were addicted to all those vices which are the most unbecoming men in their stations, is testified most abundantly. As for the Greek and oriental clergy, many of whom lived under oppressive governments, I shall say nothing; although their faults are sufficiently manifest. But of the faults of the Latins, silence would be the less proper, in proportion to the certainty, that from this source the whole community was involved in the greatest calamities. All the honest and good men of that age ardently wished for a *reformation of the church, both in its head and in its members*; as they themselves expressed it.¹ But to

¹ Math. Flacius, *Catalogus Testium de varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. Jo. Veritatis, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. Launoi, Henr. Hottinger, *Historia Eccles. sæcul.*

so desirable an event, there were still many obstacles. First, the power of the pontiffs was so confirmed by its long continuance, that it seemed to be immoveably established. In the next place, extravagant superstition held the minds of most persons in abject slavery. And lastly, the ignorance and barbarism of the times quickly extinguished the sparks of truth that appeared from time to time. Yet the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, impregnable and durable as it seemed to be, was gradually undermined and weakened in this century, partly by the rash insolence of the pontiffs themselves, and partly by the occurrence of certain unexpected events.

§ 2. The commencement of this important change must be referred to the contest between *Boniface VIII.*, who governed the Latin church at the beginning of this century, and *Philip* the Fair, king of France. This high-minded sovereign first taught the Europeans, what the emperors had in vain attempted, that the Roman bishops could be vanquished, and be laid under restraint. In a very haughty letter addressed to *Philip*, *Boniface* maintained, that all kings and persons whatever, and the king of France as well as others, by divine command, owed perfect obedience to the Roman pontiff, and this not merely in religious matters, but likewise in secular and human affairs. The king replied with extreme bitterness. The pontiff repeated his former assertions with greater arrogance; and published the celebrated *bull*, called *Unam sanctam*²; in which he asserted, that *Jesus Christ* had granted a two-fold power or *sword* to his church, a *spiritual* and a *temporal*; that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff; and that all who dissented from this doctrine, were *heretics*, and could not expect to be saved.³ The

xiv. p. 754. [See Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1311, § 56—65, tom. xv. p. 87—90. From a manuscript account of the transactions of the council of Vienne, found in the Vatican library, Raynald here extracts largely from the statements of a prelate whom the pontiff, Clement V., consulted, respecting the abuses which called for reformation in the church. And the picture of the corruption of the clergy, the dissoluteness of the monks, and the ignorance and wickedness of the people, sketched by this anonymous prelate, shows the church to have been in a most deplorable state; and that some at least saw it, and earnestly desired a reformation. *Tr.*]

² [From the first words of it. *Tr.*]

³ This bull is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun.* lib. i. tit. [viii. cap. i.] *de Majoritate et Obedientia*. [In this bull the pontiff asserts, that there is but one church of Christ, under one head, as there was but one ark under the command of Noah; all out of which necessarily perish: that the sole head of the church on earth is Christ's vicegerent St. Peter, and his successors, who are amenable to none but God: that both *swords*, the *spiritual* and the *material*, are in the power of the church; the latter to be wielded for the church, or by kings and soldiers, at the nod and pleasure of the priesthood, and

king, on the contrary, in an assembly of his nobles, A. D. 1303, through the famous lawyer, *William de Nogaret*⁴, publicly accused the pontiff of *heresy, simony, dishonesty*, and other enormities; and urged the calling of a general council to depose a pontiff so very wicked from his office. The pontiff, in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year.

§ 3. Soon after receiving this sentence, Philip again, in an assembly of the states of his kingdom, entered a formal complaint against the pontiff, by men of the highest reputation and influence; and appealed to the decision of a future general council of the church. He then despatched *William de Nogaret*, with some others, into Italy, to rouse the people to insurrection, and to bring the pontiff prisoner to Lyons, where he wished the council to be held. *Nogaret*, who was a resolute and energetic man, having drawn over to his interest the *Colonna* family, which was at variance with the pontiff, raised a small force, suddenly attacked *Boniface*, who was living securely at Anagni, made him prisoner, wounded him, and, among other severe indignities, struck him on the head with his iron gauntlet. The people of Anagni, indeed, rescued the pontiff from the hands of his furious enemy; but he died shortly after, at Rome, in the month of October, from rage and anguish of mind.⁵

§ 4. *Benedict XI.*, previously *Nicolaus* of Trevigio, the successor of Boniface, profiting by his example, restored the king

the former to be wielded by the church or the priesthood: and the temporal power is subjected to the spiritual; otherwise the church would be a double-headed monster; that whoever resists this order of things, resists the ordinance of God; and he concludes thus: We declare, determine, and decree, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff. *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanam creaturam, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Tr.*]

⁴ Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most bold and determined enemy the pontiff ever had, before Luther, none have given a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114, 117, &c. Philip made him chancellor of France, for his heroic opposition to the pontiff.

⁵ See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Benedictum XI., Clementem V., et Philippum Pulchrum*, enlarged and corrected by Peter Puteanus [du Puy], as the title-page asserts; published, 1618, 8vo, but without notice of the place of publication. [The compiler of the work was a Parisian divine, named Simon Vigor. The first edition was published at Paris, 1613, 4to, and the third was in French, Paris, 1655, fol. entitled *Histoire du Dîf-férend de Philippe le Bel et de Boniface VIII. produite par les Actes et Mémoires originaux.* Schl.] Andr. Baillet, *Histoire des Dîmêlez du Boniface VIII. avec Philip le Bel*, Paris, 1718, 12mo. Jo. Rubens, in his *Bonifacius*, cap. xvi. p. 137, &c. The other writers are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9, &c. Add Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 4, &c. [and Jo. Gifford's *History of France*, vol. i. p. 518, &c. Tr.]

of France and his kingdom to their former honours and privileges, without even being solicited: but he was unwilling to absolve from his crime *Nogaret*, who had so grievously offended against the pontifical dignity. This daring man, therefore, prosecuted strenuously the suit commenced against *Boniface* in the Romish court; and in the name of the king, demanded that a mark of infamy should be set upon the deceased pontiff. *Benedict XI.* died in the year 1304; and *Philip*, by his secret machinations, caused *Bertrand de Got*, a Frenchman, and archbishop of Bordeaux, to be created pontiff at Rome, on the 5th of June, A. D. 1305. For the contest of the king against the pontiffs was not yet wholly settled, *Nogaret* not being absolved, and it might easily break out again. Besides, the king thirsted for revenge, and designed to extort from the court of Rome a condemnation of *Boniface*: he also meditated the destruction of the Templars, and other things of great importance; which he could hardly expect from an Italian pontiff. He therefore wished to have a French pontiff, whom he could control according to his pleasure, and who would be in a degree dependent on him. The new pontiff, who took the name of *Clement V.*, remained in France, as the king wished, and transferred the pontifical court to Avignon, where it continued for seventy years. This period the Italians call the *Babylonian Captivity*.⁶

§ 5. It is certain that this residence of the pontiffs at Avignon was injurious, in no slight degree, to the authority of the Roman see. For the pontiffs being at a distance, the *Gibelline* faction in Italy, which was hostile to the pontiffs, assumed greater boldness than formerly, and not only invaded and laid waste the territories of St. Peter, but also assailed the pontifical authority by their publications. Hence a number of cities revolted from the popes; Rome itself became the parent and fomentor of tumults, cabals, and civil wars; and the laws and decrees sent thither from France, were publicly treated with contempt, and not merely by the nobles, but also by the common citizens.⁷ A great part of Europe followed the example of

⁶ Concerning the French pontiffs, the writer to be especially consulted is, Steph. Baluze, *Vite Pontificum Avenionensium*, in two volumes, Paris, 1693, 4to. The reader may also peruse, though it should be with caution, Jac. Longueval and his continuators, *Histoire de l'Eglise Galli-*

cane, tom. xii. &c. This Jesuit, and his successors in the work, are eloquent and laborious; but they often conceal, artfully, the abominable deeds of the pontiffs.

⁷ See Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291. 301. 309. 333; and

Italy : and numberless examples show, that the people of Europe attributed far less power to the fulminations and decrees issued from France, than to those issued from Rome. Various seditions, therefore, were raised, in one place and another, against the pontiffs ; which they were unable to subdue and put down, notwithstanding that the *Inquisitors* were most active in the discharge of their functions.

§ 6. As the French pontiffs could derive but little revenue from Italy, which was rent into factions, seditious, and devastated, they were obliged to devise new modes of raising money. They, therefore, not only sold indulgences to the people, more frequently than formerly, to the great indignation of kings and princes ; but they likewise required enormous prices to be paid for their letters or bulls of every kind. In this thing *John XXII.* showed himself peculiarly adroit and shrewd ; for though he did not first invent the *regulations and fees of the apostolic chancery*, yet the Romish writers admit, that he enlarged them, and reduced them to a more convenient form.⁸ He also is said to have imposed that tribute, which under the title of *annates* is customarily paid to the pontiffs : yet the first commencement of it was anterior to that age.⁹ Moreover, these French pontiffs, sub-

various other places. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c. Giannone, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 280, &c.

⁸ Jo. Ciampini, *de Vicecancellario Ecclesie Roman.* p. 39, &c. Charles Chais, *Lettres sur les Jubilé*, tom. ii. p. 673, and others.

⁹ Bernh. van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Universale*, tom. ii. p. 876. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. 911. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 213. Wilh. Fran. Berthier, *Dissert. sur les Annates*, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xii. p. 1, &c. [The *Annates* were the first year's revenues of a benefice, which every new incumbent was required to remit to the pontiff's treasury. By constantly advancing clergymen from poorer to richer benefices, and prohibiting pluralities, these *annates*, it will be seen, might be made the source of immense income, when levied throughout Christendom, upon all the numberless officers in the churches and monasteries. — *First-Fruits*, exacted by Henry VIII., of England, were the *annates* of the bishoprics, which the king took from the pope, after the reformation in that

country. *Tr.*—Inferior preferments, as well as bishoprics, were made liable to *First-Fruits*, by the 26th H. 8. On the origin of this impost, F. Paul says that imperial and royal patrons had commonly made bargains for their own pecuniary advantage, on the preferment of an individual to some dignity ; a practice branded as simoniacal at Rome, but really the origin of the pope's claim for *annates*. "John XXII. in the year 1316, made a decree, that for three years, whoever obtained a benefice of more than twenty-four ducats yearly rent, should pay one year's value for the expedition of his bulls : which, at the expiration of the three years, came to be renewed again, as well as continued by his successors, though in divers places it met with opposition ; some places coming to an agreement to pay only one half of the *annate*, others to pay only for some particular sort of benefices, and that the rest should be exempted." (F. Paul's *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues*, Lond. 1736, p. 172.) It is plain that the principle here developed, is the same as that which laymen found branded with simony. In one case, presentation was

verting the rights of election, assumed the power of conferring all sacred offices, whether high or low, according to their own pleasure: by which means they raised immense sums of money. Hence, under these pontiffs, those most odious terms *reservation*, *provision*, and *expectative*, rarely used before, were now every where heard; and they called forth the bitterest complaints from all the nations of Europe¹⁰: and these complaints increased immeasurably, when some of the pontiffs, *John XXII.*, *Clement VI.*, *Gregory XI.*, publicly announced, that they had *reserved* all churches to themselves; and that they would *provide* for all without exception, by virtue of the sovereign right which *Christ* had conferred on his vicars, or *in the plenitude of their power*.¹ By these and other artifices for filling their treasury and amassing property, these indiscreet pontiffs heaped additional odium on the apostolic see; and thus weakened very considerably the papal empire, which began to decline from the times of *Boniface*.

§ 7. *Clement V.* was governed all his life by the will and pleasure of *Philip* the Fair, king of France. *William de Nogaret*, the implacable foe of *Boniface VIII.*, though excommunicated, resolutely prosecuted his own cause and that of king *Philip* against *Boniface*, in the papal court; a transaction, which, I believe, is without a parallel. *Philip* wished to have the body of *Boniface* disinterred, and publicly burnt. With great difficulty *Clement* averted this infamy by his intreaties and advice; but in every thing else, he had to obey the king. Accordingly, he abrogated the laws enacted by *Boniface*; granted the king five years' tithes; absolved *Nogaret* from all crime, after imposing on him a slight penance, which he never performed; restored the inhabitants of Anagni to their former reputable and good standing; and held a general council at Vienne, A. D. 1311, that

to be paid for; in the other, possession. Platina, however, (*De Vitis Pontificum*, ed. 1529, p. 218) says that *Boniface IX.*, pope from 1389 to 1404, was the real inventor of annates, but he adds, that some refer the impost to *John XXII.* This latter was conspicuously fond of money, and died immensely rich: hence any gainful practice of uncertain origin was very likely to be fathered upon him. *Ed.*]

¹⁰ Stephen Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 479. 518; and his *Vita Pontif. Aven-*

nion. tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156. *Gallia Christiana Benedictinor.* tom. i. Append. p. 13. Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxonienses*, tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911, &c.

¹ Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681, &c. Ant. Matthæus, *Analecta Vet. Ævi*, tom. v. p. 349, &c. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Histoire du Droit Ecclésiast. François*, tom. ii. p. 129, &c.

Philip's pleasure might be gratified in the suppression of the *Templars*. In this council, likewise, various things were decided according to the pleasure of the king, whom *Clement* dared not offend, being terrified by the melancholy fate of *Boniface*.²

§ 8. On the death of *Clement*, A. D. 1314, there were violent contests among the cardinals respecting the election of a successor, the French demanding a French pontiff and the Italians an Italian. After two years the French gained the victory; and in 1316, *James de Euse*, of Cahors, cardinal of Porto, was made head of the church, and assumed the pontifical name of *John XXII*. He was not destitute of learning, but was crafty, insolent, weak, imprudent, and avaricious, as even those who honour his memory do not positively deny. He rendered himself notorious by many imprudent and unsuccessful enterprises, but especially by his unfortunate contest with the emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria. There was a contest for the empire of Germany, between *Lewis* of Bavaria and *Frederic* of Austria, each being chosen emperor by a part of the electors in the year 1314. *John* declared, that the decision of this controversy belonged to him. But *Lewis* having conquered his rival in battle, and taken him prisoner, in the year 1322, assumed the government of the empire, without consulting the pontiff, and refused to submit a cause, which had been decided by the sword, to another trial before the pontiff. *John* was greatly offended at this; and in the year 1324, divested the emperor of all title to the imperial crown. *Lewis*, in return, accused the pontiff of corrupting the faith, or of heresy; and appealed to the decision of a council. Exasperated by this and some other things, the pontiff, in the year 1327, again divested the emperor of all his authority and power, and laid him under excommunication. In revenge of this injury, the emperor in the year 1328, at Rome, publicly declared *John* unworthy of the pontificate; and substituted in his place *Peter de Corbieri*, a Franciscan monk, and one of those who disagreed with the pontiff: and he, assuming the name of *Nicolaus V.*, crowned *Lewis* as emperor. But in the year 1330, this *Imperial* pontiff voluntarily abdicated his office, and sur-

² Besides the common writers already cited, see Wilh. Fran. Berthier's *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clément V.*, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xii.

Colonia's *Histoire Littér. de Lyon*, tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedictina*, tom. i. p. 1189, and tom. ii. p. 829.

rendered himself into the hands of *John*, who kept him a prisoner at Avignon till his death. Thus *John* continued to reign, in spite of the emperor; and the emperor, in spite of the pontiff.³

§ 9. On the side of *Lewis* stood the whole mass of the *Fratricelli*, the *Beghards* of every description, and the *Spirituals*, or more rigid among the Franciscans: and these being scattered over a large part of Europe, and supported by the protection of *Lewis*, every where assailed *John* with reproaches and criminations, both orally and in books, and charged him with religious apostasy. The pontiff, however, was not greatly injured by these private attacks: but towards the close of his life, he fell under the disapprobation and censure of nearly the whole church. For in the years 1331 and 1332, he taught in some public discourses, that departed souls would indeed behold *Christ*, but would not see the face of God, or the divine nature, until their reunion with the body at the last day. With this doctrine, *Philip VI.*, the king of France, was highly displeased; the theologians of Paris condemned it in 1333; and both the friends and the foes of the pontiff were opposed to it. For it appeared to them, that the pontiff detracted much from the blessedness of departed spirits. To so great opposition, *John*, though naturally pertinacious, had to give way. He therefore first apologized for the doctrine; and afterwards, when near the point of death, A. D. 1334, he did not indeed abandon it, but he qualified it by saying, that he believed souls in the intermediate state saw the *Divine essence, as far as the state and condition of the unembodied spirit would permit.*⁴ But this declaration did not

³ This great contest is to be learned principally from the *Records* of it, which are published by Steph. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512, &c. by Edm. Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641, &c. by Jo. Geo. Herwart, in his *Ludovicus Imperator defensus contra Bzovium*, Munschen, 1618, 4to, and by Christ. Gewold, in his *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro*, Ingolst. 1618, 4to, against the same Bzovius, who in his *Annales* had basely defamed the character of this emperor. Add Lu. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. vii. p. 77. 106, &c. Whoever considers attentively the history of this contest will perceive that Lewis of Bavaria took for his pattern

Philip the Fair, king of France. As the latter brought the charge of heresy against Boniface, so did Lewis against John XXII. The French king employed Nogaret and others as accusers: Lewis employed [William] Occam, and the Franciscans [Marsilius of Padua, John of Ghent, and Ulrich Hangoer. *Tr.*] Each wished to have a general council called, by which the pontiff should be hurled from the chair of St. Peter. I omit to mention other parallels.

⁴ See Stephen Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786, &c. Lu. D'Acherry, *Spicileg. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 760, ed. vet. Jo. Launoï, *Historia Gymnasii Navarr.*

satisfy his adversaries. Hence, after various disputes, his successor, *Benedict XII.*, terminated the controversy, according to the decision of the Parisian doctors, by declaring the true faith to be, that the souls of the blessed, when separate from the body, fully and perfectly behold the Divine nature, or God himself.⁵ Benedict could do this without impeaching his predecessor; for *John*, when dying, submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church; lest, perhaps, he should, after death, be classed among *heretics*.⁶

§ 10. On the death of *John*, A. D. 1334, new contests between the French and the Italians, respecting the choice of a pontiff, divided the college of cardinals. But near the close of the year, *James Fournier*, a Frenchman, cardinal of St. Prisca, was chosen, and assumed the name of *Benedict XII.* Historians allow him the praise of being an upright and honest man, no less free from avarice, than from the lust of rule.⁷ During his reign, the controversy with the emperor *Lewis* was at rest. For although he did not restore him to church communion, being prevented, as is reported, by the king of France, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He saw the existing evils in the church; and some of them, as far as he could, he removed: in particular, he laboured to reform, by decrees and ordinances, the orders of monks, both mendicant and opulent. But death removed him, when he was contemplating more and greater changes, A. D. 1342. Overlook superstition, which was the common fault of his age, and we shall find nothing to prevent us from declaring this pontiff to have been a man of a right spirit.

§ 11. Of a different spirit was his successor, *Clement VI.*, who was likewise a Frenchman, named *Peter Roger*, and cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilles. To say nothing of his other deeds, that are little to be commended, he trod in the steps of *John XXII.*,

p. i. c. vii. in his *Opp.* tom. iv. p. i. p. 319. Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 255. 259. Lu. Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371, tom. vii. p. 145. Jac. Echard, *Scriptores Predicator.* tom. i. p. 599. 608.

⁵ Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avinionens.* tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 226, &c.

⁶ ["All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, viz. *five and twenty millions of florins*, of which there

were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres and other precious bangles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* liv. xciv. § 39." Macf.]

⁷ See the *Fragmenta Historie Romane*, in Muratori's *Antiquit. Italie.* tom. iii. p. 275. Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avinionens.* tom. i. p. 205. 218. 240, &c. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 253, &c.

by his *provisions* and *reservations* of churches, which was evidence of a shameful avarice: and, further, he conferred the most important spiritual offices on foreigners and Italians, which produced controversies between him and the kings of France and England: and, lastly, he demonstrated the arrogance and pride of his heart, among other things, by renewing the war with *Lewis* the Bavarian. For, in the year 1343, he hurled new thunders at the emperor: and finding these to be contemned by *Lewis*, in the year 1346, he devoted him again to execration; and persuaded the princes of Germany to elect *Charles IV.*, son⁸ to *Henry VII.*, for their emperor. A civil war would now have broken out in Germany, had not the death of *Lewis*, in 1347, prevented it. *Clement* followed him to the grave, in 1352, famous for nothing but his zeal for exalting the majesty of the pontiffs, and for adding *Avignon*, which he bought of *Joanna*, queen of Naples, to St. Peter's patrimony.⁹

§ 12. There was more moderation and probity in *Innocent VI.*, or *Stephen Albert*, a Frenchman, previously bishop of Ostia; who governed the church ten years, and died A. D. 1362. He favoured his own relatives too much; but in other respects he encouraged the pious and the well-informed, held the monks to their duty, abstained from *reserving* churches, and did many things worthy of commendation. His successor, *William Grimoard*, abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, who assumed the name of *Urban V.*, was also free from great faults, if we except those which are almost inseparable from the office of a pope. Overcome by the entreaties of the Romans, he removed to Rome in the year 1367, but returned again to Avignon in 1370, in order to make peace between the king of England and the king of France, and died there the same year.¹

§ 13. He was succeeded by *Peter Roger*, a Frenchman of noble birth, under the pontifical name of *Gregory XI.* He was inferior to his predecessors in virtue, but exceeded them in energy and audacity. Under him, great and dangerous commotions disturbed Italy and the city of Rome. The Florentines, especially, waged fierce war with the Romish church, and were suc-

⁸ [Grandson. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Biographies of this pontiff may be found in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 143, &c. and in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 550, &c. *Schl.*]

¹ [Of these popes, also, there are se-

veral biographies: of Innocent VI., in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 321, &c. and in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 589, &c. and of Urban V., in Baluze, l. c. p. 363, &c. and in Muratori, l. c. p. 642, &c. *Schl.*]

cessful in it.² To restore the tranquillity of Italy, and recover the territories and cities taken from the patrimony of St. Peter, *Gregory*, in the year 1376, transferred his residence from Avignon to Rome. One *Catherine*, a virgin of Siena, whom that credulous age took to be a prophetess divinely inspired, came to Avignon, and by her exhortations greatly contributed to this measure.³ But *Gregory* soon after repented of his removal; for by their long absence from Italy, the authority of the pontiffs was so fallen there, that the Romans and the Florentines had no scruple to insult and abuse him in various ways. He therefore purposed to return to Avignon, but was prevented by death, which removed him from among living men, in the year 1378.⁴

§ 14. After the death of *Gregory XI.*, the cardinals being assembled to provide a successor, the Roman people, fearing lest a Frenchman should be elected, who would remove to Avignon, demanded, with furious clamours and threats, that an Italian should be placed at the head of the church without delay. The terrified cardinals proclaimed *Bartholomew Pregnano*, who was a Neapolitan by birth, and archbishop of Bari, to be elected pontiff; and he assumed the name of *Urban VI.* This new pontiff, by his coarse manners, his injudicious severity, and his intolerable haughtiness, alienated the minds of all from him, but especially the cardinals. These, therefore, withdrew to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, and there created another pontiff, *Robert*, count of Geneva, who took the name of *Clement VII.*, alleging, that *Urban* was elected only in pretence, in order to quiet the rage of the people of Rome. Which of these was the legitimate and true pontiff still remains uncertain, nor can it be fully ascertained from the *Records* and documents, which have been published in great abundance by both parties.⁵

² See here, especially, the *Epistole Colucci Salutati*, written in the name of the Florentines, part i. p. 47—100. p. 148. 162, and the Preface to part ii. p. 18. I use the new edition at Florence, by Laur. Mehus.

³ See Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 159. 192.

⁴ [He was the son of William, earl of Beaufort, and brother's son to pope Clement VI. His last will, which is in D'Achery's *Spicilq.* tom. iii. p. 378, is worthy of notice, as he there very frankly acknowledges his faults. His biography

is in Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 426, &c. and in Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italie*, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 645, &c. *Schl.*]

⁵ See the records and documents in Ges. Egasse de Beulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463, &c. in Lu. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12, &c. in Steph. Baluze's *Vita Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 442, 998, &c. and in the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April. p. 728, &c. There are also some unpublished documents in my possession, which throw much light on this controversy, yet do not decide it.

Urban continued at Rome: *Clement* removed to Avignon in France. The cause of *Clement* was espoused by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus: the other countries of Europe acknowledged *Urban* for the true vicegerent of Christ.

§ 15. Thus the unity of the Latin church, as existing under one head, came to an end at the death of *Gregory XI.*; and that most unhappy disunion ensued, which is usually denominated *the great Schism of the West*.⁶ For during fifty years the church had two or three heads; and the contemporary pontiffs assailed each other with excommunications, maledictions, and insidious measures. The calamities and distress of those times are indescribable. For besides the perpetual contentions and wars between the pontifical factions, which were ruinous to great numbers, involving them in the loss of life or of property, nearly all sense of religion was in many places extinguished, and wickedness daily acquired greater impunity and boldness; the clergy, previously corrupt, now laid aside even the appearance of piety and godliness, while those who called themselves Christ's vicegerents were at open war with each other; and the conscientious people, who believed that no one could be saved without living in subjection to Christ's vicegerents, were thrown into the greatest perplexity and anxiety of mind.⁷ Yet both the church and the state received very considerable advantages from these great calamities. For the very sinews of pontifical power were cut by these dissensions, and no art could heal them any more; kings too, and princes, who had before been in a sense the servants of the pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. Moreover, great numbers, possessing some measure of discernment, despising and disregarding pontiffs, fighting for dominion, committed themselves and their salvation to God alone, in full assurance that the church and religion might be safe and continue so, although without any visible head.

[The whole question must be tried according to ecclesiastical law; and, according to that, both elections were undoubtedly liable to exceptions. *Schl.*]

⁶ For an account of this schism, see Peter Putéanus (du Puy) *Histoire du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'an 1378, jusqu'en l'an 1428*. Paris, 1654, 4to, which, as the Preface informs, was compiled from documents in the archives of the king of France, and is worthy of credit. Neither is Lewis

Maimbourg's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident* to be despised, though the writer is here and there manifestly partial. Many documents are contained in Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and Edm. Martene's *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074, &c. The common writers, as, Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, Du Pin, I omit to name as usual.

⁷ On the great evils of this schism there are direct remarks in the *Histoire*

§ 16. On the death of *Urban V.*, A. D. 1389, the Italian cardinals, his partizans, elected for his successor at Rome *Peter Thomacelli*, a Neapolitan, known among the pontiffs by the name of *Boniface IX.* And *Clement VII.* dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals appointed, as his successor, *Peter de Luna*, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of *Benedict XIII.* In the mean time, kings, princes, bishops, and theologians, proposed and attempted various methods for extinguishing this schism. The safest and best method, it was generally thought, was that of voluntary *resignation*⁸, as they expressed it.⁹ But neither of the pontiffs could be induced to resign, either by entreaties, or threats, or promises. The French church, greatly displeased by this obstinacy, in the year 1397, withdrew itself from the dominion and authority of both pontiffs, in a council held at Paris. This decree being published in the year 1398, *Benedict XIII.* was detained as a prisoner, by order of *Charles VI.*, king of France, in his own palace at Avignon.¹⁰

§ 17. The vices and faults of the great body of the monks were seen even by some of the Roman pontiffs, and especially by *Clement VII.*, who looked upon them with abhorrence, and laboured to cure and remove them; but it was a vast and most arduous undertaking that failed of success. The lead was taken, not only among monks, but likewise in the whole church, by the *mendicants*, particularly the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*; whose counsels and pleasure acted upon everything of importance, as well in the courts of the pontiffs, as in those of princes. So

du Droit public Ecclés. François, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202, &c.

⁸ *Via cessionis.*

⁹ [In reality, the university of Paris proposed *three* ways of terminating the schism: the voluntary resignation of both (*via cessionis*); an agreement between them (*via compromissi*); and reference to the decision of a general council (*via deliberationis per concilium universale*). Among all these, that by resignation was thought to be the easiest; but this supposed the pontiffs to be ingenuous, and to make the good of the church their primary object, which was not the fact. In order to facilitate this project, the king and the nobles of France, with the university of Paris, used all their exertions, after the death of *Clement*, to prevent a new election at Avignon. But the cardinals were of a dif-

ferent mind. They went into conclave, and elected *Benedict XIII.*, yet previously binding themselves by a solemn oath, that the person elected, on the return of tranquillity, should himself labour to bring about a resignation of both, if the majority of the cardinals should see it to be best. But neither *Benedict* nor his opposer *Boniface* would have any thing to do with a resignation. The pleasure and the honour of being pope outweighed all considerations of patriotism: and it was not till the next century that the church was so happy as to see this schism removed. *Schl.*]

¹⁰ Besides the common writers, see *Longueval, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. and the Records themselves, in *Boulay's Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 829, &c.

high was the reputation of these friars for sanctity and for influence with God, that the most distinguished persons of both sexes, some while in health, and others when sick and in the near prospect of death, wished to be received into their orders, for the purpose of securing the favour of God. Many carefully inserted in their last wills, that they would have their corpses wrapped in a sordid Dominican or Franciscan garment, and be buried among friars mendicant. For the amazing superstition and ignorance of the age led people to believe, that those would find Christ a gracious judge at the last day who should appear before his tribunal mingled with mendicant monks.

§ 18. But this high reputation and vast influence of the mendicants inflamed still more the hatred which had long burned against them almost universally, in priests both of the first and second order, in monks, and in universities. Hence there was scarcely a country of Europe, or a university, in which one might not see bishops, priests, and theologians, eagerly contending against the Dominicans and Franciscans, who, by means of the great privileges conferred on them by the pontiffs, every where undermined the ancient discipline of the church, and assumed to themselves the direction of all religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford firmly resisted the Dominicans¹; and *Richard* of Armagh², *Henry Crump*, *Norris*, and others, assailed with great energy all the mendicant orders.³ The most zealous of these, *Richard* of Armagh, went to the court of *Innocent VI.*, in the year 1356, and there pleaded the

¹ See Ant. Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 150. 144. 196, &c.

² [Richard Fitz-Ralph, or Richard Radulphus, was a native of Ireland, professor of theology at Oxford, much esteemed by king Edward III. of England, created by him dean of Lichfield, and, A. D. 1333, chancellor of Oxford. In the year 1347, Clement VI., by his pontifical right of *provision*, constituted him archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He strenuously opposed the mendicants, both before and after his elevation to the see of Armagh. While at Oxford, he exposed their vain and proud poverty in his public lectures; and when a bishop, he came out still more powerfully against them. In 1356, he came to London, and there published in his preaching nine theses against them. They now accused him to the pope of heresy, and caused

him to be cited to Avignon. He went there, and after three years' attendance, his cause not being yet decided, he was removed by death, A. D. 1360. He has left us a number of sermons; a *Somma*, seu libri xix. adversus errores Armenorum; and his defence against the mendicants, delivered at Avignon in 1357, besides several sermons and tracts never published. A little before his death, an Irish translation of the New Testament was found concealed in a wall of his church, which has been supposed to be his production. *Tr.*]

³ See Wood's *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 181, 182. tom. ii. p. 61, 62. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

cause of the church against them, with amazing ardour, until his death in 1360.⁴ In France, various persons, backed by the university of Paris, laboured in a more private way to overthrow the power of the mendicants⁵; but *John de Pouilli*, a doctor of theology, publicly denied that the Dominicans and Franciscans had power to grant absolution to persons confessing sins to them, or that the pontiffs were able to give them such power, so long as the *canon*, called *omnis utriusque sexus*, remained in force: whence he inferred, that those who would be sure of salvation must confess their sins to their parish priests, notwithstanding they had absolution from the monks. But all these adversaries effected little or nothing, for the pontiffs vigorously defended these their best friends and supporters against all attacks, secret or open. The opinion of *John de Pouilli* was condemned by a special decree of *John XXII.* in the year 1321.⁶

§ 19. But among all the foes of the mendicant orders, no one has obtained greater fame, both good and ill, among posterity than *John Wickliffe*, an Englishman, doctor and professor of theology at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth⁷, a man of an acute mind, and, for the age in which he lived, of great learning. After the example of *Richard* of Armagh, and many others of the best men in his country, he first vigorously defended, in the year 1360, the rights of the University of Oxford against the sects that professed voluntary poverty, at the same time slightly censuring also the pontiffs, who were their chief patrons: nor did any lover of his country consider him as criminal on this account. Afterwards, when *Simon Langham*, archbishop of Canterbury, deprived him of the Wardenship of *Canterbury Hall*, in the university of Oxford, A. D. 1367, and appointed a monk to succeed him, and the sovereign pontiff, *Urban V.*, to whom he appealed, confirmed the decision of the archbishop; *Wickliffe* assailed with greater freedom, not only all the monks and their morals, but also the power of the pontiffs,

⁴ See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choiesies*, tom. i. p. 164, &c. I have before me in manuscript, by Bartholomew de Brissaco, (provincial of the Dominicans for Germany,) *Solutiones oppositæ Richardi, Armachani Archiepiscopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram pontifice et cardinalibus factis*, A. D. 1360.

⁵ See Jo. Lannoi, *de Canone, Omnis utriusque sexus*; in his *Opp.* tom. i. pt. i.

p. 271. 274. 287, &c. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 19, and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 253. D'Achery, *Spicileg. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112, &c.

⁶ It was published by Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368. Add Steph. Baluze, *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132. 182, &c.

⁷ [In Leicestershire. *Tr.*]

and some other things, both in his writings and in his discourses. From this he proceeded still further, and in various treatises refuted a large part of the prevailing opinions on religious subjects; exhorted the people to read the sacred volume; translated the Scriptures into the English language⁸ with his own hands; and expressed abhorrence of the grosser superstitions then in vogue. It would be easy to show that neither the doctrines of *Wickliffe* were free from errors, nor his life void of faults; and yet it is most certain that he advocated many things that were wise, and true, and profitable.⁹

§ 20. The monks, whom *Wickliffe* had especially offended, commenced a great religious process against him in the pontifical court of *Gregory XI.*, who in the year 1378 commanded *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of Canterbury, to try the cause in a council at London. From this imminent peril, *Wickliffe* escaped unharmed, through the protection of the duke of Lancaster and other noblemen, who were his friends. And as *Gregory XI.* died soon after, and the fatal schism in the Latin church ensued, one pontiff reigning at Rome, and another at Avignon, this controversy remained long suspended. Upon a change in the state of affairs, *William de Courtenay*, archbishop of Canterbury, revived the controversy in 1385, and urged it on with great vehemence, in two councils, the one held at London, and the other at Oxford. The result was, that of the eighteen¹ opinions, for which the monks accused him, nine were condemned as heresies, and fifteen as errors; but *Wickliffe* himself returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died in tranquillity, A. D. 1387. By what means he escaped this latter peril, which was greater than the former, whether by the favour of the court, or by denying and abjuring the opinions in controversy, does not appear.² He

⁸ [From the Vulgate. *Tr.*]

⁹ His Dialogues, in four books, have lately been reprinted, Frankfort and Leipsic, 1753, 4to, from which may be learned, not indeed all his opinions, but the general objects at which he aimed, and the spirit of the man.

¹ [Twenty-four. *Tr.*]

² A formal biography of this very noted man was composed by John Lewis, "*The History of the life and sufferings of John Wickliffe* ; London, 1720, 8vo." He also published the *New Testament*, in an English translation by John Wickliffe,

from the Latin version called the *Vulgate* : London, 1731, fol. with a learned Preface, in which he treats of the life and sufferings of Wickliffe. [His life is also given in Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1809, 2 vols. 8vo, in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1, &c. and in Milner's *History of the Church*, cent. xiv. ch. iii.] The documents in relation to his trials are in Dav. Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britannia et Hiberniæ*, tom. iii. p. 116, &c. 156, &c. Add Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 450, &c. Aut. Wood's *Antiq.*

left a great number of followers, both in England and out of England, who were denominated *Wickliffites*, and by a vulgar

Oxonians. tom. i. p. 183, &c. 186, &c. and in other places. [John Wickliffe, or de Wickliffe, was born at the village of Wickliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about A. D. 1324, was sent early to Oxford, where he was a commoner of Queen's College, and afterwards of Merton, in which he became a fellow. Merton College about this time contained the following eminent men, Walter Burley, William Occam, Thomas Bradwardine, Simon Mepham, Simon Islip, and Geoffrey Chaucer. Wickliffe was a hard student, a profound scholar, a sarcastic writer, and a subtle disputant. Philosophy, metaphysics, and theology, were his favourite studies. In the year 1360 he distinguished himself by becoming the advocate of the university against the mendicant monks, who infringed the laws of the university, and enticed the students away to their monasteries. Wickliffe, whose English style was excellent for that age, wrote various tracts against them, and disputed against them, with great success. In 1361 he was made master of Balliol College, and, four years after, warden of Canterbury Hall. In 1367, Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, ejected him from the wardenship; and he appealed to the pope, who delayed his decision three years, during which Wickliffe was severely lashing the monks and clergy, and did not spare the pontiff. In 1370, cardinal Andruynus, the papal commissioner, decided the cause against Wickliffe. Soon after, he obtained the rectory of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, through the favour of the duke of Lancaster, which he held till his death, and in which he was a most active and faithful pastor. In 1372, he took his degree of D.D., and now read lectures on theology at Oxford with great applause. He here attacked not only the monks, but also the pope and the clergy; and confuted the prevailing errors of the day, both as to the doctrines of Christianity and the constitution of the Christian church. In 1374, the king appointed him one of his ambassadors to the pope, to remonstrate against the papal *resurrection* of churches. After this he inveighed still more boldly against the pope in his lectures, calling him, "Antichrist, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of

clippers and purse-cutters." He also inveighed against the prelates. In 1376 the monks drew up nineteen articles, extracted from his public lectures and sermons, which they sent to the pope. The principal of these were: "That there is one only universal church, consisting of the whole body of the *pre-destinate*. That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the real body of Christ, but only an *emblem* or *sign* of it—that the church of Rome was no more the head of the universal church, than any other church: and that St. Peter had no greater authority given him, than the rest of the apostles.—That the pope had no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys, than any other priest.—That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities.—That when a prince or temporal lord was convinced that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.—That the Gospel was sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life.—That neither the pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the punishing offenders against the discipline of the church."—On the second of May, 1377, the pope issued five bulls, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, (who were directed to try the charges,) to the king, (who was desired to assist the bishops,) and to the university of Oxford (ordering them to deliver up the accused). The king died before the bulls arrived: the university treated theirs with contempt; the prelates determined to proceed against him, and therefore summoned him to appear before them at London, within thirty days. During that interval, parliament met, and deliberated, whether they might lawfully refuse to send treasure out of the kingdom, when the pope required it to be sent. The resolution of this doubt, was referred, by the king and parliament, to doctor Wickliffe; who answered that it was lawful, and undertook to prove it so, by the principles of the law of Christ. He now appeared before his judges, attended by the duke of Lancaster, and the lord marshal, earl Percy. A vast concourse was assembled. Some alterations en-

term of reproach, brought from Belgium into England, *Lollards*; and these were every where grievously persecuted by the *Inquisitors* and other instruments of the pontiffs. Hence the council of Constance, A. D. 1415, condemned the memory and the opinions of *Wickliffe* in a solemn decree; in consequence of which, in the year 1428, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

§ 21. These numerous adversaries, with all their ability and authority, wholly failed of bringing the mendicant orders to give up their excessive pride and superstition, and to cease from deceiving the multitude with opinions injurious often to the Divine character and to religion. The Franciscans especially, in extolling the excellence of their institution, which they contended was the very *gospel* of Jesus Christ, and in eulogizing the founder of their order, whom they impudently represented as another Christ, or as in every respect like to Christ, exceeded all bounds of sobriety and reverence for the Saviour. Yet the Roman pontiffs patronized this madness by their letters and decrees, in which they declared the absurd fable of the *stigmata*, or five wounds, impressed upon *St. Francis* by the Saviour himself on mount Alverno, to be highly credible, nay, unquestionably true.³ They also suffered to go abroad without cen-

sured between the bishops and the two noblemen, the assembly was in commotion, and Wickliffe was conducted off in safety by his patrons, without having any trial. He was then summoned to appear at Lambeth. He did so, and presented a paper explanatory of the charges, which the bishops thought best to admit as satisfactory. The next year, 1378, the pope died; and the commission to the two English prelates to try the case of Wickliffe of course was at an end. Wickliffe in his lectures, sermons, and writings, now embraced every opportunity of exposing the Romish court, and detecting the vices of the clergy and the monks. In 1381 he published sixteen Theses against transubstantiation; and in his lectures at Oxford, expressly denied the doctrine of the real presence. The vice-chancellor and eleven doctors now condemned his doctrine. In 1378, William Courteney was translated from the see of London to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and now began another process against Wickliffe, whom he summoned to appear at London before commissioners appointed to try him. He was dissuaded by his

friends from appearing; but the university sent a letter in his favour, testifying fully to his learning, piety, and soundness in the faith. Notwithstanding this testimony, and the arguments of his able counsellors, fourteen of his conclusions were pronounced heretical or erroneous. Soon after he left Oxford, in 1382, Wickliffe had a slight shock of the palsy; yet he continued to preach till 1384, when he was seized again, in his pulpit, at Lutterworth, more violently; fell down, was carried home, and shortly after expired, aged sixty years.—His works were a vast number of tracts on doctrinal and practical subjects in theology, against the prevailing errors and vices of the times, &c. See Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. i. p. 1, &c. *Tr.*—There are recent biographies of Wickliffe, by Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. Le Bas. From the latter may be gained, in a small compass, nearly all that is known of this great reformer. His numerous works are chiefly in MS. Hence the world is very insufficiently qualified for judging of his opinions. *Ed.*]

³ The fable of the *Stigmata*, impressed upon Francis by Jesus Christ, is very

sure, and even approved and commended, an impious piece stuffed with monstrous and absurd tales, entitled *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*; which was published in 1385, by *Bartholomew Albizi*, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous book, in which the Son of God himself is put upon a level with a vile and miserable man, is an eternal monument of the impious arrogance and religious stupidity of the Franciscan order, and of the consummate indiscretion of the pontiffs in extolling and recommending those friars.⁴

well known; nor are the pontifical letters unknown, by which belief in this fable is commanded, and which are published with great care, in particular, by Wadding, in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. and ix. [The story of these *Stigmata*, as related by Bonaventura, the biographer of Francis, (*de Vita S. Patris Francisci*, cap. 13.) is briefly this: that Francis, two years before his death, retired, as was his custom, to mount Alvernum, to keep a forty days' fast, in the season of Quadragesima. While praying there, a Seraph appeared flying in the heavens, and came near to him, having six wings, under which he saw distinctly the figure of Christ crucified. The Seraph talked with him; but he would never retail the conversation. After the Seraph departed, he found on himself five wounds; one on each of his feet and hands, and one on his side. On the insides of his hands, and on the upper sides of his feet, were hard, round, black substances, representing the heads of nails; and on the back of his hands, and the bottoms of his feet, projecting acuminated substances, which bent round liked clenched nails. In his side was a wound, three fingers long. From all these, blood and a watery substance flowed occasionally; and he experienced continual, and sometimes exquisite, pain from them. When he descended from the mountain, he, with some hesitation, related the vision to a few trusty friends. His wounds he concealed, as much as possible, during his life. He languished two years, and died. After his death, more than fifty persons examined these wounds, and found them real, among whom were some cardinals. Alexander IV., the Roman pontiff, in preaching before the brethren, when Bonaventura was present, declared that he had seen those wounds on Francis, previously to

his death. *Tr.*] The Dominicans formerly opposed this fable openly; but being restrained by the bulls of the pontiffs, they now ridicule it only in private. The Franciscans, on the contrary, have not ceased to trumpet it. That St. Francis had these *Stigmata*, or appearances of the five wounds of Christ, on his body, I do not doubt; for the fact is attested by witnesses sufficiently numerous and competent. But undoubtedly St. Francis himself, who was peculiarly superstitious, inflicted those wounds upon his own person, in order to be like to Christ, and to bear in his own body a perpetual memento of his sufferings. For it was customary in that age for those who wished to appear more holy and devout than common, to mark themselves with such *Stigmata*, so that they might always have before their eyes something like a picture of the death of Christ. The words of St. Paul, *Gal. vi. 17.* [*I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus,*] were understood, in that ignorant age, to have reference to such a custom. And from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other monuments of this and the following century, a long catalogue of such *branded saints* might be drawn up. Nor is this superstition entirely done away in our own age. The Franciscan friars finding these marks upon the body of their deceased founder, and wishing to make him appear privileged above all men, invented this fable of Christ's miraculously transferring his wounds to St. Francis.

⁴ Concerning Albizi and his book, see Lu. Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 158, &c. Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latina Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 131. Jo. Geo. Schellhorn, *Amanitates Litterar.* tom. iii. p. 160. Peter Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tom. ii. art. *François*; and *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. art.

§ 22. Not a whit wiser than these Franciscans who remained obedient to the pontiffs, were those other Franciscans who insisted on observing their rule perfectly, and who resisted the pontiffs that mitigated it; I refer to the *Fratricelli*, their *Tertiarii*, or *Beghards*, and to the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in France, and embraced the opinions of *Peter John Oliva*. These Franciscans, for a long time, caused great disturbance both in church and state, and gave the pontiffs incredible trouble. Near the beginning of the century, in the years 1306 and 1307, the less austere Franciscans in Italy raged violently against the more strict, or the *Fratricelli*, who had withdrawn from the community.⁵ Such of these as were able to escape the fury of their enemies, in the year 1307 fled into France, and connected themselves with the *Spirituals*, or the followers of *Peter John Oliva* in Provence, who had likewise receded from the body. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order in France, Italy and other countries, was divided into two parties: one of which being attached to the rigid poverty of *St. Francis*, was called that of the *Spirituals*; the other, that was disposed to have the rules of their founder mitigated, was called the *Brethren of the community*. The latter was the larger and more powerful, and laboured to the utmost to suppress the former, which was yet in its infancy and making way by degrees. But the seceders would rather endure every thing than abandon the injunctions of their founder, and return to the community. In the year 1310, the pontiff, *Clement V.*, called the leaders of both parties to his court, and made great efforts to terminate the schism. But the business advanced very slowly, in consequence of the inflexibility of the parties, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while, the *Spirituals* of Tuscany, without waiting for the decision of the pontiff, chose for them-

Albizi, p. 217. Extracts from this book, which is called the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, were made by Erasmus Albertus, and have been often printed in Latin, French, and German; the second German edition was printed, Amsterd. 1734, 2 vols. 8vo. The French and Latin editions are ornamented with elegant engravings. [“The *conformities* between Christ and St. Francis are carried to forty in the book of Albizi, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of

the order of Observants, in a book published at Madrid, in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Nature et Gratiae Portentum*. The *conformities* mentioned by Pedro de Alva Astorga, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.” *Mucl.*]

⁵ Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. ad ann. 1307, p. 91.

selves general and inferior officers; but the French, being nearer the pontiff, waited patiently for his determination.⁶

§ 23. After various deliberations, *Clement V.*, in the general council of Vienne, A. D. 1312, published the celebrated law or bull, called, from its first words, *Exivi de paradiso*⁷; in which he endeavoured to end the discord by taking a middle course. For he made a number of concessions to the *Spirituals*; and, in particular, commanded the Franciscans to profess, as their rule prescribed, *the greatest and most perfect poverty, renouncing all property either common or personal*; and allowing only the *simple use*, and that *narrow, meagre, and poor*, of the necessities of life. On the other hand, he allowed the Franciscans, if they lived in places where it was very difficult to obtain subsistence by begging, to provide themselves with *granaries* and store-cellars, and to collect and lay up in them what they procured by begging: and the officers and overseers of the order were to judge when and where such *granaries* and *cellars* were necessary. Moreover, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some of the opinions of *Peter John Oliva*.⁸ This decision quieted the commotions in France, though with difficulty, and only for a short time; but it had no effect to allay the heated passions of the Tuscan and Italian *Spirituals*, many of whom, not feeling themselves safe in Italy, in the year 1313, emigrated to Sicily, where they were kindly received by *Frederic* the king, and by the nobles, and the bishops.⁹

§ 24. After the death of *Clement V.*, the tumult in France, which had been stilled by his authority, broke out anew. For in the year 1314, one hundred and twenty of the *Spirituals* drove the *Brethren of the community* out of the monasteries of Narbonne and Beziers by force and arms; elected new presiding officers; and (what greatly enhanced the difficulty of this already inveterate contest) cast off their former garments, and assumed such as were short, narrow, and ill-shaped. Many more from other provinces joined with them; and the citizens of Narbonne, among whom *Oliva* was buried, undertook to

⁶ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. ad ann. 1310, p. 172. Eecard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1480. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 129. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 508, 509.

⁷ This law is extant in the *Corpus Juris*

Canon, among the *Clementine*. [lib. v.] tit. xi. *de verbor. significat.* tom. ii. p. 1098. ed. Böhmer.

⁸ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

⁹ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214. Boulay's *Historia Acad.*

defend this company. *John XXII.* being placed at the head of the church, attempted, in the year 1317, to apply a remedy to the inveterate evil. In the first place, by a special law, he ordered the extirpation of the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, or the *Beguins* or *Beghards*, who were distinct from the *Spirituals*.¹⁰ Soon after, he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the *Spirituals* residing in his dominions.¹ And lastly, he called the French *Spirituals* before him at Avignon, and exhorted them to return to their duty, and in particular to lay aside their *short, strait habits, and their small hoods*. Most of them complied; but the head of the company, brother *Bernard Delitosi*, with twenty-four others, boldly refused to submit to the requisition. For these men affirmed, that the rule of *St. Francis* was the same as the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*; and, therefore, that the power of the pontiffs was not adequate to change it. Consequently, the pontiffs did wrong by allowing the Franciscans to have *granaries and cellars*; and they did wrong by prohibiting such garments as *St. Francis* had prescribed. Against these pertinacious friars, *John* directed proceedings² as against *heretics*. And truly they were the worst of *heretics*, for they opposed the majesty and power of the Roman pontiff. The head of the party, brother *Delitosi*, who was sometimes called *Delli Consi*, was confined in a prison, where he ended his days. Four others were burned at the stake, by order of the Inquisitors, at Marseilles, in the year 1318.³

§ 25. These unhappy monks, and afterwards many more, who were cut off in this lamentable contest, were punished merely for disregarding the majesty of the pontiffs; for they considered the rule of their founder, *St. Francis*, as being dictated by God himself, and really the Gospel of *Christ*, to be placed above the pontiff's power. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than serious, and had no connexion with true

Paris. tom. iv. p. 151. 165. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392, &c.

¹⁰ This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is extant among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *de religiosis domibus*; in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112.

¹ Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. p. 265, &c.

² [By the Inquisitors. *Tr.*]

³ Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341, and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 195. 272. Wadding, *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267, &c. 316, &c. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. Martin of Fulda, in *Eccard's Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725, and Herm. Coerner, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 294.

religion. It related merely to two points: *first*, the form of the garments to be worn by Franciscans; and, *secondly*, their *granaries* and *cellars*. The *Brethren of the community*, that is, the laxer Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods or coverings for their head: but the *Spirituals* wore strait, short, sordid, and vile garments, with small hoods, because such a dress, they said, was prescribed for the fraternity in the rule of *St. Francis*, which it was not lawful for any mortal to alter. In the next place, the *Brethren of the community*, in the seasons of harvest and vintage, laid up corn in their granaries, and wine in their cellars: but the *Spirituals* contended that this was inconsistent with genuine mendicity, and the profession made by poor *Minorites*. And hence *John* published, in this very year, a long epistle, in which he directs that both questions be left to the judgment and discretion of the superiors of the order.⁴

§ 26. The effects of this epistle and of other decrees were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of *John XXII.*, which even his friends detested. For the *Spirituals* and their supporters, exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained that *John XXII.* had rendered himself unworthy of the pontifical office, and an *Antichrist*, by the slaughter of those holy men: the four brethren burnt at Marseilles they honoured as martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes: and they contended, far more earnestly than before, against the long garments, the large hoods, and the *granaries* and *cellars*. On the other hand, the *Inquisitors*, by direction of the pontiff, seized all the persons of this description on whom they could lay their hands, and committed them to the flames without mercy, immolating them to the pontifical indignation. From this time onward, therefore, not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany, an immense number of the defenders of the rule of *St. Francis*, *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, and *Spirituals*, were cruelly put to death.⁵

⁴ It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Johannis XXII.* [tit. xiv. cap. 1.] *de verbor. signif.* Add Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273, and others.

⁵ I have in my hands, in addition to the other documents serving to elucidate the difficult history of this persecution,

the *Martyrology of the Spirituals and Fratricelli*, which was exhibited to the Inquisition at Carcassone, A. D. 1454, which contains the names of one hundred and thirteen persons, of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of Innocent VI., [A. D. 1352–1362.] expiated in the flames their zeal for the poverty

§ 27. This conflagration was taking in a wider field, and involving the whole Franciscan order, in the year 1321, when to the former points of controversy a new one was added respecting the poverty of *Christ* and his apostles. A *Beguine*, or one professed in the *third order of St. Francis*, being apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, that *Christ and his apostles' possessed nothing by way of property or dominion, either in common or individually*. This opinion, *John de Belua*, an Inquisitor belonging to the order of Dominicans, pronounced to be an error: but *Berengarius Taloni*, a Franciscan, maintained it to be sound and consonant to the epistle of *Nicolaus III.*, *Exiit qui seminat*. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the decision of the latter was maintained by the Franciscans. The subject being brought before the pontiff, he endeavoured to quiet the new controversy by careful management; and, therefore, called to his counsel *Ubertinus de Casalis*, a Franciscan of great reputation, and a patron of the *Spirituals*. He answered equivocally, and by making distinctions. Yet the pope and the cardinals thought his decision calculated to end the controversy. The pontiff therefore ordered both the parties to acquiesce under it, and to be silent and observe moderation.⁶

§ 28. But the impassioned minds of the Dominicans and Franciscans could not be brought to submit to this mandate. *John* therefore, in the year 1322, allowed the controversy to be brought up again; and he laid the following question before the most celebrated divines, and especially those of Paris, for their decision: *Whether those were heretics who affirmed that Jesus Christ and his apostles held no property, either in common or as individuals?* The Franciscans, who this year held their convention at Perugia, having had previous notice of the business, unanimously decided, that persons making such an assertion were no heretics, but held a doctrine that was true and holy, and accordant with the decisions of the pontiffs: and they appointed a man of distinguished learning, belonging to their order, brother

of St. Francis, in France and Italy. To these, so many others might be added from the historians and documents, printed and manuscript, that I suppose a catalogue of two thousand such martyrs might be made out. See the *Codex Inquis.*

Tolosane; published by Limborch, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

⁶ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. Steph. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 307. Gerh. Du Bois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611, &c.

Bonagratia of Bergamo, who was also called *Boncourtense*⁷, to repair to Avignon, and there defend this decision of the whole order against all opponents. *John XXII.* was exceedingly offended at this, and published an ordinance, in the month of November, in which he espoused the opposite doctrine to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced those to be *heretics* who should pertinaciously maintain that *Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or individually, and had not the right of selling and giving away what they possessed.* A little after, he proceeded still further; and in an ordinance drawn up in the month of December, he exposed the vanity and futility of the arguments, commonly drawn from a bull of *Nicolaus III.*, proving a transfer of the dominion of the Franciscan possessions to the church of Rome, leaving only the simple use, without any ownership to the brethren: for it was utterly impossible, in regard to things which are consumed by the use of them, to separate the right of use from the right of property or dominion. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects reserved by the former pontiffs to the Romish church, with the exception of their churches and some other things; and dismissed the officers or purveyors, who had hitherto received the revenues and administered the affairs of the order in the name of the Romish church, and repeated all the laws and constitutions of his predecessors on this subject.⁸

§ 29. These pontifical ordinances destroyed the very citadel of the Franciscan order, that boasted *expropriation*, in which *Francis* placed the highest glory of his fraternity. Hence the Franciscans most resolutely opposed the pontiff: and in particular, brother *Bonagratia*, the legate of the order, publicly maintained in the court of the pontiff, A. D. 1323, that the last ordinance of *John* was repugnant both to human and divine law, and announced an appeal.⁹ The pontiff, on the other hand,

⁷ I notice this circumstance, because some valuable writers have made them two persons.

⁸ These constitutions are inserted in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Extravagantes* [*Johannis XXII.*] tit. xiv. *de verbor. significat.* cap. ii. iii. p. 1121, &c. On the subject itself, the most important writer to be consulted is the contemporary author, Alvarus Pelagius, *de Planctu Ecclesie*, lib. ii. c. 60, &c. p. 145, &c. and

next to him, Lau. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi. p. 394, &c. Both censure John. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191, &c.

⁹ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22, &c. Alvar. Pelagius, *de Planctu Ecclesie*, lib. ii. p. 167. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157. Theod. de Niem, in Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Aevi*, tom. i. p. 1494, &c.

threw this bold defender of Franciscan poverty into prison; and, by a new edict, at the close of the year, commanded that all persons should be accounted *heretics* and corrupters of religion, who should teach that Christ and his apostles possessed no property, either in common or as individuals.¹ And as this edict did not terrify the Franciscans, and many of them poured forth reproaches and maledictions against *John*, another bull, still more violent, was issued towards the close of the year 1324; in which the pontiff defended his former decrees, and pronounced the doctrine of an *expropriation by Christ and his apostles*, to be *pestiferous, erroneous, damnable, blasphemous, and opposed to the catholic faith*; and ordered, that all who professed it, should be accounted *heretics, contumacious, and rebels against the church*.² The effect of this edict was, that many, who continued to assert that Christ and his apostles were such mendicants as Francis required his brethren to be, were seized and committed to the flames by the enemies of the Franciscans, the Dominican Inquisitors. And the history of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany shows, that examples of this very great cruelty were not few, in this and the following century.

§ 30. *John* strenuously prosecuted this business in the subsequent years. As the whole controversy seemed to originate from the books of *Peter John Oliva*, in the year 1325, he declared the *Postilla*, and the other writings of *Oliva*, to be heretical.³ He next summoned to Avignon the more learned and eminent Franciscans, whose tongues and pens he feared, and detained them at his court. And lastly, he employed his friends the Dominicans every where as sentinels; lest the Franciscans, who were full of indignation and wrath, should plot some mischief. The general of the order, *Michael de Cæsenas*, lived in Italy, and

¹ Wadding, tom. vii. p. 36. The continuator of de Nangis, in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. iii. p. 83. Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205. The Benedictine *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515, &c.

² This constitution, as well as the two above mentioned, is [in the *Corpus Juris Canon.*] among the *Extravagantes* [*Johan. XXII.*] tit. xiv. *de verbor. signif.* [cap. v.] The last one is strenuously opposed, at great length, by Wadding, tom. vii. p. 36, which was not to be expected in a man so immoderately devoted to the pontiffs.

³ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 47. Jo. George Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 592 and 1491. [And indeed *Oliva* has, in his *Postilla* on the Apocalypse, propositions which the pope must have accounted worthy of condemnation. He understood by the whore of Babylon, the Romish church; by Antichrist, the pope; by the angel flying through the midst of heaven with the everlasting gospel, St. Francis; and by an evangelical life, a life void of all property, common or personal, and in which a person has the mere use of things. *Schl.*]

did not disguise his hatred of the pontiff. Him, therefore, he summoned to Avignon, in the year 1327, and deprived him of his office.⁴ This use of force, tempered with policy, only inflamed still more the minds of the Franciscans who were contending for absolute poverty. And a fierce contest breaking out between *John XXII.* and the emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria, several of the leading Franciscans, among whom *Marsilius* of Padua, and *John* of Jandunum, or Genoa, were pre-eminent, fled to the emperor, and under his protection opposed most violently in their writings, not only *John* himself, but generally the power and authority of the Roman pontiffs.⁵ Their example was followed by *Michael Casenas*, *William Occam*, a man of extraordinary subtlety and acuteness, and by brother *Bonagrata*, of Bergamo, who in the year 1328 proceeded by sea from Avignon, first into Italy, to the emperor, and thence to Munich. These were succeeded by others, in great numbers; among whom were *Berengarius*, *Francis de Esculo*, and *Henry de Halem*, men eminent for erudition and talents.⁶ All these composed eloquent and severe

⁴ See Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

⁵ Lu. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85, &c. *Bullarium Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. Particularly noted is the performance of Marsilius of Padua, a professor at Vienna, entitled, *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpationem Romani pontificis jurisdictionem*; published with other works, and also separately, by Fran. Gomarus, Francof. 1592. 8vo.

⁶ Wading's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 81. Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 749. 757, &c. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 167. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217. Eccard's *Corpus Historicor. Medii Aevi*, tom. ii. p. 1034. Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 293. 315, &c. Concerning these men, the reader may consult the compilers of Catalogues and *Bibliothecas* of the Ecclesiastical writers.—[Michael Casenas, D. D. was a native of Italy, a Franciscan, of the province of Bologna, and created general of the order A. D. 1316. He strenuously enforced the discipline of the order; presided in the chapter held at Perugia, A. D. 1322; was summoned to Avignon in 1327, imprisoned, and the next year

ordered to trial for the decision in the chapter at Perugia. He appealed from the sentence, and, fearing the consequences, privately escaped from Avignon. The pope now excommunicated him, and deposed him from the generalship of his order, appointing cardinal Bertrand to succeed him. Michael appealed to a council, joined the emperor Lewis, and strenuously resisted the pontiff. In the year 1329, Bertrand called a chapter of the Franciscans at Paris, which deposed Michael, and elected Gerard to succeed him. He now openly accused the pope of heresy; and the latter anathematized him in 1330; and the year following, the convention of his order at Perpignan declared him a heretic. He died A. D. 1343, retaining his rancour against the pope to the last. His works are, several tracts, letters, and protestations against John XXII., concerning the papacy, and on the four books of Sentences, and some sermons. — MARSHALL PRITCHARD was born at Padua, studied law at Orleans, was one of the most distinguished philosophers and jurists of his age, and became a counsellor of Lewis of Bavaria. He composed his celebrated *Defensor pacis pro Ludovico*, &c. in three books, A. D. 1324; in which he asserts the superiority of the emperors over the popes, even in the external affairs of the church; de-

treatises, in which they vindicated the rule of their founder, and depreciated the power and majesty of the pontiffs. *Occam* excelled the rest, whose *Dialogues* and other writings were eagerly read, and handed down to posterity, and have inflicted a mortal wound on the pontifical supremacy.

§ 31. The emperor, *Lewis* of Bavaria, feeling grateful to these his defenders, made the case of the Franciscans against *John XXII.* his own; and he not only espoused their cause, but likewise their opinion respecting the mendicity of Christ and the apostles. For among the pernicious errors, for which he publicly accused *John* of heresy, and removed him from the pontificate, the chief was his opinion respecting *Christ's* poverty, or that he was not destitute of all property; than which the em-

piets the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome, in vivid colours; and shows that the bishops of Rome have no more authority, by divine right, over the whole church, than any other bishops. In 1327, *John XXII.* excommunicated him; and he died the year following. Besides his *Defensor pacis*, he left tracts on the power of the emperors in matrimonial causes, and on the transfer of the empire.—*John de Janduno*, or of Genoa, was a doctor at Perugia, and a distinguished theologian and philosopher, who was excommunicated at the same time with Marsilius. In the year 1338, he published his tract, *Pro Superioritate Imperatoris in temporalibus*. He also wrote commentaries on various works of Aristotle.—*William Occam* was an Englishman, born [at Ockham] in Surrey, a disciple of Duns Scotus; was called *Doctor Singularis*, and *Venerabilis Inceptor*, and belonged to the order of Franciscans. In the beginning of this century, he occupied a theological chair in the university of Paris; dissented from his master Scotus, and became the head of the sect of Nominalists. He espoused the cause of Philip the Fair against the pontiff, in a tract on the point in controversy. In 1322, he was made provincial of his order for England; attended the general chapter at Perugia the same year, and embraced strongly the decision of that convention respecting the poverty of Christ and his apostles. This doctrine he now openly preached every where, and particularly at Bologna. The next year the pope commanded him to be silent on pain of excommunication. He retired to France, and remained se-

cure in silence till 1328; when he drew his pen, in favour of Lewis, against the pope; espoused the cause of Peter Corbarius, the antipope; wrote keenly against the ambition and tyranny of *John XXII.*, and maintained that the emperor was subject to none but God, in temporal things. He was therefore excommunicated by *John* in 1330; and fled to the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, who received him kindly, made him his privy counsellor; and he remained all the rest of his life at that court, strenuously and learnedly defending the emperor's cause against the pope. He said to the emperor, *Tu me defendas gladio; et ego te defendam calamo*. He died A. D. 1347; some say, later. His numerous works are, Questions and Commentaries on the four books of Sentences; several works on logic, metaphysics, and philosophy; a Dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier on ecclesiastical and secular power; a tract on the jurisdiction of the emperors in matrimonial causes; eight questions on the power and majesty of the pontiffs; *Centiloquium Theologicum*, or 100 propositions, on nearly all points in speculative theology; a Dialogue between a master and his scholar, in three parts (a large work relating chiefly to the constitution and discipline of the church, in opposition to the pontifical claims); a compendium of the errors of *John XXII.*; *Opus nonaginta dierum* (against *John's* positions in regard to the Franciscans); *Quodlibeta VII.*; a tract on the eucharist; another on the body of Christ; a tract against Benedict XII., and a letter to the Franciscans. *Tr.*]

peror supposed, there could be no worse heresy.⁷ The emperor, moreover, afforded to all the *Fratricelli*, the *Beghards*, the *Beguins*, and the *Spirituals*, who were contending against the pontiff, a secure asylum in Germany against the Inquisitors. Hence, during his reign, Germany abounded in herds of mendicants; and in nearly all the provinces and cities, houses were erected for *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that is, for persons professing what was called the *third rule* of St. Francis, and placing the highest virtue of a Christian man in a voluntary destitution of all things, or in mendicity.⁸ On the contrary, the *Dominicans*, who were the enemies of the Franciscans and the friends of the pontiff, the emperor treated with great severity, banishing them from many cities with disgrace.⁹

§ 32. This great, and, to the pontiffs, formidable controversy began to subside in the year 1329. For in this year the pontiff directed the convention of the Franciscan order to be held at Paris; and by means of cardinal *Bertrand*, who presided in the assembly, and was assisted by the doctors of Paris, the pontiff so far soothed the majority of the brethren, that they ceased from supporting *Michael Cæsenus* and his followers; allowed another general to be chosen in his place, *Gerard Oddonis*; acknowledged *John* to be the true and legitimate pontiff; and terminated the contest respecting the poverty of Christ, in such a way as not to impeach the constitutions and decrees of *Nicolaus III.* and *John XXII.*¹ But great numbers in Germany, Spain, and Italy, could not be persuaded to admit this pacification. After the death of *John*, *Benedict XII.* and *Clement VI.* endeavoured to heal the schism by mildness and clemency towards those Franciscans who had greater veneration for the rule of their founder than for the decrees of the pontiffs: nor were they unsuccessful. For many returned to the fraternity from which they had receded; and among these were some of the most inveterate opposers of *John*; such as *Francis de Esculo*, and others.² Those who would not return, did not insult the pontiffs, but

⁷ See the *Processus Ludorici contra Johannem*, A. D. 1328, die 12 Dec. datus; in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom. ii. p. 522. &c. and his *Appellatio*; *ibid.* p. 494, &c.

⁸ I have in my possession many proofs of this fact, which were never published.

⁹ Mart. Diefenbach, *de Mortis Genere*, quo *Henricus VII.* obiit, p. 145; and others. Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Medi*

Ævi, tom. i. p. 2103. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 220, &c.

¹ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 94. D'Achery *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

² Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vii. p. 313.

lived quietly in obedience to the laws of their founder; nor would they hold intercourse with the *Fratricelli*, and their *Tertiarii*, in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who openly contemned the authority of the pontiffs.³

§ 33. The Germans, whom the emperor *Lewis* protected, resisted longer than the others. But at his death, A. D. 1348, the golden age of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, and of the *Beghards* or *Tertiarii* connected with them, expired in Germany. For *Charles IV.*, who had been created emperor by the influence of the pontiff, in 1345, and now succeeded to the empire, seconded the desires and wishes of the church, supported by edicts and by arms the Inquisitors, who were sent by the pontiff against his enemies, and allowed them to seize and put to death all whom they could. They accordingly proceeded, first in the provinces of Magdeburg, Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, to extirpate all the *Beghards* and *Beguins*; that is, the associates or *Tertiarii* of those Franciscans who maintained that Christ and his apostles had no property. On learning this, *Charles IV.*, then residing at Lucca, in Italy, issued very severe mandates to all the princes in Germany, in the year 1369, to expel, and to aid the Inquisitors in extirpating, as enemies to the church and to the Roman empire, the *Beghards* and *Beguins*, or, as the emperor himself interprets the name, the *voluntary mendicants*.⁴ By another edict, a little after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the tribunal of the *Inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*: but the houses of the *Beguins* he ordered to be sold, and the proceeds to be distributed equally among the *Inquisitors*, the poor, and the magistrates of the towns.⁵ The *Beghards* being reduced to extremities by these mandates of the emperor, and by the edicts of the pontiffs, fled into Switzerland, into the provinces along the Rhine, into Holland and

³ Wadding's *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 116. 126. Argentre, l. c. tom. i. p. 343, &c.

⁴ In the German, *Die wilgen Armen*.

⁵ I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of Charles IV., relating to this subject, and also many of the pontifical constitutions, and other documents which illustrate this affair, and which, in my judgment, are not unworthy of publication. Charles IV., in his edicts and laws, accurately describes the persons whom he calls *Beghards* and *Beguins*; so that there can be no doubt we are to understand them to be Francis-

can Tertiaries of the class that disagreed with the pontiffs. *They are* (says the emperor, in his edict dated at Lucca, on the 15th of the Kalends of June, A. D. 1366,) *a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and make vows or professions, that they will possess nothing, and ought not to, either individually or in common; (this is the poverty of the Franciscan institute, which John XXII. so strenuously opposed :) which they also exhibit externally by their vile garments.* (Such was the practice of the *Spirituals* and of their associates.)

Brabant, and also into Pomerania.⁶ But there also the laws and mandates of the emperor, the decrees of the pontiffs, and the Inquisitors, followed them. And thus, under *Charles IV.*, the greatest part of Germany, with the exception of Switzerland, and the provinces adjacent to Switzerland, was purged of the rebellious Franciscans, as well the perfect sort, as the imperfect, or *Beghards*.

§ 34. But neither edicts nor Inquisitors could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate evil and discord. For the wish to observe perfectly the rule of *St. Francis* was so deeply infixed in the minds of many of the brethren, that there were persons every where who either directly resisted the general of the order, or obeyed him with feelings of reluctance. In order, therefore, to satisfy both parties, the more lax, and the more rigid, various measures having been tried in vain, recurrence was had to a division of the order. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the general of the order gave liberty to *Paulutius Fulginas*, the leader of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, and his associates, who were considerably numerous, to live detached from the rest of the brethren, and, according to their own customs and regulations, observing the rule of their founder more religiously and sacredly. To this party, gradually, came over such as remained, here and there, of the *Spirituals*, and of the followers of *Oliva*. And the number of the lovers of the severer discipline being increased, and the party extending itself over many provinces, the pontiffs sanctioned the association by their authority. Thus the Franciscan order was split into two sects, which have continued down to the present times, that of the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observance*, or *regular observance*. The first name is given to those who have receded further from the literal sense of the rule of their founder, and who adopt the interpretation of it by the pontiffs; the latter name was given by the council of Constance, to those who chose to follow the words of the rule, rather than the interpretation given to it.⁷ But this reconciliation was rejected by the *Fratricelli* and their *Beghards*, who have been so often mentioned; and who, in this and the following century, did

⁶ This I learn from Odon. Raynald, *Annales Eccles.* ad ann. 1372, § 34, p. 513, and from the writings of Felix Mal-

leolus, composed in the following century against the Beghards in Switzerland.

⁷ See Wadding's *Annales Minorum*.

not cease to disturb the church in the marquisate of Ancona, and in other places.

§ 35. In this century also there were new religious associations formed; of which some were of short continuance, and others acquired no great notoriety or fame. In the year 1367, *John Colombini*, a nobleman of Siena, instituted the order of the *Apostolic Clerks*; who were afterwards called *Jesuates*, because they pronounced so very frequently the name of *Jesus*. This order was confirmed by *Urban V.* in the year 1368; but it was abolished by *Clement IX.* in the seventeenth century, or A. D. 1668. Its members followed the rule of *St. Augustine*; but they were not in holy orders, and only gave themselves to prayer, to pious offices, administering to the poor, and were themselves without property. They also prepared medicines, and administered them gratis among the needy.⁸ But these regulations were nearly abandoned when *Clement* dissolved the order.

§ 36. Not long after the commencement of the century, there arose at Antwerp the sect of the *Cellite Brethren and Sisters*; who were also called the *Brethren and Sisters of Alexius*, because they had *St. Alexius* for their patron saint. The name *Cellites* (*Cellitæ*) was derived from the *cells* in which they resided. As the priests in that age paid almost no attention to the sick and the dying, and wholly forsook and abandoned those infected by pestilential diseases, which then were very prevalent, certain pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into an association for performing these pious offices. While the clergy, therefore, fled from the danger and hid themselves, these persons visited and comforted the sick, conversed and prayed with them when dying, attended to the burial of such as died with the plague, and accompanied their remains to the grave with mournful singing. From the last of these offices they acquired among the people the common appellation of *Lollhards*.⁹ The

tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78, &c.

⁸ Hip. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 411, &c. Francis Pagi, *Breviarium Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189, &c. Bonanni, and the other writers on the monastic orders.

⁹ Concerning the name and the sect of the Lollhards, there are many disqui-

sitions and narrations; but no one has so written on the subject as to deserve commendation, either for good faith, or for diligence and accuracy. On this subject, I make assertions with the more confidence, because I have made special investigations respecting the Lollhards, and have collected copious materials from printed and unprinted documents,

example of these good people was followed by many others ; and in a short time, over the greater part of Germany and the

from which a history of them might be compiled. Very many writers, both of the Lutheran and other communities, tell us that the Lollhards were a peculiar sect, dissenting on many points of religion from the Romish church ; and that Walter Lollhard, who was burnt at Cologne in this century, was the father of it. From what source so many learned men could derive these facts, I confess myself unable to comprehend. They refer, indeed, to the authority of John Trithemius ; but he certainly has left us nothing of the kind in his writings. I will endeavour, with all the brevity I can, to put the student of ecclesiastical history upon a right course of thinking on this subject.

The term *Lollhardus* or *Lullhardus*, or, as the ancient Germans wrote it, *Lollert*, or *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *lullen*, *lollen*, or *lallen*, and the well-known termination *hard*, which is subjoined to so many German words. *Lollen* or *lullen* signifies to sing with a low voice. It is still used in this sense by the English, who say, *to lull a-sleep* ; that is, to sing any one into a slumber, with a sweet and slender voice. See Francis Junius *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, published by Edward Lye, Oxon, 1743, fol. on the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense by the Flemings, the Swedes, and other nations ; as their dictionaries will show. Among the Germans, both the signification and the sound have undergone some change. For they pronounce it *lallen* ; and denote by it, *to utter indistinctly*, *to stammer*. A Lollhard, therefore, is a *singer*, or one who sings much and often. But as the word *beggen*, which signified in general *to beg earnestly* for any thing, was transferred to religious supplications or prayers addressed to God, and thus came to denote, in its more limited sense, *to pray earnestly to God* ; so also the verb *lollen* or *lullen* was transferred to sacred singing, and in its limited sense, denoted, *to sing sacred songs*. In the vulgar language of the old Germans, therefore, a Lollhard was a man who was *continually praising God with sacred songs*, or was *singing hymns*. The import of the word was most accurately apprehended and expressed by a writer of that age, named Hoeseuius,

a canon of Liege, in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. 31, (in Jo. Chapeavilli, *Gesta Pontificum Tungensium et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350. &c.) who says : *In the same year (1309) certain strolling hypocrites, who were called Lollhards, or praisers of God, (qui Lollhardi sive Deum laudantes vocabantur,) deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant. And because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, hence, in the style of the middle ages, to praise God, was the same as to sing ; and the persons who praised God, were religious singers, who continually celebrated the divine majesty and goodness in sacred hymns. Moreover, as praying and singing were the most manifest external indications of piety, therefore all who affected more than ordinary piety and devotion, and of course praised God and prayed to him more than others, were in the popular language called Lollhards. Thus this term acquired the same import with the term Beghard, or denoted a person distinguished for piety. And these two words are used as synonymous in the ancient writings of the eleventh and following centuries ; so that the same persons are at one time called Beghards, and at another Lollhards. This might be evinced, unanswerably, by numerous examples ; and is sufficiently manifest from the writings of Felix Maleolus alone, against the Beghards. There were, then, as many species of Lollhards as there were of Beghards. Those whom the monks now call Lay Brothers, were formerly called Lollard Brothers ; as is well observed by Barthol. Schobinger, on Joach. Vadianus de Collegiis Monasterisque Germanie veteris, lib. i. p. 24. (in Goldast, *Scriptores Rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.) *The Brethren of the free spirit*, of whom we have already spoken, were by some called Beghards, and by others Lollhards. The disciples of Gerhard Groote, or the *priests of common life*, were very often called Lullard Brethren. The honest Walter, who was burnt at Cologne, and whom so many of the learned improperly regard as the founder of the sect of Lollhards, was by some called a Beghard, by others a Lollhard, and by others a *Fratricellus*. The Franciscan *Tertiarii*, who distinguished themselves*

Netherlands, societies were formed of such *Lollhards*, of both sexes, who were supported partly by their own labour, and partly by the munificence of those whom they served, and of other pious persons. By the magistrates and citizens of the places where they lived, these brethren and sisters were highly esteemed, on account of the kind offices which they performed for the sick and distressed. But the priests, whose reputation they injured not a little, and the mendicant monks, whose resources they diminished, persecuted them violently, and accused them before the pontiffs of many faults and of the most griev-

above the common people by their prayers and other religious observances, are often designated by the term *Lollhards*. But especially were the Celite Brethren, or the Alexians, whose piety was so conspicuous, as soon as they appeared in Belgium, near the beginning of this century, designated by the common people with the familiar appellation of *Lollhards*. In this case, however, there was a special reason for the people to bestow on them this name. For they attended to their graves those who died of the pestilence, singing in a low voice, solemn, funeral dirges, and were therefore public singers. Out of many testimonies, I will adduce only some from Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, a man well versed in the history of his country. In his *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16, he says: *The Alexians who employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp: where, soon after the year 1300, some honest and pious laymen associated together; and were called, from their frugality and their unassuming and plain manner of life, Matemani; and from their devotedness to funerals, Lollhards (a funerum obsequiis, Lollhardi); from their cells, Cellite Brethren.* In his *Lovanium*, p. 18, b. which is in his *Antiquit. Belgicæ*, published splendidly in fol. Louvain, 1708, he says: *The Alexians, who took the charge of funerals as a business, began to appear. They were laymen, that devoted themselves to works of mercy, and were then called Lollhards and Matemans. Their attention to the care of the sick, the delirious, and the dead, both in public and in private, was pleasing to all.* This learned author tells us, that he transcribed a part of these facts from an *ancient Flemish diary, written in rhyme.* Hence, in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, (in *Ant. Matthæus, Analecta Veter. Ævi*, tom. i. p. 431,) we read: *Die Lollardtjes die brochten de*

dooden by een, [i.e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies. Macl.] which Matthæus thus explains: *The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a regular body, were vile, worthless fellows, who usually spoke in mournful tones, as if bewailing the dead. And hence the name of a street at Utrecht, in which most of them lived, was called (de Lollestraet) the Lollard street.* Compare also the same *Analecta*, &c. tom. ii. p. 345. 643. The same cause that changed the reputable appellation of Beghard into a term of reproach, effected a similar change in the name of Lollhard: namely, the fact, that among those persons who would be thought superior to others in piety, and who spent their time in prayer and praise, and religious exercises, base hypocrites were found, who pretended to piety, in order to conceal their vicious conduct and their absurd religious tenets. Especially after the rise of the *Alexiani* or Cellites, the term Lollhard became reproachful and base. For the priests and monks being very inimical to this honest sort of people, studiously propagated injurious suspicions respecting them, and represented these Lollhards, who appeared so spotless and so benevolent, as in reality vile characters, infected with abominable principles, and addicted to vices and crimes. Thus gradually the term Lollhard, in its common application, came to designate one who conceals either heretical principals or vicious conduct under the mask of piety. It is therefore certain, that this appellation was not anciently appropriated to any one sect, but was common to all sects and persons, in whom impiety towards God and the church was supposed to be concealed under an external appearance of the contrary.

ous errors: and in consequence of their exertions, the term *Lollhard*, which before implied no reproach, became a reproachful epithet, denoting one who conceals great vices and pernicious sentiments, under the mask of piety. But the magistrates, by their commendations and their testimony, supported the *Lollhards* against their rivals, and procured for them various decrees of the pontiffs, approving of their institution, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and subjecting them only to the bishops. Yet even this did not enable them to live in safety. Hence *Charles*, duke of Burgundy, obtained a decree from *Sixtus IV.*, in the year, 1472, by which the *Cellite* or *Lollhards* were admitted among the religious orders, and were withdrawn even from the jurisdiction of the bishops: and *Julius II.*, in the year 1506, conferred on them still greater privileges. Many societies of their kind still exist at Cologne and in the cities of the Netherlands, though they have essentially departed from their ancient manner of life.¹

§ 37. Among the Greek writers the following were the most distinguished. *Nicephorus Callistus*, whose Ecclesiastical History has already been mentioned.² *Matthew Blastares*, who expounded and illustrated the ecclesiastical law of the Greek church.³ *Barlaam*, a strenuous defender of the cause of the Greeks against the Latins.⁴ *Gregory Acindynus*, who warmly opposed the sect of the Palamites, of which notice will be taken hereafter.⁵ *John Cantacuzenus*, distinguished for the history

¹ Besides many others who cannot be here cited, see *Ægid. Gelenius de admiranda sacra et civili Magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. syntagm. li. p. 534, &c. 598. 603, &c. *J. Bapt. Gramme, Antiq. Belgicæ*; *Anton. Sanderus, Brabantia et Flandria illustratæ*; *Aub. Miræus, Opera Diplomatica*; in many passages, and many other writers of those times. I will add, that those who were called *Lollhards*, were also called by many, in German, *die Nollbrüder*, from the obsolete word *Nollen*.

² [See above, p. 597, note⁶. *Tr.*]

³ [Matthew Blastares was a Greek monk and jurist, who flourished about A. D. 1335. His *Alphabeticeum Canonum Syntagma*, or Alphabetical synopsis of the matter contained in the sacred canons, was published, Gr. and Lat., in Beverege's *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672, tom. ii.

pt. ii. p. 1. His tract on matrimonial causes and questions, is extant, Gr. and Lat., in Leunclav. *Jus Gr. Rom.* lib. viii. p. 478. He also translated the fictitious donation of Constantine into Greek. *Tr.*]

⁴ [See above, p. 598, note⁶. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Gregory Acindynus was a follower of Barlaam, and assisted him in the council of Constantinople against Palamas and the Hesychists; and, together with Barlaam, was laid under censure by that council. Not ceasing to harass the Hesychists, he was arraigned by the patriarch, A. D. 1341, and ordered to be still, or he would be excommunicated. In 1347, he was actually excommunicated; and afterwards lived in obscurity. His lambic poem on the heresy of Gregory Palamas, is extant, Gr. and Lat., in Leo Allat. *Gr. Orthoed.* tom. i. p. 756—

he composed, and for his confutation of the Mahumedan faith.⁶ *Nicephorus Gregoras*, who has left us a history of the Greek empire, and some other products of his genius.⁷ *Theophanes*, bishop of Nice, who maintained the truth of Christianity against the Jews and other enemies of it.⁸ *Nilus Cabasilas*, *Nilus Rhodius*, and *Nilus Damyla*, all of whom zealously supported the cause of the Greeks against the Latins.⁹ *Philotheus*, who has left various tracts calculated to excite pious emotions.¹⁰ *Gregory Palamas*, of whom more will be said hereafter.¹

770, and his two books, *de Essentia et Operatione Dei*, against Palamas and others, were published, Gr. and Lat., by Gretser, Ingolst. 1616, 4to. *Tr.*

⁶ [See above, p. 597, note⁵. *Tr.*]

⁷ [See above, p. 596, note¹. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Theophanes, archbishop of Nice, flourished A. D. 1347, and wrote *Adversus Judæos, libri ii.* also *Concordia Vet. et Novi Testam.* proving *Jesus* to be the Messiah; besides some Epistles. A full analysis of the two first works is given by Possevin, *Apparat.* tom. ii. p. 470. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Nilus Cabasilas was archbishop of Thessalonica, under John Cantacuzenus, about A. D. 1340. His tract, *de Causis Divisionum in Ecclesia*; and another, *de Primatu Papæ*, have been repeatedly published, particularly by Salmasius, Gr. and Lat., with notes, subjoined to his work on the Primacy of the Pope, Leyden, 1645, 4to. He is reported to have written 49 books, *de Processione Sp. S. adversus Latinos*.—Nilus Rhodius was metropolitan of Rhodes, perhaps about A. D. 1360. He took sides with the Palamites against Barlaam; and wrote *Enarratio Synoptica de Sanctis et Œcumenicis Synodis IX.*, which is extant in Justell's *Biblioth. Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1155.—Nylus Damyla was a native of Italy, a monk in Crete, a violent opposer of the Latins, and flourished A. D. 1400. His works, from which only extracts have been published, are, *de Ordine in Divina Triade, et de Processione Spir. S. Collectanea adversus eos qui contradicunt Spiritum S. non ex Patre, sed ex Patre et Filio procedere*; *de Damaso Papa et fide antiquæ Romæ*; and, *de Synodis duabus Photianis*: all of which exist in MS. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ [Philotheus was a Greek monk, prior of the Laura of Mount Athos,

metropolitan of Heraclea A. D. 1354; patriarch of Constantinople A. D. 1355; and died in 1371, greatly distinguished for reputed piety and for eloquence. His *Liturgia et Ordo instituendi Diaconum*, and his Eulogy on the hierarchs, Basil, Gregory Theologus, and John Chrysostom, are given in a Latin translation in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. and the last, Greek and Latin, in Fronto Ducaeus, *Auctuar. Patrum*, tom. ii. His *Oratio de Cruce*, and *Oratio in Tertiam Jejuniar. Dominicam*. Greek and Latin, are in Gretser, *de Cruce*, tom. ii. He wrote seventeen books, on Christ's transfiguration, in Defence of Palamas against Barlaam; also discourses against Barlaam; a confession of faith; homilies on the Gospels for the year, and on all the saints; and some other things, which are preserved in manuscript. *Tr.*]

¹ [Gregory Palamas, an Asiatic, educated at court, who renounced the world, gave up all his property, and became a monk. He spent 10 years at mount Athos, and 10 more at Berrheæ; and then went to Thessalonica, to recover his health, injured by his austerities. He now became the successful leader of the monks against Barlaam for a series of years, and was much at court and in councils. In 1347 he was imprisoned by a faction; but soon after was liberated by another faction, and nominated, but not ordained, patriarch. About the year 1354, by order of the emperor Cantacuzenus, he was consecrated archbishop of Thessalonica, but the magistrates there would not admit him to his see, and he retired to Lemnos, where he was supported by the emperor's bounty. His works are, two orations on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, against the Latins; a refutation of the statements of John Vecess; *Prosepopaia*, or two judi-

§ 38. Of the vast host of Latin writers, we shall select only the most eminent. Among the scholastic doctors, who united

ecial pleas of the body and the soul, each against the other : two orations on the transfiguration of Christ ; besides some pieces never published.

Besides those hitherto mentioned, there were the following Greek writers in this century.

Haiton, or Aiton, an Armenian prince, who served long in the wars of Palestine against the Saracens, and then, about A. D. 1290, became a Præmonstratensian monk in the island of Cyprus, and spent his life in retirement and devotion. About A. D. 1307, while resident at Poitiers, in France, he dictated a history of the Tartars, their customs, and their wars, which Nicolaus Falconius translated from the French, in which it was dictated, into barbarous Latin, entitled *Itinerarium et Fles Historiarum Orientis* ; with an Appendix, entitled *Passagium Terræ Sanctæ*. It was printed repeatedly ; e. g. by Reinseccius, Helmst. 1585, and in Italian, Venice, 1553.

Georgius Lecapenus, a monk, who lived in Thessaly, was intimate with Gregory Palamas, and flourished about A. D. 1354. He wrote *de Constructione Verborum*, published in Gr., Venice and Florence, 1526, 8vo ; also many epistles, and a number of grammatical works, which exist in manuscript.

Callistus, a monk of mount Athos, sent to court by his monastery, and made patriarch of Constantinople, by Cantacuzenus, A. D. 1354, retired after two years ; again resumed the chair, and died on an embassy to the Servian princess Elizabeth. To him is ascribed a homily on the exaltation of the cross, in Gretser *de Cruce*, tom. ii. p. 1347, and some others, which exist in manuscript.

Demetrius Cydonius, a native of Constantinople, and one of the principal counsellors and courtiers of the emperor Cantacuzenus. He retired with that emperor to a monastery ; and afterwards, leaving Greece, studied theology and the Latin writers at Milan ; and then, selling his property, spent his life in a monastery in Crete. He has left a tract on the execrable doctrines of Gregory Palamas ; another on the Procession of the Holy Spirit ; two deliberative orations on public political affairs ; an oration on contempt of death ; and an epistle to Barlaam, against the procession of the Spirit

from the Son ; all of which have been printed ; as also his Greek translation of Richard's confutation of the Alcoran. He also translated into Greek St. Thomas's *Summa Theologiæ*, and some other of St. Thomas's works, as well as some of St. Anselm of Canterbury ; which exist in manuscript.

John the Wise, surnamed Cyparissiota, of an uncertain age, but supposed to have flourished about A. D. 1360. His *Expositio materiæ corum qua de Deo a theologis dicuntur*, in x. decades, is extant in a Latin translation, *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxi. and two of his discourses, Greek and Latin, in Combefis, *Auctuar. Noviss.*

Manuel Caleca, a Greek, who is reported to have become a Dominican monk, and who lived about A. D. 1360. His four books against the Greeks, in regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit, in a Latin translation, are in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxvi. and his two tracts, one against the Palamites, and the other, *de Principiis Fidei Christianæ*, Greek and Latin, are in Combefis, *Auctuar. Noviss.*

Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk who flourished about A. D. 1373, whose *Computus* was published, Greek and Latin, by J. Christmann, Heidelb. 1611, 4to, and by Dionys. Petavius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, tom. iii. p. 359.

Emanuel II., Palæologus, created Cæsar A. D. 1384, and emperor A. D. 1391—1425. His works were published, Greek and Latin, by Leunclavius, Basil, 1578, 8vo, comprising one hundred precepts for the education of a prince ; seven addresses to his son, on virtues and vices, and learning ; two prolix morning prayers, and several other tracts.

Joseph, called Alshaher Biltabib, a native of Alexandria in Egypt, and minister of the catholic church of the Holy Virgin, A. D. 1390, and ordained a presbyter A. D. 1398. He translated paraphrastically nearly all the canons received by the Greek church into Arabic. The whole work, in manuscript, is in the Bodleian library. The canons of the first four general councils, Arabic and Latin, were printed in Beveridge's *Pandecta Canonum*, Oxon. 1671, tom. ii. p. 681. *Tr.*]

theology with philosophy, *John Duns Scotus*, the great antagonist of *Thomas*, and a Franciscan monk, holds the first rank; and, if deficient in candour and ingenuousness of mind, he certainly was second to none of his age in subtilty.² After him the more distinguished in this class were, *Durand* of St. Porçain, who attacked the received doctrine respecting the co-operation of God in human actions³; *Antony Andreas*⁴; *Hervæus Natalis*⁵; *Francis Mayron*⁶; *Thomas Bradwardine*, an acute and ingenious man⁷; *Peter Aureolus*⁸; *John Bacon*⁹; *William*

² The works of Scotus were first published, accurately, in the 17th century, by Lu. Wadding, a very laborious man, Lyons, 1639, 12 vol. fol. See Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86, &c. but especially Wadding's *Annales Min. Fratr.* tom. vi. p. 40. 107. Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c. [John Duns Scotus was probably born about A. D. 1265; but whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland, is uncertain. He studied first in a Franciscan monastery, in Newcastle, and then at Merton college, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and, A. D. 1301, professor of theology. He greatly distinguished himself as a disputant, and was learned in philosophy, mathematics, civil and canon law, and theology. His lectures on the Sentences of Lombard were greatly admired, and very fully attended, by the 30,000 students then said to be at Oxford. They are since printed, with notes, and fill six folio volumes. In the year 1304 the general of his order commanded him to remove to Paris, and there defend his doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary, which he did with great success and applause. In 1308, his general sent him from Paris to Cologne, to found a university there, and to defend his doctrine of Mary's sinless birth. He died soon after his arrival, Nov. 8, 1308, aged 43 years. His works embrace, besides his commentaries on Lombard's Sentences, commentaries on some works of Aristotle, and numerous tracts, theological, metaphysical, and philosophical. *Tr.*]

³ See Jo. Launoi's tract, entitled *Syllabus Rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*: Opp. tom. i. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 723. [Durand of St. Porçain was born in the village of St. Porçain, in Auvergne, France; was a Dominican monk, and a distinguished theologian at

Paris, called *Doctor resolutissimus*. In 1323 he went to Italy, became master of the pontifical palace, bishop of Meaux, in 1326, and bishop of Le Puy in 1327, and died A. D. 1333. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences, often printed; *de Origine Jurisdictionum, seu de Ecclesiastica Jurisdictione*; and a tract, *de Legibus. Tr.*]

⁴ [Antonius Andreas was a Spaniard of Aragon, a disciple of John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan monk; flourished A. D. 1308, and died, it is said, A. D. 1320. His works are commentaries on the Sentences, and on the works of Gilbert Porretanus, Aristotle, and Boethius, with some law tracts. *Tr.*]

⁵ [Hervæus Natalis, a native of Brittany, a student and doctor at Paris, a Dominican monk, and, A. D. 1318, general of the order. He flourished A. D. 1312, and died A. D. 1323. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed Paris, 1647, fol. *Quodlibeta Majora et Minora*; Tracts on the power of the popes against the Franciscans; and on various theological, philosophical, and practical subjects; a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles; and a treatise on Logic. *Tr.*]

⁶ [Francis Mayron was born in Provence, studied under Duns Scotus at Paris, where he became a noted doctor. He was a Franciscan monk, and died at Placentia A. D. 1325. His commentaries on the Sentences, *Quodlibeta varia, de formalitatibus liber, de primo principio, de expositione divinorum nominum, et de univocatione entis*, were published at Venice, 1520, fol. and his sermons, and various theological tracts, Basil, 1498. He also wrote commentaries on the Ten Commandments, on Genesis, on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, and on some books of Aristotle. *Tr.*]

⁷ See Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choiesies*,

*Occam*¹; *Walter Burley*²; *Peter de Alliaco*³; *Thomas of Strasburg*⁴; and *Gregory de Rimini*.⁵ Among the mystics, *John*

tom. iv. p. 232, and his *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiast.* par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 360, and Steph. Souciet's notes on this passage, p. 703. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Critique*, tom. ii. p. 500, &c.—[also p. 601, above, and note⁶ there. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Peter Aurcolus was a Frenchman, born at Verberie on the Oise, a Dominican monk and theologian, became a public teacher in the university of Paris, A. D. 1318, and lectured on the Sentences, became archbishop of Aix in Provence A. D. 1321, and died after A. D. 1345. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences; *Quodlibeta varia*; *Breviarium Bibliorum*, or Epitome of the Scriptures; a tract on the immaculate conception of Mary; besides other tracts and sermons. *Tr.*]

⁹ [John Bacon, or Baconthorp, an Englishman, born at the obscure village of Baconthorp, in Norfolk. He early became a Carmelite monk; was sent to Oxford, and then to Paris, to study; became celebrated as a jurist and theologian, returned to England, and was soon after made provincial of his order for England, A. D. 1329. Four years after, he was called to Rome, to give his opinion on some difficult matrimonial questions; and died at London A. D. 1346. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences; a Compendium of the law of Christ; *Quodlibeta*; on the rule of the Carmelites; and a historical defence of it, which have been published: also commentaries on the whole Bible, and on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; a tract against the Jews; sermons, &c. never published. *Tr.*]

¹ [See above, p. 631, 632, note⁶. *Tr.*]

² [Walter Burley, an English secular priest, or, as some say, a Franciscan monk, called *Doctor planus et perspicuus*. He was of Merton college, Oxford, and afterwards studied at Paris. In both, he heard Duns Scotus; but on his return to Oxford, he dissented from Scotus. He was preceptor to king Edward III., and flourished A. D. 1337, being then 62 years old. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, and a great number of philosophical works, comments on Aristotle and others, lives of the philosophers, tracts on philosophical questions, &c. Only a part of his works have been printed. *Tr.*]

³ [Peter d'Ailly, or de Alliaco, born of slender parentage, at Compiègne, on the Oise, 48 miles N.E. Paris, A. D. 1340; after a good previous education, he was admitted a bursar in the college of Navarre, Paris, 1372; began to lecture on the Sentences and to preach in public in 1375; was created D.D. 1380, and head of the college of Navarre in 1384; pleaded the cause of the immaculate conception of Mary, before the pope, at Avignon, in 1387; became chancellor of the university, and confessor to the king, in 1389; treasurer of the royal chapel, and royal envoy to the pope in 1394; was appointed bishop of Le Puy in 1395, and of Cambray in 1396; attended the council of Pisa in 1409; was made cardinal in 1411, and papal legate to Germany in 1414; at the close of which year he repaired to the council of Constance, presided in the third session, and was very active during the three years of the sitting of that council, and often preached in it to the fathers. He died at Cambray, A. D. 1425; and was called *the eagle of France, and the maul of errorists*. He was strenuous for condemning John Huss, and also for restraining the ambition of the popes, and reforming the church and preserving its liberties. His writings are very numerous and various; comprising commentaries on the Sentences of Lombard, on the study of the Scriptures, on the power of the popes, pious meditations, sermons, expositions of Scripture, the mode of electing popes, the authority of cardinals, the reformation of the church, the connexion of astrology with theology, on the kalendar, comments on Aristotle, &c. many of which have been published. *Tr.*]

⁴ [Thomas of Strasburg was a German, born at Strasburg, an Augustinian Eremit, a theologian of Paris; was made prior general of his order in 1345, and died at Vienne A. D. 1357. He wrote commentaries on the four Books of Sentences; and has left us the constitution of his order, and some other tracts. *Tr.*]

⁵ Of all these [scholastic doctors] there is an account given in the *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12, &c. [Gregory de Rimini, was an Italian, born at Rimini, an Augustinian Eremit, a Parisian doctor of theology, general of

Tauler and *John Ruysbrock* excelled the others in wisdom and integrity, though they were not free from all errors.⁶ Of *Raymund Lully*, we have already spoken.⁷ *Nicolaus Lyranus* obtained great reputation by his concise exposition of the whole Bible.⁸ *Raynerius Pisanus* is known for his *Summa Theologie*⁹, and *Astesanus* for his *Summa Casuum Conscientie*.¹⁰

his order A. D. 1357, and died the year after at Vienne. He wrote on the first two Books of the Sentences, commentaries on the epistles of Paul and on the epistle of James, a tract on usury, and some others. *Tr.*]

⁶ [John Tauler was a German Dominican monk, and a popular preacher at Cologne and Strasburg. He died at the latter place A. D. 1360. Luther and Melancthon frequently quoted his writings, particularly his sermons. He left in German, Postills, or sermons for all the Sundays and festivals of the year (highly commended by Luther); Imitation of Christ in his poverty; Marrow of the Soul, or perfection in all the virtues; Spiritual Contemplation on the life and sufferings of Christ; the Noble Little Book, or the way to become in earnest, hearty, spiritual, and devout; (the proceedings were published, Francf. 1604 and 1703, 4to,) also, The Soul-enlightening Mirror; with plates, 1713, 8vo. The other works ascribed to him, are letters, hymns, prayers, dialogues, and other tracts; several of which are not his.—John Ruysbrock was born at Ruysbrock in Brabant, A. D. 1293; was presbyter of the great church at Brussels; became a regular canon of St. Augustine; and established and presided over the convent of Grünthal, two miles from Brussels, A. D. 1360, and died A. D. 1381, aged 88. He was at the head of the mystics, and was called a *second Dionysius Areopagita*. His writings were all in Dutch; but Laur. Surius translated most of them into Latin; in which form they were published, Cologne, 1552, fol. 1669, 4to, and 1692, fol. These are, a Summary of the spiritual life; the Mirror of salvation; Remarks on the tabernacle of Moses, and its furniture; on the Principal Virtues; on Faith and the Judgment; on the four Temptations; on the Seven Guards of the Spiritual School; on the Seven Degrees of Love; on Spiritual Nuptials, three books; the Perfections of the sons of God; the Kingdom of the friends of God; on True

Contemplation; Twelve Useful Epistles; two Spiritual Cautions; Samuel, or deep contemplation; a short prayer. Several of the protestants have commended his writings for their pious spirit. John Gerson accused him of heresy after his death; but Surius defends him. He was severe upon the vicious monks and clergy. See the *Unpartheyische Kirchen-historie*, Jena, 1735, vol. i. p. 1329. 1331. *Tr.*]

⁷ [See p. 604, above. *Tr.*]

⁸ [Nicolaus Lyranus, or de Lyra, was born at Lire, in Normandy, and, as some say, of Jewish parentage. He became a Franciscan monk about A. D. 1292; was master in theology at Paris, A. D. 1320; expounded the Scriptures there, in the Franciscan convent, and died A. D. 1340. His great work is, *Postillæ perpetuæ, sive brevia Commentaria in universa Biblia, libris lxxxv.* which he commenced A. D. 1293, and completed A. D. 1330. After several incorrect editions, in six vols. fol. it was published at Lyons, 1590, Douay, 1617, and Antwerp, 1634, in the *Biblia Glossata*, and Paris, 1660, in the *Biblia Maxima*. His other works are, *Postillæ Minores, seu Enarrationes in Epistolas, et Evang. Dominicalia Totius Anni*; Venice, 1588, 8vo; *Tractatus de Idoneo Ministrante et Suscipiente S. Altaris Sacramentum; Disputatio contra Perfidium Judæorum; Tractatus contra Judæum quendam; and Contemplatio de Vita et Gestis S. Francisci*. His expositions of the Scriptures far exceeded all others of that age, and contributed so much to advance the knowledge of the Bible, that some have attributed the reformation, in no small degree, to it: it was said,

*Si Lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset;*

i. e. Lyra's lyre enabled Luther to dance. *Tr.*]

⁹ [Rayner was a native of Pisa, a Dominican monk, and an eminent theologian and jurist. He lived in the former part of this century, but the precise time is not ascertained. His *Pantheolo-*

gia, or *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, alphabetically arranged, has been repeatedly printed, though greatly interpolated and altered. *Tr.*]

¹⁰ [Astesanus, or Astensis, a Franciscan monk, born at Asti, in the north of Italy, who died about A. D. 1330. His eight books, entitled *Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*, were printed at Venice, 1519, fol.

Besides those already mentioned, the following Latin writers lived in this century; according to Henry Wharton's continuation of Cave's *Historia Litteraria*.

Andrew, an English Dominican monk, of Newcastle, and doctor of theology, A. D. 1301. He wrote a commentary on the *first* Book of the Sentences, Paris, 1514, fol. and a commentary on Boethius, *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*.

William of Nangis, a French Benedictine monk of St. Denys, Paris, who flourished A. D. 1301. He wrote a chronology, from the creation to A. D. 1301, which others continued to A. D. 1368. (D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. xi. p. 405.), Chronicle of the kings of France, to A. D. 1301, (in Pitheüs' *Scriptores Franciei*), and history of St. Lewis, king of France, and of his sons, Philip and Robert, (also in Pitheüs, l. c.)

William Mandagot, a French cardinal, whom Boniface VIII. employed to compile the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*. He also wrote a tract on the election of new prelates; printed, Cologne, 1573, 8vo.

Henry Stero, a German Benedictine monk, who wrote, about A. D. 1301, Annals of Germany, from A. D. 1152 to 1273 (*inter Scriptor. Germanicos*, and in H. Canisius' *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. i.), also, History of Rudolph of Hapsburg, Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria, from A. D. 1266 to 1300 (extant in Freher's *Scriptores German.*).

Dinus Mugellanus, an Italian jurist, and professor at Bologna, A. D. 1301. He wrote several comments and tracts on different portions and subjects of the canon law.

Jacobus de Benedictis, an Italian Franciscan, A. D. 1301, renowned for courting contempt and abuse, as the means of sanctification. He composed many uncouth religious poems in Italian; published, Venice, 1617, 4to.

John of Fribourg, in the Brisgaw, a Dominican, and bishop of Ossuna, in Hungary, distinguished, A. D. 1302, for his eloquence in preaching. He wrote

Summa Prædicatorum (Reutling, 1487), and *Summa Major, seu Confessoriorum*, in four books (Lyons, 1518), and some other things.

Ptolemy of Lucca, disciple of Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, confessor to the pope, and, A. D. 1318, bishop of Torcello, in the Venetian territory. He wrote Annals, civil and eccles., from A. D. 1060 to 1363, and a Chronicle of the popes and emperors, (both printed, Lyons, 1619, and the Annals in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. xxv.) His *Historia Eccles.* in 24 books, was never published.

Eberardus, a German Benedictine monk, and Archdeacon of Ratisbon. He wrote, about A. D. 1305, Annals of the Dukes of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia, from A. D. 1273 to 1305; extant in Canisius, *Lect. Antiq.* tom. i.

Clement V., pope A. D. 1305—1314, author of the *Clementinæ*, or *Liber Septimus Decretalium*, and of numerous epistles and bulls.

Thomas Joyce, or Jorsius, D. D., a Dominican monk of London, who taught theology at Paris and London, was provincial of his order, confessor to the king, became a cardinal in 1305, was sent legate to the emperor of Germany in 1311, and died on the way to Lyons. He wrote commentaries on Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the books of Maccabees, Lamentations, the canonical epistles, the Apocalypse; and on Boethius, and on Aristotle's Logic; all of which are printed as the works of Thomas Aquinas. His work on 27 Psalms, and explanations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, have been published. Many others are in manuscript.

William of Paris, a Dominican monk, created general censor of the faith in France, by the pope, A. D. 1305, and commissioner to try the cause of the Templars, A. D. 1308. He was probably the author of the *Dialogues* on the eight Sacraments, published as the work of William of Auvergne, Paris, 1587.

Philip of Eichstadt, D. D., a native of Alsace, abbot of a Cistercian monastery at Paris, sent to Rome by the emperor of Austria, A. D. 1305, and then made bishop of Eichstadt, where he died A. D. 1322. At the request of Anna, queen of Hungary, he wrote the life of St. Walpergis; in Canisius *Lect. Antiquæ*, tom. iv.

Siffrid, a presbyter of Meissen in Saxony, A. D. 1307. He wrote a Chroni-

ele, from the creation to A.D. 1307; a large part of which is in Pistorius, *Scriptores Germanici*.

Nicolaus Trivet, an English Dominican monk, born in Norfolk, studied at London, Oxford, and Paris, and was a prior of his order in London, where he died A.D. 1326, nearly 70 years old. He wrote *Annals of England*, from A.D. 1135 to 1307, (in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. viii.), and commentaries on Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; published, Toulouse, 1488, and Venice, 1489.

Malachias, an Irish Franciscan monk, and theologian of Oxford, A.D. 1310, and chaplain to the king. He wrote *de Veneno Peccatorum Mortalium deque Remediis ipsorum*; published, Paris, 1518.

William Durant, nephew to *Durandus Speculator*, bishop of Mende in France, by whom he was educated. He was distinguished as a theologian and jurist; and was made canon, archdeacon, and A.D. 1296, bishop of Mende. In the year 1311, he wrote his famous tract, *de Modo celebrandi Generalis Concilii*; ed. Paris, 1635, 4to, and 1671, 8vo. He expelled the Jews from his diocese in 1312, and died in 1328.

Marinus Sanutus, or Sanudo, surnamed Torsellus, a Venetian patrician. He first constructed a church organ, called in Italian *Torsello*, whence his surname. He was a great traveller; and visited Cyprus, Armenia, Alexandria, Rhodes, Palestine, and was at various European courts. He wrote, between A.D. 1306 and 1322, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis super Terræ Sanctæ Recuperatione et Conseruatione*, in three parts: in the *first* he proposes means for subduing the Saracens; in the *second*, the manner in which the Christian crusaders should conduct a sacred war; and in the *third*, the way to preserve Palestine when conquered, and also gives the history and geography of that country. This work, with twenty-two epistles of Marinus, nearly fills the second volume of Jac. Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanov. 1611, fol.

Alexander de St. Elpidio, D.D., an Italian, and Augustinian monk, general of his order, from 1312 to 1325, when he was made archbishop of Ravenna. He wrote, by order of the pope, a tract, *de Jurisdictione Imperii et Auctoritate summi Pontificis*; published, Arimini, 1624.

Vitalise Ferno, a Frenchman, a Franciscan, cardinal A.D. 1312; died at Avignon, A.D. 1327. He opposed the Spirit-

uals, and wrote mystical expositions of the Proverbs, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and various portions of all the Bible.

Hugo Pratensis, or de Prato Florido, born near Florence, a Dominican and a celebrated preacher. He died A.D. 1322; and left sermons for the Sundays, and others for the holy days, through the year; also a Lent sermon.

Porchetus Salvaticus, a Carthusian monk, of noble Italian birth, supposed to have lived about A.D. 1315. He wrote a confutation of the Jews, borrowing much from Raymund Martini's *Pugio Fidei*; Paris, 1520, fol.

Ubertinus de Cassalis, an Italian Franciscan, leader of the Spirituals from A.D. 1312 to 1317; then became a Benedictine in Brabant; and at last, it is said, a Carthusian. In the year 1321, he gave to the pope his famous *Responsio circa Questionem de Paupertate Christi et Apostolorum*; namely, that to say: Christ possessed any property in the common and worldly manner, was heretical; but not so to say: he held possessions in the usual spiritual manner. It is extant in Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. ad ann. 1321, and better in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, tom i. p. 292, 307.

John of Naples, a Dominican divine, doctor of theology at Paris, and a zealous follower of Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1315. His *Questiones variae Philosophicæ et Theologicæ* were printed at Naples, 1618, fol.

John XXII. pope A.D. 1316 to 1334, has left us more than 400 epistles and bulls, besides his *Extravagantes*, which are in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Albert of Padua, an Augustinian eremite, teacher of theology, and preacher at Paris, where he died A.D. 1328. He has left many sermons, printed; and extensive MS. commentaries on the Scriptures.

James of Lausanne, a French Dominican monk, theologian of Paris, A.D. 1317, provincial of his order for France, and bishop of Lausanne: a voluminous and diffuse writer. His twelve books of *Morals*, and various sermons, have been printed. His commentaries on the Scriptures remain in MS.

Bertrand de Turre, a French Franciscan monk, archbishop of Salerno 1319; a cardinal 1320, general of his order by papal appointment in 1328, died 1334. Several of his sermons were printed; but others, as well as his commentaries

on the Sentences of Lombard, slumber in MS.

Thomas Morus, or de la Moor, an English knight, of the household of king Edward II., under whom he served in his Scotch wars. He flourished about A.D. 1320, and wrote a history of the reign of Edward II., from A.D. 1307 to 1326. He composed in French, and had it translated into Latin by Walter Baker. It is printed among the *Scriptores Anglici*, Lond. 1574, fol.

Albertinus Mussatus, an Italian historian and poet of Padua, who died A.D. 1320. He wrote of *Gestis Henrici VII. Germanor. Imperatoris*, libri xvi.; and several poems; printed, Venice, 1635, fol.

John Bassolis, a Scotch Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. He lectured on the Sentences, at Rheims, A.D. 1313, and at Mechlin A.D. 1322. His commentaries or lectures on the four books of Sentences, and some miscellaneous pieces, were printed, Paris, 1517, fol.

Bernard Guido, a French Dominican monk, born near Limoges, 1261; became a monk 1280, was successively prior of Albi 1294, of Carcassone 1297, of Castres 1299, and of Limoges 1303: was appointed Inquisitor against the Albigenses 1305; represented his order at the papal court 1312; was papal legate to Italy 1316; bishop of Tuy 1323; and of Lodeve 1324; and died 1331. He wrote a concise history of the establishment of the Grandmontensians and some others, (in Labbé's *Biblioth. Nov. MS.* tom. ii.) *Gesta Comitum Tholosanorum* (Toulouse, 1623, fol.) Lives of various saints, lives of popes, &c. never printed.

Peter Bertrand, a distinguished French jurist, counsellor, bishop, and cardinal, who died A.D. 1349. He composed a tract, *de Jurisdictione Ecclesiasticâ* (defending the rights of the Gallic church against Peter de Cuneris; ed. Paris, 1495, 4to), and another, *de Origine et Usu Jurisdictionum*. Both are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

Peter de Duisburg, a priest and a Teutonic knight. He composed, A.D. 1326, his *Chronicon Prussiae*; or History of the Teutonic order, from its foundation A.D. 1190 to 1326; continued by another hand to A.D. 1435; edited with notes and dissertations, by Christoph. Hartnoch, Jena, 1679, 4to.

Gerhard Odonis, a French Franciscan, general of his order in 1329; died in 1349. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics; and the *Officium de Stig-*

matibus S. Francisci; still used by that fraternity.

John Canon, or Canonicus, an English Franciscan theologian, who studied at Oxford and Paris under Scotus, and lectured at Oxford till his death. He flourished A.D. 1239; and wrote commentaries on the Sentences; *Lectura Magistrales*; *Questiones Disputatæ*; and on Aristotle's eight books of Physics; all printed, Venice, 1492 and 1516.

Petrus Paludanus, a French Dominican theologian and preacher; became a licentiate at Paris, 1314, was made titular patriarch of Jerusalem about A.D. 1330, and died in 1342. He wrote commentaries on the four books of Sentences; of which, those on the third and fourth books were printed at Paris, 1530, 2 vols. fol.; also sermons; a treatise on ecclesiastical power; and another, on the right of the Franciscans to hold property; besides several works never published.

Guido de Perpiniano, D.D., a Spanish Carmelite, studied at Paris, became general of his order 1318, bishop of Majorca 1321, and afterwards of Perpignan. He wrote, *Summa de Hæresibus omnibus et earum Confutationibus* (ed. Paris, 1528, fol. and Cologne, 1631); a Harmony and Commentary on the four Gospels (ed. Cologne, 1631); besides a Commentary on the Decretum of Gratian, yet in MS.

Adamus Goddardus, or Woddheam, D.D. an English Franciscan of Norwich, professor at Oxford, died 1358. His commentary on the Sentences was published, Paris, A.D. 1512.

Walter Hemingford, an English regular Augustinian canon of Gisborough, near Cleveland, in Yorkshire, where he died A.D. 1358. He wrote History of the reigns of the kings of England from A.D. 1066 to 1313; ed. among the *Historiæ Anglicæ Scriptores quinque*, Oxon. 1687, fol.

Ludolphus Saxo, of Saxon origin, a Dominican, and then a Carthusian; a pious man and good writer; flourished A.D. 1340. His life of Christ has been often printed; e.g. Paris, 1589, and also his commentary on the Psalms of David, in which he follows the spiritual sense: ed. Lyons, 1540.

Monaldus, a Dalmatian, of Justinianople, a Franciscan, and archbishop of Benevento; died about A.D. 1332. His *Summa Casuum Conscientiæ*, called Aurea, and Monaldina, was published, Lyons, 1516. 8vo.

Bartholomew of St. Concordia, a Dominican monk of Pisa, died 1347. His *Summa Casuum Conscientie* (written in 1318) and his *Sermones Quadrigessimales* were both printed, Lyons, 1519, 8vo.

Thomas Walleis, a Welchman, Dominican, and theologian of Oxford; often confounded with Thomas Jorsius, an Englishman, and cardinal, who died in 1311. He maintained before the papal court at Avignon, A. D. 1332, that deceased saints are admitted to the immediate vision of God; and accused John XXII. of heresy on this subject. His *Articuli Hæreticales*, and *Libellus de Theoria Prædicandi*, have been published.

Richard Buriensis, born at St. Edmundsbury, Suffolk, educated at Oxford, tutor to Edward III., bishop of Durham A. D. 1333, chancellor of England 1334; lord treasurer 1336; died 1345, aged 59. He founded a library at Oxford; and wrote, A. D. 1344, *Philobiblion, seu Liber de Amore Librorum, et Bibliothecarum Institutione*; frequently printed, e. g. Oxon. 1599, 4to.

Benedict XII., pope A. D. 1334—1342, has left us many Epistles and bulls.

Simon Fidatus de Cassia, an Italian Augustinian monk, abbot at Florence, A. D. 1335, till his death in 1348. Distinguished for sanctity, and as a preacher; he wrote *Enarrationum Evangelicæ Veritatis libri xv. seu de Gestis Domini Salvatoris*; ed. Cologne, 1540, fol.; a tract de *B. Virgine*; another de *Speculo Crucis*, and several epistles.

Gulielmus de Baldensel, a knight of Jerusalem, composed A. D. 1337 his *Itinerarium*, or Journal of his travels in the Holy Land; published by Canisius. *Lectiones Antiq.* tom. v. pt. ii. p. 96.

Arnaldus Cescomes, archbishop of Tarragona, A. D. 1337; wrote *Epistole Dnae de Saracenis ab Hispania Pollendis*; extant in Baluze, *Miscell.* tom. ii.

Richard Hampole, D. D., an Augustinian hermit of Yorkshire, who died A. D. 1349. He wrote a tract on Repentance; and brief expositions of the Psalter; the Canticles of the old Testament included in the public offices; on the 20th Psalm; on the Lord's prayer; the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds; some parts of Solomon's Songs; the Lamentations; some chapters of Job, &c. which are in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

Robert Holkot of Northampton, a Dominican, and professor of theology at Oxford; died A. D. 1359. He wrote a

commentary on the Sentences (ed. Lyons, 1497, fol. 1510, 4to); *Moralitates Pulchræ Historiarum* (ed. Paris, 1510, 8vo); 213 Lectures on the book of the Wisdom of Solomon (ed. Venice, 1509, 1586, fol.); Lectures on the Canticles and seven chapters of Ecclesiastes (ed. Venice, 1509); Commentaries on the Book of Proverbs (ed. Paris, 1515); a tract on the imputability of sin; and conferences on the Sentences, &c. (ed. Lyons, 1497, fol. 1518.) Several other of his works are still in MS.

Philip de monte Calerio, a Franciscan, first at Toulouse, and then at Padua; flourished A. D. 1340. His *Conciones Dominicales totius anni* (abridged), and *Quadrigessimale, Conciones de Eucharistia* and *Sermones de Sanctis*, were published, Lyons, 1515.

Henry de Urimaria, or de Frimaria, a German Augustinian hermit, and doctor of theology at Paris; flourished A. D. 1340, and was distinguished for his piety and for his liberality. He wrote additions to the books of Sentences; on a fourfold Instinct; and several sermons; published, Cologne, 1513, Paris, 1514.

Lupoldus Babenbergius, a noble German, a jurist, professor of civil and canon law, and bishop of Bamberg. A. D. 1340. His tracts *de Zelo Veterum Regum Gallicæ et Germaniæ Principum*, and *de Juribus Regni et Imperii*, were published, Paris, 1540, Cologne, 1564, 8vo. &c. often.

Alvarus Pelagius, or Pelagius Alvarus, a Spanish Franciscan, who studied at Bologna, Pisa, and Paris, A. D. 1304; was papal penitentiary in 1332, and afterwards a bishop in Portugal. He wrote *de Planctu Ecclesiæ libri ii.* (ed. Venice, 1560); *Summa Theologiæ* (ed. Ulm 1474); and other works never printed.

Bartholomew of Urbino, an Italian Augustinian hermit, and bishop of Urbino; died A. D. 1350. He collected flowers of Augustine and of Ambrose, which he published, each under the title of *Milleloquium*. Both were printed at Lyons; the former in 1555, and the latter in 1556.

John Honsemius, a canon and teacher at Liege, A. D. 1348. He continued Ægidius' History of the bishops of Liege, from A. D. 1247 to 1348.

John Becan, a canon of the church of Utrecht, A. D. 1350. He wrote a chronicle of the church and bishops of Utrecht, and of the counts of Holland, from St. Willibrord to A. D. 1346; which was continued by William Hedam, dean of

Harlaem, to A. D. 1524; both printed, Utrecht, 1643, fol.

Albericus de Rosate, an Italian doctor of canon law, A. D. 1350. He wrote *Dictionarium Juris Civilis et Canonici*, ed. Venice, 1573, 1601; commentaries on the *Liber sextus Decretalium; de Testibus*; and other tracts.

Roger of Conway, or Connovius, D.D., an English Franciscan, educated at Oxford, and provincial of his order for England. In the dispute between the mendicants and the regular clergy, respecting the right to hear confessions, A. D. 1350, Roger appeared in behalf of his order, in a work *de Confessionibus per Regulares Audiendis*; published by Goldast, *Monarch.* tom. ii.

Petrus de Columbario, cardinal bishop of Ostia; sent by the pope to anoint and crown the emperor Charles IV. at Rome; of which mission he wrote the history, entitled *Historia Itineris Romani*; in Labbe's *Biblioth. Nov. MSS.* tom. i. p. 354.

Nicolaus Eymericus, a Spanish Dominican, inquisitor general for Aragon, 1356; chaplain, and supreme Judge at Avignon, in 1371; died in 1399. His *Directorium Inquisitorum*, in three parts, with the notes of Francis Pegna, was published, Venice, 1595, fol. Rome, 1578 and 1587.

Ranulph Higden, or Hikeden, or of Chester, an English Benedictine monk of Chester, who died A. D. 1363, having been a monk 64 years. He compiled a universal history, from the creation to A. D. 1357, entitled *Polychronicon*, in eight parts or books. His history John de Trevisa translated into English, A. D. 1387; and that translation, with some amendment of the style, was printed by William Caxton, Lond. 1482, fol.

Alphonsus Vargas, a Spanish Augustinian eremite, a doctor of Paris, bishop of Badajoz, and archbishop of Seville, where he died A. D. 1359. His commentary on the *first* book of the Sentences, was printed, Venice, 1490; and his *Quæstiones in Aristotelis Libros tres de Anima*; Venice, 1566.

Thomas Stubbs, or Stobæus, D.D., an English Dominican monk of York, who flourished A. D. 1360, and died after 1373. He wrote the lives, or a chronicle, of the archbishops of York, from St. Paulinus, the first archbishop, to the year 1373; published among the *Scriptores N. Angliæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

John Calderinus, a famous canonist of Bologna, A. D. 1360, who wrote several

works on canon law, published in the 16th century.

Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine monk, born at Poitiers, and abbot at Paris, where he died A. D. 1362. He wrote *Dictionarium, seu Repertorium morale Biblicum* (containing numerous biblical words and phrases, alphabetically arranged and explained, for the use of practical religion); *Rectorium Morale utriusque Testamenti, libris xiv.* (containing tropological and allegorical expositions of nearly the whole bible); and *Inductorium Morale*. The three works have been frequently printed, e. g. Cologne, 1620, 3 vols. fol.

Bartholomew de Glanvilla, an English Franciscan, who studied at Oxford, Paris, and Rome, flourished A. D. 1360, and wrote *Opus de Proprietatibus Rerum, seu Allegoriarum ac Tropologiarum in utrumque Testamentum* (on the figurative language of the bible); published with some other pieces frequently; e. g. Paris, 1574, 4to.

Nicolaus Oresmius, or Orem, the *coryphæus* of the Parisian doctors in his times; tutor to the dauphin; rector of the *Gymnasium* of Navarre; dean of Rouen in 1361, and bishop of Lisieux, in 1377. He died about A. D. 1384. In the year 1363, he preached a sermon before the pope and cardinals, in which he boldly attacked their vices, (ed. by Illyricus, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 512). He wrote *de Mutatione Monetæ liber; de Sphæra*; and translated the Scriptures into French, and also Aristotle's *Ethics*, some works of Cicero, and some of Petrarch.

Hainricus, a German monk of Rebdorf, about A. D. 1362, wrote *Annals* of Germany, from A. D. 1295 to 1363; published by Marq. Freher, *Historici Germaniæ*, Francf. 1600, tom. i.

Saint Brigitta, a Swedish lady, who had visions from her childhood. She persuaded her husband to become a monk, while she became a nun in Spain; established the new order of St. Saviour. She had many visions and revelations. These led her to Rome, to Palestine, Sicily, &c. She died A. D. 1373, and was canonized A. D. 1391. She wrote *Revelationum Libri viii.* a Rule for her order, dictated by Christ himself; several discourses and orations; besides additional revelations; all printed frequently, e. g. Cologne, 1628, 2 vols. fol.

St. Catharina, an Italian lady, who early became a Dominican nun, was famed for her visions and revelations, by which

she guided even popes and cardinals, whom she addressed with freedom. She died A.D. 1380, aged 33, and was canonized A.D. 1461. She wrote *Dialogues* on Providence (ed. Venice, 1611, 8vo); 364 epistles (printed in Italian, Venice, 1506, fol. and in French, Paris, 1644, 4to); several orations, translated into Latin, published, Ingolst. 1583; and *Divina Doctrina data per Personam Æterni Patris Intellectui Loquentis*, translated into Latin, by Raymond de Vineis, and published, Cologne, 1553, fol.

Philip Ribotus, a Spanish Carmelite monk, who flourished A.D. 1368, was provincial of his order for Catalonia, and died A.D. 1391. He wrote *Speculum Carmelitarum*, in ten books; in which he describes the establishment, progress, privileges, and history of his order; printed Antw. 1680, fol. He also wrote sermons and epistles.

Philip de Leidis, a Dutch jurist, counsellor to the count of Holland, vicar to the bishop of Utrecht, died 1386; wrote *Tractatus de Reipublicæ Cura et Sorte Principantium*; printed, Leyden, 1516, fol.

Gerhard Magnus, or Groot, in his native language, born at Deventer, studied theology at Paris, was a canon of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle; became a regular canon, and established several houses of that order. He died A.D. 1370, aged. 44 His three tracts, *Protestatio de Veridica Predicatione*; *Conclusa et Proposita*; and *de Studio Sacror. Librorum*; are usually published with the works of Thomas à Kempis.

Philotheus Achillanus, a fictitious name, assumed by some pious counsellor of Charles V., king of France, A.D. 1370; who wrote against the ambition and tyranny of the pope, a work entitled *Somnium Viridarii*, or *Libri II. de Potestate Regni et Sacerdotali*; in form of a dialogue between a clergyman and a soldier; printed in Goldastus, *Monarchia*, tom. i. p. 58.

Gallus, a German Cistercian, abbot of a monastery near Prague, A.D. 1370. He wrote a prolix work for the edification of his monks, entitled *Malogranatum*, in three books; printed 1481, 4to, and 1487, fol.

Bartholomew Albicius, a native of Pisa, and a Franciscan monk, who flourished A.D. 1372, and died very aged, A.D. 1401. His book, entitled *The Conformities of St. Francis with the life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, was presented to the general convention of the Franciscans at Assisi, A.D. 1399, and approved by a

unanimous vote; and the author was rewarded with the entire wardrobe of St. Francis. The work was printed at Bologna, 1590, fol. He also wrote *The Conformities of the Blessed Virgin with our Lord Jesus Christ*, or her life and praises, in six books; printed, Venice, 1596, fol. likewise *Sermones Quadrigessimales*; Milan, 1488, 4to.

Bonaventura Baduarius, an Italian of Padua, who studied at Paris, became an Augustinian Eremit, general of his order in 1377, a cardinal in 1378, was often a papal legate, and was murdered at Rome A.D. 1386, or somewhat later. He wrote *Speculum Beatæ Mariæ*; printed, Augsburg, 1476, 4 vols.; also, commentaries on the four Books of Sentences; Meditations on the life of Christ, &c.

Matthew, called *Florilegus*, a Benedictine monk of Westminster, A.D. 1377, who wrote *Historiarum Flores*; or annals from the creation to A.D. 1307, in two books, taken much from Matthew Paris; printed, Lond. 1567, fol.

Albertus de Argentina, or of Strasburg, where he was a doctor of divinity, and perhaps a presbyter, and the bishop's legate to the pope. He wrote a Chronicle from A.D. 1270, to 1378, published (imperfect at Bâle) entire, by Urstisius, among the *Scriptores Germanici*, Francf. 1585 and 1670, tom. ii. p. 97; also the life of Berthold, bishop of Strasburg, from A.D. 1318 to 1353; printed with his Chronicle.

William Thorn, an English Benedictine monk of Canterbury, A.D. 1380. He wrote a chronicle of the abbots of Canterbury from St. Augustine to A.D. 1397; printed with the *Scriptores X. Historiæ Anglicanæ*, Lond. 1652, fol.

Michael Ancrianus, a carmelite of Bologna, who studied at Paris, was general of his order from A.D. 1381 to 1386, and died at Bologna A.D. 1416. He wrote a tolerable commentary on the Psalms, in five books, often printed; e. g. Lyons, 1673; also commentaries on the Sentences, and some other works.

Raymund Jordan, a regular Augustinian canon, in the diocese of Bourges, who concealed himself under the name of *Idiotes*. He flourished A.D. 1381, and wrote seven books of contemplations, (devotional) and several ascetic tracts; published, Paris, 1654, 4to.

John Tambacus, a German Dominican monk, and abbot of Strasburg, and then rector of the school at Prague, master of the palace to the pope A.D.

1386, died at the age of 80, the year unknown. He wrote *Speculum Patientie*, or *de Consolatione Theologiae*, lib. xv. printed, Paris, 1493, &c. often.

Marsilius ab Ingen, doctor at Paris, a canon at Cologne, and founder and first rector of the gymnasium of Heidelberg; flourished A. D. 1384, and died in 1394. He wrote commentaries on the Sentences, printed at Strasburg, A. D. 1501.

John de Burgo, D. D., chancellor of the university of Cambridge, flourished A. D. 1385. He wrote *Pupilla Oculi*, a book of instructions for clergymen in their functions; printed, Paris, 1510, and elsewhere, repeatedly.

Peter Herentalis, or de Herentalis, a canon, and prior of a Præmonstratensian convent in Brabant; flourished A. D. 1390. He compiled a *Catena* on the Psalms; printed Rouen, 1504, 4to, and elsewhere, repeatedly; also a prolix commentary on the four Gospels, never printed.

Radulphus de Rivo, of Breda in Brabant, dean of Tongres, flourished A. D. 1390, and died at Rome A. D. 1401. He wrote *de Canonum Observantia Propositiones* xxiii. (in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.) and *Historia de Rebus Gestis Trium Pontificum Leodiensium*, (from A. D. 1347 to 1386,) in J. Chapaville's *Rerum Leodiens. Historia*, Liege; 1616, 4to, tom. iii.

Gerhard of Zutphen, a regular clerk of St. Jerome, and distinguished for his piety; died A. D. 1398, aged 31, leaving two ascetic tracts, *de Reformatione Interiori*, and *de Spiritualibus Ascensionibus*; in the *Biblioth. Patr.* tom. xxvi.

William Wodford, or Wilford, an English Franciscan, appointed by the council of London, A. D. 1396, to answer Wickliffe's *Trialogus*; which he did in his *Liber ad Thomam Archiep. Cantuariensem adversus Articulos xviii. ex Wickliffe Trialogo Excerptos*; extant in the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, Cologne, 1535, fol. p. 96. Several other tracts of his exist in MS.

John Bromyard, of Herefordshire, an English Dominican, theologian, and jurist, a doctor at Oxford, and professor of theology at Cambridge. He strenuously opposed Wickliffe in the council of London A. D. 1382; flourished A. D. 1390, and died after A. D. 1419. His *Summa Prædicatorum*, in two parts, treats of nearly every subject in ecclesiastical discipline, in alphabetic order; printed, Venice,

1586. 4to. Several other works of his exist in MS.

Henry Knighton, an English canon regular of Leicester, who flourished A. D. 1395. His *Chronicon de Eventibus Anglie Libris V.* from A. D. 950 to 1395, (the second, third, and fourth books, from A. D. 1066 to 1377, are copied from Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*,) and his History of the deposition of king Henry II., A. D. 1399, are extant among the *Scriptores X. Historie Anglicane*, Lond. 1652.

Antonius de Butrio, a famous Italian jurist of Bologna and Ferrara, who flourished A. D. 1398, and died at Bologna A. D. 1408. He wrote commentaries on the five books of the Decretals, (ed. Venice, 1578, 7 vols. fol.) and several other works on canon and civil law.

Nicolaus de Gorham, of Hertfordshire, studied at Merton college, Oxford, became a Dominican, went to Paris, was eminent both for learning and piety, and was provincial of his order for France. He probably lived about A. D. 1400. He wrote commentaries on the books of the New Testament; and sermons for the whole year: all printed by John Keerberg. Antw. 1617, 1620, in two vols. fol.

Jacobus Magni, a Spanish Augustinian eremite of Toledo, distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures and of the ancient theologians, confessor to Charles VII., king of France, and refused the archbishopric of Bordeaux. He flourished about A. D. 1400. His *Sophologium, seu opus de Sermone et Inquisitione Divinae Sapientie*, in ten books, was printed, Lyons, 1495, 8vo.

Franciscus Ximenes, of Catalonia, bishop of Perpignan, and titular patriarch of Jerusalem, A. D. 1400. He wrote several works of mystic divinity, which were published.

Franciscus Zabarella, an Italian of Padua, L.L.D., a man of great respectability. He rejected two bishoprics and one rich abbacy, but was made cardinal A. D. 1411, and presided through the council of Constance, and died at its close, A. D. 1417. He wrote comments on the Decretals, and several other works on canon law; and a tract, *de Schismatibus Autoritate Imperatoris Tollendis*, which the *Index Expurgatorius* prohibits being read till it is expurgated. *Tr.*]

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.

§ 1. Corruption of religion. — § 2. Exegetical theology. — § 3. Dogmatic theology. — § 4. Opposers of the scholastics. Biblical theologians. — § 5. Contest among the scholastics. Scotists and Thomists. — § 6. The Mystics. — § 7. Moral or practical writers. — § 8. Polemic writers. — § 9. Controversies between the Greeks and Latins. — § 10. Contest of the university of Paris with the Dominicans. Montesonius.

§ 1. ALL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge the corrupt state of religion, both as taught in the schools, and as presented to the people to regulate their lives and actions. Scarcely any part of the Christian doctrine retained its native form and comeliness. And hence the *Waldenses*, and all those who desired a reformation in religion, and who separated from the Roman pontiff, though no where safe from the fury of the *Inquisitors* and the monks, yet could not be suppressed by any means whatever. Many of these people, after witnessing the destruction of an immense number of their brethren at the stake and by other forms of execution, fled from Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the neighbouring countries; and afterwards became amalgamated with the Hussites and other dissentients from the Romish community.

§ 2. At the head of the expositors of the Bible, stands *Nicolaus de Lyra*; who explained the books of both the Old Testament and the New far better than was usual in that age; yet he succeeded better on the Old Testament than on the New, because he was familiar with Hebrew, but not with Greek.¹ The others who undertook this office, were servile imitators of their predecessors: for they either collected flowers

¹ Rich. Simon, *Histoire des Principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* p. 477, and *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclési.* par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 352. Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 264, &c.

from the ancient doctors, or, neglecting the literal import of the Scriptures, drew from them, by forced interpretations, occult spiritual meanings. Those who desire to become acquainted with this exegetical art, may consult the Moral Mirror of the whole Scriptures, by *Vitalis a Furno*, or the Psalter spiritualized, by *Ludolphus Saxo*. The philosophic divines, who commented on the Scriptures, often proposed, and scientifically resolved, questions of the most profound erudition, according to the views of that age.

§ 3. In explaining and inculcating the doctrines of religion, most of the Greeks and Latins followed the principles of the Peripatetic philosophy. And the Greeks, by their intercourse with the Latins, seem to have become acquainted with the modes of teaching adopted in the schools of the Latins. The Greeks now read *Thomas Aquinas*, and other distinguished scholastics, in their own language²; *Demetrius Cydonius*, and others, having in this age translated them from Latin into Greek. The Latins who adopted this mode of theologizing, were immensely numerous: the most distinguished of them for acumen were, *John Scotus*, *Durand de St. Porçain*, *William Occam*, and a few others. Here and there an individual, also, applied the light of *Scripture* and of *tradition* to the explanation of Divine truth; but these were overpowered and nearly silenced by the immense throng of the dialecticians.

§ 4. Yet there were not wanting pious and good men, not only among the mystics, but others likewise, who censured this bold manner of philosophizing on religious subjects; and who endeavoured to draw the attention of students in theology to the Holy Scriptures and to the writings of the ancient fathers. Hence there were fierce disputes every where, especially in the more distinguished universities, as those of Paris and Oxford, between the *biblical* theologians and the *philosophical*. The *biblical* party, though greatly inferior in numbers, sometimes gained the victory. For the *philosophical* divines, the most eminent of whom were mendicant friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, by philosophizing indiscreetly, not unfrequently so distorted and misrepresented the principal doctrines of revealed religion, as to subvert them, and to advance opinions manifestly impious and absurd. The conse-

² Rich. Simon, *Créance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

quence was, that some had to abjure their errors ; others sought their safety by flight ; the books of some were publicly burnt ; others were thrown into prison.³ But as soon as the storm subsided, most of them returned to their former views, and oppressed their adversaries by various arts, and deprived them of their influence, their profits, and their number of pupils.

§ 5. Moreover, the *scholastic* doctors, or the *philosophical* divines, had great controversies among themselves, on various subjects. For these contests, abundant matter was supplied by that very acute man, of the Franciscan order, *John Duns Scotus*, an Englishman, who, being envious of the Dominicans, attacked certain doctrines of *Thomas Aquinas*, and maintained that they were untrue. The Dominicans united to defend the brother of their order, who was the oracle of the schools ; and, on the other hand, the Franciscans gathered around *Scotus*, as a doctor that descended from heaven. Thus the two most powerful orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were again pitted against each other ; and those famous sects of the *Scotists* and *Thomists* were produced, which still divide the schools of the Latins. These schools disagree respecting the *nature of Divine co-operation*, the *measure of Divine grace* necessary to a man's salvation, the *unity of form in man*⁴, and many other subjects, which cannot be here enumerated. But nothing procured *Scotus* greater glory, than his defence and demonstration, in opposition to the Dominicans, of what is called the *immaculate conception* of the *Virgin Mary*.⁵

§ 6. A great multitude of those called *mystics* lived and inculcated their doctrines in nearly every country of Europe. Some of these were good men and lovers of piety, who laboured to withdraw the minds of people from ceremonies, to guide them to real virtue and the love of God. Such were, (though not all of them equally wise,) *Jo. Tauler*, *Jo. Ruysbrock*, *Henry*

³ See Boulay's *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. in many passages. In the year 1340, various opinions of the scholastic tribe, respecting the Trinity and other subjects, were condemned : p. 266. A. D. 1347, M. Jo. de Mercuria and Nic. de Ulricuria had to abjure their opinions, p. 298, 308. A. D. 1348, one Simon was convicted of very great errors, p. 322. A. D. 1374, Guido, an Augustinian, shared the same fate, p. 329 ; and likewise, A. D. 1362, one Lewis, p. 374, and Jo. de Ca-

lore, p. 377 ; and A. D. 1366, Dionys. Soullechat, p. 38. The same scenes took place at Oxford. See Aut. Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153, 183, &c.

⁴ [Or personal identity. *Tr.*]

⁵ See Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. &c. [The doctrine of the *immaculate conception* of Mary was, that she herself was miraculously conceived, and born out of the course of nature, so as not to be a partaker of original sin. *Tr.*]

Suso, and *Gerhard* of Zutphen⁶; who must be acknowledged to have left us a considerable number of writings, suited to awake pious emotions, and to draw forth the soul towards God; though they all laboured under some infirmity of judgment, and were inclined to indulge their imaginations too far. But others of this kind were moving about every where, people bereft of reason, and fanatical, who dreamed of an unintelligible extinction of all the powers and faculties of the soul, and a transition of the mind into the Divine nature; and who led away their adherents into a senseless kind of piety that bordered on licentiousness. So great was the extravagance of these people, that the more sober *mystics* themselves detested their doctrine, and warned their followers against it.⁷

§ 7. Concerning those who gave particular attention to moral theology, it is not necessary to say much; since their merits and those of the parties already mentioned are very closely on a par. Two things, however, may be noticed as illustrative of the state of this branch of theology. First, in this age, a greater number than before, collected and discussed what are called *cases of conscience*. The most noted of this class, were *Astesanus*, an Italian, *Monaldus*, and *Bartholomew* of St. Concordia. This species of writing accorded well with the education given in the schools; which taught men, not so much what to *believe*, and how to *live*, as to query, to dispute, and to wrangle. Secondly, those who treated of the duties men owe to themselves and others, and exhorted to the practice of them, were accustomed to derive arguments and illustrations from the brutes. For they first explained the prominent characteristics of some animal; and then applied them to the life and conduct of men. Of this description are *John Nieder's Formicarius*, *Thomas* of Brabant's treatise *de Apibus*, *Hugo a S. Victor's Bestiarium*, *Thomas Waleys de Natura Bestiarum cum moralizatione*, and some others.⁸

⁶ Concerning these, the reader may consult Peter Poiret's *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, [p. 108. 111. 146. Schl.] and Godfrey Arnold's History and Description of Mystic Theology, [written in German, p. 395. 404. 414. 421.] Of Tauler and Suso, Jac. Echard treats particularly, *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also the *Acta Sanctor.* Januar. tom. ii. p. 654.

⁷ John Ruysbroeck inveighs strongly against them; in his works, published by Lau. Surius, p. 50. 378; and *de Vera Contemplat.* c. xviii. p. 608.

⁸ [John Nieder belonged to the following century. He was a German of Suabia, a Dominican, a prior of Basle, an Inquisitor, and rector of the gymnasium of Vienne. He flourished A. D. 1431; and died A. D. 1438. His works

§ 8. In most of the defenders of Christianity we find nothing conspicuous, elegant, and praiseworthy. *Thomas Bradwardine*, in his Books *de Providentia*, advances many ingenious and pertinent arguments in confirmation of the truth of religion in general. *The Eye-salve of faith against the heretics*⁹, by *Alvarus Pelagius*, does not come up to the magnitude of the subject; though it shows him to be an honest and well-disposed man. Against the Jews, came forth *Porchetus Salvaticus*, in his *Victory of the Faith*, transcribed in great measure from *Raymund Martini*; and also *Nicolaus Lyra*. They were both excelled by *Theophanes*, a Greek; in whose Books against the Jews, and his Agreement between the Old Testament and the New, are many things that are not contemptible.

§ 9. The contests between the Greeks and the Latins seemed at times to come near to an adjustment. For the Greeks, finding themselves to need the aid of the Latins, in repelling the continually increasing power of the Turks, manifested occasionally a pretended willingness to subject themselves to the demands of the Latins. In the year 1339, *Andronicus Junior* sent *Barlaam* into the West, to negotiate a peace in his name. In the year 1349, other Greek envoys came to *Clement VI.* to negotiate a treaty. In 1356, a similar embassy was sent to *Innocent VI.*, at Avignon. In the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch came in person to Rome to press the business; and in the year 1369, the emperor, *John Palæologus*, came himself into Italy, published a confession of faith accordant with the views of the pontiff, and laboured to conciliate the friendship of the Latins. But the majority of the Greeks could never be persuaded to be silent and to submit themselves to the Romans; though some, from interested motives, manifested a disposition to yield to the terms imposed on them. Hence this century was spent amidst contests and vain negotiations for peace.¹

are, *Consolatorium Timoratae Conscientie* (ed. Rome, 1604, 8vo). *Formicarius, seu Dialogus ad vitam Christianam Exemplo Conditum Formice incitatus*, (ed. Duac, 1604, 8vo. *Præceptorium*, (on the ten commandments; ed. Duac, 1614, 8vo.) *Alphabetum Divini Amoris; De Modo Bene Vivendi*, (ed. Rome, 1604, 8vo.) *De Reformatione Religiosorum*, lib. ii. Antw. 1611, 8vo. *De Contractibus Mercatorum Liber*; and Sermons for the year. — For *Thomas of Brabant*, or

Canipratensis, see above, p. 551, note⁹. He flourished about the middle of the preceding century. — *Hugo de S. Victor* lived in the 12th century. See p. 439, note⁶. His work, *De Bestiis*, is in his *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 418. (ed. Rouen, 1648, fol.)

⁹ *Collyrium Fidei contra hæreticos*.

¹ *Henry Canisius. Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369. *Leo Allatius, de Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. 16, 17. p. 784, &c. *Luc.*

§ 10. In the year 1384, a violent contest arose at Paris, between the university and the Dominican fraternity. *John de Montesono*, a native of Aragon, a Dominican and professor of theology, by direction and in the name of his order, publicly denied that the Virgin *Mary* was conceived without sin or stain; and maintained that such as believed in her *immaculate conception*, sinned against religion and the *faith*. The commotions that arose from this transaction would doubtless have subsided, if *John* had not renewed his asseverations, in stronger and bolder language, in a public discussion, A. D. 1387. The consequence was, that first the college of theologians, and then the whole university, condemned both this, and some other opinions of *Montesono*. For the university of Paris, influenced especially by the arguments of *John Duns Scotus*, had, almost from the beginning of the century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the Holy Virgin.² The Dominicans, with *Montesono*, appealed from the decision of the university to *Clement VII.*, resident at Avignon: for they maintained that *St. Thomas* himself was condemned in the person of his fellow Dominican. But before the pontiff had passed sentence, the accused fled from the court of Avignon, and revolted to the party of the rival pontiff, *Urban VI.*, who resided at Rome; and hence he was excommunicated in his absence. Whether the pontiff approved the judgment of the university of Paris, is uncertain. The Dominicans deny it; and maintain, that *Montesono* was excluded from the church merely on account of his flight³: though there are many who assert that his sentiments were also condemned. As the Dominicans would not abide by the decision of the university respecting their companion, they were, in the year 1389, excluded from the university; and were not restored to their former honours till the year 1404.⁴

Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312. Steph. Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388. 403. 407. 410. 772.

² See Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52, &c.

³ See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

⁴ Cas. Egasse de Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638. Steph. Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 521, tom. ii. p. 992, &c. Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Errorib.* tom. i. p. 61. Jac. de Longueval, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 347, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

§ 1. Alteration of the Jubilee.—§ 2. Feast days. Prayers.

§ 1. THE alterations and enlargements of the sacred rites will here be despatched in a few words, since the subject affords matter far too extensive to be compressed into the narrow space that can be given to it. The first thing worthy of notice is, that *Clement VI.*, in the year 1350, in compliance with the request of the citizens of Rome, altered the period of the year of *Jubilee*, which *Boniface VIII.* directed to be kept every hundredth year, limiting the period to fifty years.¹ He could give a plausible reason to such as might ask one. For the Jews, it is well known, kept every fiftieth year as a sacred jubilee; and the Roman pontiffs always copied from them, readily, in whatever related to the hierarchy and to magnificence. But *Urban VI.*, *Sixtus VI.*, and others, who subsequently assigned a much shorter period for the recurrence of this salutary and gainful year, would have found more difficulty in satisfying the demand for sufficient reasons for such inconstancy.²

¹ Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287. 312. 887. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481, &c. [Clement alleged, that few persons lived so long as a hundred years; and of course, quite too many Christians had to forego the great privilege of this full indulgence. *Von Ein.*]

² [Manifestly the pontiffs could offer no adequate reason for their limitations of the period; yet they could frame some excuse. The real cause, which they wisely conceal, was their own emolument. But a *centennial* jubilee: how few popes could it make happy! Even one of *fifty* years, few could live to see. Gregory XI., therefore, thought of shortening the period still more; notwithstanding the

anathema, pronounced by his predecessors, against such as should make innovations upon it. He wished to limit the jubilee to every thirty-third year; but death frustrated his purpose. Urban VI. intended to execute this design; but he also died before he had accomplished it. Boniface IX. first attained the object. The concourse of people, however, was not great at this jubilee, because the adherents of his rival pope would not go to Rome. But he devised a remedy. He first instituted the *secondary* jubilee; and also sent out hawkers of indulgences every where, offering his indulgences cheap to such as were unable to come to Rome. The regular jubilee was fixed to every 33rd year, on the ostensible

§ 2. *Innocent V.* commanded Christians to observe festal days, in memory of the *spear* that pierced the Saviour's side, of the *nails* that fastened him to the cross, and of the *crown of thorns* which he wore at his death.³ This was indeed irrational; yet it may in some measure be overlooked, considering the ignorance of the times. But no honest and well-informed man can readily excuse the conduct of *Benedict XII.* in giving his sanction to the senseless fable of the Franciscans, respecting the impressment upon the body of their chief and founder, by the almighty power of God, of the marks of the wounds of Christ, by ordaining a festival to commemorate the event. *John XXII.*, besides sanctioning many other superstitious things, ordered Christians to annex to their prayers the words in which *Gabriel* saluted the Virgin *Mary*.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF HERESIES.

§ 1. Controversies of the Hesychasts.—§ 2. State of the question between the Hesychasts and the Barlaamites.—§ 3. Severities of the Inquisition among the Latins.—§ 4. Severe edicts against the *Cathari*, the *Beghardi*, *Beghina*, &c.—§ 5. Yet the Brethren of the free spirit could not be extirpated.—§ 6. Persecution of the Beguins. Its tragical issue.—§ 7. The sect of Flagellants again appears.—§ 8. The Dancers.—§ 9. The Knights Templars are extirpated.—§ 10. The alleged cause of the severity was the extreme impiety of the Knights. An estimate of their guilt.

§ 1. THE *Hesychasts*, or, as they may be called in Latin, the *Quietists*, gave the Greeks much employment. *Barlaam*, a native of Calabria, a monk of the order of St. Basil, and afterwards bishop of Geraci in Calabria, travelled over Greece to inspect

ground that Christ, in making atonement for the human race, lived 33 years on the earth. But the period of 33 years was still a long time. Paul II., therefore, ordered that the festival should be kept every 25 years. Yet the benefit of his alteration he was compelled by death to resign to his successor, Sixtus IV. A

more frequent recurrence of the jubilee no one has ventured to ordain. See Cramer's *Bossuet's History*, vol. v. p. 426, &c. [Von Ein.]

³ See Jo. Henr. a Seelen's *Diss. de festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi*. Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328, and his *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 417.

the conduct of the monks; and he found not a few things among them that were reprehensible; but in none of them more than in the *Hesychasts*, at mount Athos, in Thessaly, who were *mystics*, or more perfect monks, that sought for tranquillity of mind and the extinction of all the passions, by means of contemplation. For these *Quietists*, in accordance with the prescription of their early teachers, who said that there was a divine light hidden in the soul, seated themselves daily in some retired corner, and fixed their eyes stedfastly, for a considerable time, upon the middle of their belly, or navel; and in that situation they boasted that a sort of divine illumination beamed forth upon them from the mind itself, which diffused through their souls wonderful delight.¹ When asked what kind of illumination this was, they answered, that it was the *glory of God*; and they appealed, for illustration, to the light which appeared at the *transfiguration* of Christ. *Barlaam*, who was ignorant of the customs of mystics, regarded this as absurd and fanatical; and to the monks who followed this practice he applied the names of *Massalians* and *Euchites*, and also the new name of Ὁμολόψυχοι, *Navel-souls*. On the other hand, *Gregory Palamas*, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of the monks against *Barlaam*.²

¹ There is no reason for any to be surprised at this account, or to question its correctness. For among the precepts and rules of all those in the East who teach men how to withdraw the mind from the body and to unite it with God, or inculcate what the Latins call a *contemplative* and *mystic life*, whether they are Christians, or Mahomedans, or pagans, there is this precept, viz. that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours, upon some particular object; and that whoever does this, will be wrapt into a kind of ecstasy, and being thus united to God, will see wonderful things, and will enjoy pleasures which words cannot express. See what Engelb. Kaempfer states concerning the monks and mystics of Siam, in his *Historia Japoniæ*, tom. i. p. 30; and the account of those of India, by Francis Bernier, *Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily believe, that those who continue long in such a posture of the body will see and perceive what no sane and sober person can see and feel. For they must necessarily fall into a disordered and be-

wildered state of mind; and the images represented by the imagination, in this unnatural state, will form strange combinations. And this will be the more certain effect, because the same injunction that requires the eyes to be long fixed immovably on one object forbids these people, who wish to behold God, all use of their reason during the time. I have said, that those in the *eastern* countries, who seek such intercourse with God, enjoin upon themselves this singular suspension of intellect and reason; but I might add, that very many of the Latins, of the mystic class, observe the same, and enjoin the observance of it on their disciples. And hence it is, that persons of this description sometimes relate to us so many visions, destitute of all rationality and truth. But this is not the place to enlarge on these prodigies.

² Concerning both of these famous men, Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, see, besides others, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. v. p. 247, &c. and 454, &c.

§ 2. To put an end to this contest, a council was held at Constantinople, A. D. 1341, in which the emperor *Andronicus* junior and the patriarch presided. Here the monks, with *Palamas* at their head, were victorious: *Barlaam* was condemned; and leaving Greece, he returned to Italy. Not long after, another monk, *Gregory Acindynus*, renewed the controversy, and denied what *Palamas* had maintained, namely, that God dwells in an eternal light, distinct from his essence; and that this was the light seen by the disciples on Mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, [or the *Hesychasts*], but concerning the Taboritic light, and the nature of God. This *Gregory* [*Acindynus*] was also condemned, as being a follower of *Barlaam*, in another council at Constantinople. There were several subsequent councils on this subject: among which was the distinguished one, held in 1351, in which the *Barlaamites* and their friends were so severely censured, that they gradually became silent, and left *Palamas* victorious. It was the opinion of *Palamas*, who came off conqueror in this combat, that God is surrounded by an eternal light, which is distinct from his nature or essence, and which he called his *ἐνέργεια*, or *operation*; and that it was this light which he permitted the three disciples to behold on Mount Tabor. Hence he concluded, that the divine *operation* is really distinct from his *substance*: and he added, that no one can become a partaker of the divine *essence* or *substance* itself; but it is possible for finite natures to become partakers of this divine *light* or *operation*. Those called *Barlaamites*, on the contrary, denied these positions, and maintained that the divine operations or attributes do not differ from the divine *essence*; and that there is no difference in fact, but only in our modes of conceiving of them, or in our thoughts, among all the things that are said to be in God.³

³ See Jo. Cantacuzenus, *Historia*, lib. ii. c. 39, &c. p. 263, &c. and the notes there of Gregory [James] Pontanus. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. c. 10, p. 277, and in various other passages. But these two writers differ in many particulars. Many documents relating to this controversy remain unpublished. See Bernh. Montfaucon's *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150, 174, 404. Nor have we as yet a well-digested

and accurate history of this controversy. Till we have, may be consulted Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Orient. et Occident. Ecclesiarum*, lib. ii. cap. 22, p. 824. Henr. Canisius, *Lectiones Antiquae*, tom. iv. p. 361. Dion. Petavius, *Doctrinæ Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. c. 12, p. 76. Steph. de Altamura, *Panoplia Contra Schisma Græcorum*, p. 381, &c. and others. [Matt. Schroeckh's *Kirchengesch.* vol. xxxiv. p. 431, &c. *Tr.*]

§ 3. In the Latin church, those papal ministers and judges, the Inquisitors, most industriously hunted out every where the remains of the sects that opposed the Romish religion, namely, the *Waldenses*, the *Cathari*, the *Apostoli*, and many others. Hence innumerable examples occur, in the monuments of those times, of persons who were burnt, or otherwise cruelly put to death by them. But none of these enemies to the church gave more trouble to the *Inquisitors* and the bishops than the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*; who, in Germany and the Low-countries, went by the common name of *Beghardi* and *Beghine*, and in other provinces were called by other names. For this class of people professing a sublime and austere kind of piety, and calling off men's attention from all external and sensible objects to an internal worship of God, easily gained the confidence of the honest, simple, and devout, and every where brought over multitudes to their views. And hence it was that so many persons of this character perished on the blazing pyre in Italy, France, and Germany, during this century.

§ 4. In no part of Germany were there greater numbers of this sect than in the cities on the Rhine, and especially in Cologne. Therefore *Henry I.*, archbishop of Cologne, published a severe ordinance against them, A. D. 1306⁴; and his example was followed by the prelates of Mentz, Treves, Worms, and Strasburg.⁵ And as there were acute and subtle men among this class of people, the very acute *John Duns Scotus* was sent to Cologne, in the year 1308, to dispute against them and confute them.⁶ In the year 1310, *Margaret Porretta*, a celebrated leader of this sect, was burnt at Paris, with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in a book she published, *that the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from all laws, and may gratify every natural propensity without guilt.*⁷ Influenced by these, and numerous other examples, the sovereign pontiff *Clement V.*, in the general council of Vienne, A. D. 1311, published a special decree against the *Beghardi* and *Beghine* of Germany; in which he states the

⁴ See the *Statuta Coloniensia*, Colon. 1554, 4to, p. 58. [Harzheim, *Concilia German.* tom. iv. p. 39. Schl.]

⁵ John's *Scriptores Rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298. Martene's *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250, &c. [Harz-

heim, *Concil. German.* tom. iv. p. 139. 200. 234, 235. 407. 436. 438. 482. &c. Schl.]

⁶ Wadding's *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108, &c.

⁷ Luc D'Achery, *Spicileg. Veter. Scrip-*

opinions held by this party, imperfectly indeed, yet so far as to render it clear, they were *mystics*, and *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*.⁵ Clement published another decree, in the same council, in which he suppressed the *Beghine* of a far different class, namely, those who had previously been approved, and who lived every where in established houses.⁹ For the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit* had crept into most of the convents of the *Beguinæ*, and inculcated their mysterious and sublime views on those women, who being captivated with these novelties, prated absurdly and impiously about the mysteries and the true worship of God.¹

§ 5. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many decrees and ordinances, endeavoured to descend from upper to lower Germany, and they actually migrated to several provinces of the latter. Westphalia alone they were not able to disquiet. For Henry, the archbishop of Cologne, assembled a council in 1322, and warned the bishops in his province of the impending danger; and they by their great vigilance, prevented the entrance of any of these people into Westphalia.² About the same time, also, the leader and champion of the *Beghardi* (as they were then called) living on the Rhine, *Walter*, a Hollander, an eloquent man, and distinguished for his writings, having come from Mentz to Cologne, was there seized and burnt.³ The

tor. tom. iii. p. 63. Jo. Balcus, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, cent. iv. No. 88. p. 367. Basil, 1557, fol.

⁵ It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* among the *Clementina*, lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hæreticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

⁹ In the *Corpus Juris Canon. Clementina*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De Religiosis Dominibus*, cap. i. p. 1075, ed. Boehmer.

¹ Hence in the German monuments of this age, we may often notice a distinction made between the *reputable and approved Beguinæ*, and the *Beguinæ of the sublime or free spirit*: of whom, the former adhered to the public religion, and the latter were corrupted by *mystical* opinions.

² Nicol. Schaten's *Annales Paderbornenses*, tom. ii. p. 249.

³ Jo. Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaugens.* tom. ii. p. 155. Schaten's *Annales Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 350. This was the celebrated *Walter*, who so many ecclesiastical historians tell us was the founder of the sect of *Lollhards*, and a distinguished witness for the truth. These

and other conclusions the learned writers deduce from the language of Trithemius: *Lohareus* (thus it reads in my copy: but I believe the true reading to be *Lollhardus*; which term Trithemius often uses, in the manner common in his age, while treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *autem iste Waltherus, natione Hollandinus, Latini Sermonis parvam habebat notitiam*. From these words, I say, those learned men infer, that the name of the man was *Walter*, and his surname *Lollhard*: and hence they infer, farther, that the sect of the *Lollhards* derived its name from him as being its founder. But it is clear, from this and other passages of Trithemius, that *Lollhardus* was not his surname, but an epithet of reproach, which was applied to all heretics who concealed the poison of error under the cloak of piety. This same *Walter* is called by Trithemius, a little before, *Fratricellorum princeps*. Yet the name *Fratricelli* he uses in a broader sense, or to include various sects. This *Walter* was a man devoted to mystic

death of this man was a great loss to the *Brethren of the free spirit*; yet it by no means effected their ruin. For it appears from numberless testimonies that this class of people held clandestine meetings for a long time at Cologne, and in many other provinces of Germany; and that there were men among them distinguished for their learning and weight of character, among whom, besides others, was the celebrated *Henry Aycard*, or *Eccard*, a Dominican of Saxony, and provincial of his order for Saxony, an acute man, who taught theology at Paris with applause.⁴ *John XXII.*, in the year 1330, sought to remedy this evil by a new and severe ordinance, in which the errors of the sect of the *free spirit* were more distinctly and precisely stated than in the ordinance of *Clement*⁵; but he could not by any means extirpate it. Both the Inquisitors and the bishops fought against it, quite to the end of the century, over the greater part of Europe.

§ 6. From the ordinance of *Clement*, or of the council of Vienne, against the *Bequines*, or those females who associated in regular houses for united prayer and labour, originated that great persecution of the *Bequines*, which continued down to the times of the reformation by *Luther*, and proved ruinous to both *Bequines* and *Beghards* in several countries. For although the pontiff, at the close of that ordinance, had allowed pious females to lead a life of celibacy, whether under a vow or not, and only forbidden the toleration of such females as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, yet the enemies of the *Bequines* and *Beghards*, who were very numerous, both among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and among the priests and monks, took occasion from that ordinance of *Clement* to expel the *Bequines* from their houses, seize and carry off their

views, and a principal teacher among the *Brethren of the free spirit* along the Rhine.

⁴ See Jac. Echard's *Scriptores Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 507. Odor. Raynald's *Annales Eccles.* tom. xv. ad ann. 1329, § 70, p. 389, [and Harzheim's *Concilia German.* tom. iv. in the *Digressional Sæcul.* xiv. p. 635, &c., where we find the bull of pope John XXII. which he sent to the archbishop of Cologne, and in which the 26 articles which Eccard taught, but afterwards had to retract, are stated; and are, almost word for word, the same as those propositions quoted in the his-

tory of the preceding century, (Part ii. ch. v. § 11, p. 624, above,) from the book *De Novem Rupibus.* Schl.]

⁵ This new constitution of John XXII. has never been published entire. Its first words were, *In agro Domini*; and its inscription was, *Contra singularia, dubia, suspecta et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghina prædicant et observant.* A summary of it is given by Herman Coerner, *Chronicon*; Eccard's *Corpus Histor. Mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, *Chronicon Citizense*; in Jo. Pistorius' *Scriptores Rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

goods, and to offer them many other insults and injuries. Nor were the *Beghards* treated with more indulgence. *John XXII.* first succoured the *Beguines* in the year 1324, by a special ordinance, in which he explained that of *Clement*, and commanded their houses and goods to be left to them unmolested. And other pontiffs afterwards extended to them relief. Moreover the *Beguines* themselves, in order to escape more easily the machinations and violence of their enemies, embraced in many places the third rule of *St. Francis*, and of the Augustinians. But all these guards could not prevent them from suffering great injury, both as to character and property, from this time onward; and in many places they were oppressed both by the magistrates and by the monks and clergy, who were eager for their property.⁶

§ 7. Some years before the middle of the century, while Germany, France, and other countries of Europe, were afflicted with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a sect long since forgotten, especially in Germany, appeared again, and roaming through various countries, produced excitement among the people. These new *Flagellants*, who were of every order, sex, and age, were worse than the old ones. For they not only supposed that God might be won over to compassion by self-inflicted pains, but also circulated other doctrines adverse to religion: for example, that *flagellation* was of equal efficacy with baptism, and the other sacraments, that by it might be obtained from God the forgiveness of all sins, without the merits of Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and a new law (of baptism with blood by means of the whip) was to be substituted in its place; with other principles, of which some were better, and some worse. On these accounts *Clement VII.* anathematised *Flagellants*, and some of them were burnt by the *Inquisitors* in various places. But the coercion of them was found just as difficult as that of other bodies which held erroneous opinions.⁷

⁶ I have made very extensive collections respecting this long and eventful conflict of the *Beguines*. The most copious of all the printed histories of it, and especially of the conflict at Bale, and of that most bitter enemy of the *Beguines*, John Mülberg, a priest of Bale, is that of Christian Wurstenen or Urstisius, in his *Chronicle of Bale*, written in German lib. iv. c. ix. p. 201, &c. Basil, 1580, fol. The writings of Mülberg, so famous

in the following century for his assaults on the *Beguines*, are before me, in manuscript, and are preserved in many old libraries.

⁷ See Baluze, *Vite Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319; and *Miscellanea*, tom. i. p. 50. Matthæus, *Analecta Veteris Ævi*, tom. i. p. 50, tom. iii. p. 241, tom. iv. p. 145. Herm. Gyges, *Flores Temporis*. p. 139.

§ 8. Directly the opposite of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which originated in the year 1373, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thence spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other Belgic provinces. Persons of both sexes, publicly and in private houses, suddenly broke into a dance, and holding each other by the hand, danced with great violence till they fell down nearly suffocated. Amidst those violent movements they declared themselves to be favoured with wonderful visions. These also wandered about, like the *Flagellants*, and lived by begging; they esteemed the public worship of the church and of the priesthood of little value, and held secret assemblies. This appears to have been a singular species of disease; but the ignorant priests of that age supposed these people to be possessed by some evil spirit; and at Liege they endeavoured to cast him out by singing hymns and using incense. And it is reported, that the evil spirit was dislodged by these means.⁸

§ 9. The *Knights Templars*, established near 200 years before this in Palestine, were far worse than all the heretics, and were the enemies and deriders of all religion, if the crimes and enormities charged upon them were real. Their accuser before the pontiff, *Clement V.*, was no less than the king of France, *Philip the Fair*, an avaricious prince, extremely vindictive and fiery. The pontiff had to yield to the wishes of the king, although at first he made some resistance. Therefore in the year 1307, and afterwards, all the Knights, dispersed over the whole of Europe, while apprehending no such thing, were seized on a day appointed: many, who refused to confess the crimes and enormities charged upon them, were put to death; others who being compelled by tortures and allured by promises, confessed the crimes, were dismissed. The whole order, in the year 1311, was extinguished by the council of Vienne. Its very ample possessions were transferred, in part, to other orders, especially to the Knights of *St. John*, now of Malta, and in part were confiscated by the reigning sovereigns.

⁸ See Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 485. Ant. Matthæus, *Analytica Viter. Eri.* tom i. p. 51, where the *Chronicon Belgicum*, ad ann. 1374, obliquely says: *gignit de Dancers. Gens capientia cadit, cruciata salvat.* [These people fell down, if unexorcised, but the use of the cross restored them.] These *Dancing Brothers and Sisters* were very

much like the French *Convulsionists* [or Prophets] who in our age have produced so much disturbance. [Mosheim's age has passed away, and with it many of its names. The things represented by them are of immortal mould, as in this case the modern *Jumpers* testify. *Ed.*]

§ 10. The *Knights Templars*, if we may believe their judges, were a society of men who turned God and Christ, with every thing sacred, into ridicule, and trampled upon all law and decency. Candidates for admission to the order were required to renounce Christ, and to spit upon his image; and when initiated, they paid divine honours to a gilded head of wood, or to a cat; were required to practise sodomy; burnt such children as happened to be the fruit of their commerce with women; and committed other crimes too horrid to be mentioned or even thought of. That there were impious and flagitious men in this, as well as in all other religious⁹ orders of the day, no one will deny. But that this whole order was so abominably corrupt, is so far from being proved by the records of the trials, which are now publicly extant, that the contrary rather is manifest from them. And if to this we add, that the accusations are evidently contradictory, and that many of these unhappy people most firmly attested their own innocence, and the innocence of their order, amidst the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath, it will appear most probable that king *Philip* set on foot this bloody tragedy to gratify his hatred against the order, and particularly against its general, who had offended him, and to satisfy his avarice.¹

⁹ [Or monastic. *Tr.*]

¹ We have Peter du Puy's [or Puteanus] *Histoire de la Condamnation des Templiers*, with the records of the trial annexed; which, with his other writings, relating to the history of France, was published at Paris, 1654, 4to. A second edition of the work appeared at Paris, 1685, 8vo, and a third at Brussels, 1713, 2 vols. 8vo. The fourth and most ample was printed at Brussels, 1751, 4to, to which a great number of documents of different kinds were added. Any one by candidly examining the records and documents annexed to this book will clearly perceive, that injustice was done

to the *Templars*. There is, also, Nicolaus Gürtler's *Hist. Templariorum*, Amstelod. 1703, 8vo.; and the reader may likewise consult Stephen Baluze, *Vita Pontiff. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8, 11, 12, &c. Gerh. du Bois, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's implacable hatred of the *Templars* was, that in his war with Boniface VIII. these knights took side with the pontiff; and furnished the pontiff with money to carry on the war. This was an offence which Philip could never overlook. More cannot be added in the present work.

*COUNCILS.

	A. D.		A. D.
Rome	502	Narbonne	589
Agde	506	Rheims	627
Orleans	511	Toledo	633
Tarragona	516	Toledo	638
Gerona.....	517	Lateran	649
Epone	517	Chalons	650
Lerida	524	Merida.....	666
Valencia	524	Hertford	673
Arles	524	Toledo.....	675
Orange.....	529	Braga	675
Vaison.....	529	Hatfield	680
Toledo	531	CONSTANTINOPLE ²	681
Orleans	533	Quinisext, or Trullan ...	692
Clermont in Auvergne	535	Toledo	693
Orleans	538	Bapchild	694
Barcelona.....	540	Toledo.....	694
Orleans	541	Berghamsted	696
Orleans	549	Rome	721
CONSTANTINOPLE ¹	553	Rome	743
Arles	554	Soissons	744
Paris	557	Cloveshoo	747
Braga	563	Verberie	752
Tours	567	Metz	753
Braga	572	Vernon	755
Auxerre	578	Compeigne	757
Mâcon	581	Calcuith	787
Lyons	583	NICE II. ³	787
Mâcon	585	Friuli	791
Toledo	589	Frankfort.....	794

¹ Termed the second of Constanti-
nople, and the *Fifth General*.

² Termed the third of Constantinople,
and the *Sixth General*.

³ Termed by Romanists the *Seventh
General*. By establishing image-worship,
it fixed upon their church its peculiar
character.

	A. D.		A. D.
Arles	813	Fismes	881
Mentz	813	Cologne	887
Rheims	813	Mentz	888
Tours	813	Metz	888
Chalons	813	Vienne.....	892
Constantinople.....	814	Tribur ⁶	895
Aix-la-Chapelle	816	Rome	904
Celychyth	816	Trosly	909
Paris ⁴	824	Grately	928
Paris	829	London	943
Aix-la-Chapelle	836	Ingelheim	948
Thionville	844	Andover	961
Vernon	844	Wihthordestane ⁷	962
Beauvais	845	Winchester	968
Meaux.....	845	Kirtlington	977
Mentz	847	Calne	978
Pavia	850	Amesbury	978
Soissons	853	Ravenna	997
Valence	855	Eanham	1008
Savonières, near Toul.		Leon	1012
(<i>Conc. Tullense apud</i>		Haba	1014
<i>Saponarias.</i>)	859	Winchester	1021
Worms	868	Selgenstadt	1022
CONSTANTINOPLE		Bourges	1031
IV. ⁵	869	Rheims	1049
Pontyon	876	Rouen	1050
Ravenna	877	Vercelli ⁸	1050
Troyes.....	878	Coyaco.....	1050

⁴ This council Labbé and Cossart mention, but will not admit as really entitled to the name of a council. It was called by the Frankish king, Lewis the Pious, in furtherance of Michael the Stammerer's opposition to image-worship. That Constantinopolitan emperor having made a decree against this pernicious superstition, was anxious to obtain concurrence in it from pope Eugenius, and thought himself more likely to succeed if he could back his application by one from the Frankish monarch. Lewis accordingly convoked his prelate at Paris, and this body affirmed the principles that had already been sanctioned at Frankfort, but Eugenius *per-*

sisted in the ancient and apostolical tradition : a shrewd resolve secure of popular ratification. Cabassut, *Notitia Ecclesiastica*, p. 319.

⁵ The *Eighth General*.

⁶ Tribur was on the Rhine, between Oppenheim and Mentz. It has long been ruined. Binius, *apud* Labb. et Coss. *Conc.* lib. ix. p. 467.

⁷ The site of this English council has not been ascertained ; nor is it noticed, any more than that of Andover, in editions of the councils. A record of them both, however, remains in the British Museum. See the Editor's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 188. 295, 3d ed. 191. 304.

⁸ There was also a council holden this

	A. D.		A. D.
Narbonne	1054	Clarendon	1164
Toulouse	1056	Cashel	1172
Rome	1059	London	1175
Tours	1060	LATERAN ²	1179
Rome	1063	York	1195
Rouen	1072	London	1200
Rouen	1074	Avignon	1209
Rome	1074	Paris	1212
London	1075	Montpellier	1214
Rome	1078	LATERAN ³	1215
Rome	1080	Oxford	1222
L'Islebonne	1081	Narbonne	1227
Quedlinburg	1085	Toulouse	1229
Melfi	1090	Château Gontier	1231
Clermont	1095	Beziers	1233
Rouen	1096	Narbonne	1235
Nismes	1096	Tours	1236
Rome	1099	London	1237
St. Omer's	1099	Campinacum ⁴	1238
Poitiers	1100	Tours	1239
London	1102	Worcester	1240
Lateran	1112	Laval	1241
Toulouse	1119	LYONS I. ⁵	1245
LATERAN ⁹	1125	Beziers	1246
London	1125	Valence	1248
Westminster	1127	Saumur	1253
Troyes	1127	Alby	1254
Rheims	1131	Bordeaux	1255
London	1138	Lambeth	1261
LATERAN ¹	1139	Nantes	1264
Rheims	1148	Vienna	1267
Tours	1163	London	1268

year at Rome. Berenger found employment for both assemblies; and although no canons are extant from either, yet their condemnation of John Scot and Berenger makes them important. Henceforth the Roman church stood committed to transubstantiation.

⁹ Called the first Lateran, and the *Ninth General*.

¹ Second Lateran, and *Tenth General*.

² Third Lateran, and *Eleventh General*.

³ This is merely styled the Fourth Lateran — *General* by Labbé and Cossart.

⁴ Campinacum is thought to be Cognac.

⁵ Called *General*, because a pope, Innocent IV., presided. Labbé and Cossart, however, give it no numerical rank.

	A. D.		A. D.
Sens	1269	VIENNE ⁷	1311
LYONS II. ⁶	1274	Ravenna	1311
Saltzburg.....	1274	Ravenna	1314
Saumur	1276	Ravenna	1317
Beziers.....	1276	Palencia ..	1322
Langen	1278	Toledo	1325
Pontaudemer	1279	Avignon	1326
Avignon	1279	Lambeth	1330
Reading	1279	Rouen	1335
Buda	1279	Château Gontier.....	1336
Ravenna	1286	Avignon	1337
Bourges	1286	London	1342
Exeter	1287	Noyon.....	1344
Wurtzburg	1287	Paris	1346
Saumur	1294	Toledo	1347
Canterbury	1295	Beziers.....	1351
Rouen	1299	Angers.....	1365
Merton.....	1300	Lavaur.....	1368
Compiègne	1301	Saltzburg.....	1386
Saltzburg.....	1310	Palencia	1388
Cologne ⁸	1310	London ⁸	1396

POPES.

Name.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Hormisdas514	Aug. 6, 523
John	Aug. 13, 523	May 18, 526
Felix III.	July 12, 526	Sept. 18, 530
Boniface II.....	Sept. 21, 530	Oct. 17, 532
John II.	Dec. 31, 532	May 27, 535

⁶ This has no numerical rank assigned to it among *General* councils. Gregory X. presided.

⁷ Clement V. presided: hence this council is termed *General*, but it stands without any numerical rank.

⁸ This was the council that condemned eighteen articles taken out of Wickliffe's *Trialogus*. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, presided.

Name.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Agapetus	June 3, 535	Ap. 22, 536
Silverius ¹	June 8, 536	June 20, 538
Vigilius 555
Pelagius	Ap. 11, 555	Mar. 1, 560
John III.	July 18, 560	... 573
Benedict	June 3, 574	July 30, 578
Pelagius 578	Jan. 8, 590
Gregory the Great	Sept. 3, 590	Mar. 12, 604
Sabinian	Sept. 13, 604	Feb. 22, 606
Boniface III.	Feb. 19, 607	Nov. 10, 607
Boniface IV.	Aug. 25, 608	May 7, 615
Deusdedit	Oct. 19, 615	Nov. 8, 618
Boniface V.	Dec. 23, 619	Oct. 22, 625
Honorius	Oct. 27, 625	Oct. 12, 638
Severinus ²	May 28, 640	Aug. 11, 640
John IV.	Dec. 24, 640	Aug. 1, 642
Theodore	Nov. 24, 642	May 13, 649
Martin	July 5, 649	Sept. 16, 655
Eugenius ³	June 1, 657
Vitalian	July 30, 657	Jan. 27, 672
Adeodatus	Ap. 22, 672	June 26, 676
Donus	Nov. 1, 676	Ap. 11, 678
Agathe	June 27, 678	Jan. 10, 682
Leo II.	Aug. 17, 682	July 3, 683
Benedict II.	June 26, 684	May 7, 685
John V.	July 23, 685	Aug. 2, 686
Conon	Oct. 22, 686	Sept. 21, 687
Sergius	Dec. 15, 687	Sept. 7, 701
John VI.	Oct. 28, 701	Jan. 9, 705
John VII.	Mar. 1, 705	Oct. 17, 707
Sisinnius	Jan. 18, 708	Feb. 6, 708

¹ Silverius was deposed by Belisarius, then besieged in Rome by the Goths, under a charge of conspiracy to betray the city to them. He was really the victim of the empress Theodora's enmity. By means of that princess, Vigilius was intruded into his see, and he was himself banished from Rome. He died a prisoner at Palmaruolo, an uninhabited island off the Latian coast. Some reckon the accession of Vigilius from his deposition, others from his death. *Bower*, ii. 363.

² Severinus "was elected soon after

the death of his predecessor, but not ordained till the 28th of May, 640, when the see had been vacant one year, seven months, and seventeen days." He could not earlier obtain the emperor's ratification of his election. *Bower*, iii. 21, 22.

³ Eugenius was elected on the deposition of Martin under imperial authority. It is, therefore, questionable whether his pontificate should be dated from his predecessor's death or deposition.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Constantine	Mar. 25, 708	Ap. 8, 715
Gregory II.	May 19, 715	Feb. 20, 732
Gregory III.	Mar. 18, 632	Nov. 27, 741
Zachary	Nov. 29, 741	Mar. 14, 752
Stephen II.	Mar. 26, 752	Ap. 29, 757
Paul	June 3, 757	June 28, 767
Stephen III.	Aug. 7, 768	Feb. 2, 772
Hadrian	Feb. 9, 772	Dec. 25, 795
Leo III.	Dec. 27, 795	June 11, 816
Stephen IV.	June 21, 816	Jan. 24, 817
Paschal	Jan. 25, 817	Feb. 10, 824
Eugenius II.	Feb. 14, 824	Aug. — 827
Valentine ⁴
Gregory IV.	Jan. 25, 844
Sergius II.	Feb. 10, 844	Jan. 27, 847
Leo IV. ⁵	Ap. 11, 847	July 17, 855
Benedict III.	Sept. 29, 855	Ap. 8, 858
Nicholas	Ap. 24, 858	Nov. 13, 867
Hadrian II.	Dec. 13, 867	Nov. 26, 872
John VIII.	Dec. 14, 872	Dec. 15, 882
Marinus ⁶
Hadrian III. ⁷
Stephen V. ⁸ 891
Formosus ⁹	Ap. 4, 896
Boniface VI. ¹

⁴ "Chosen, as is commonly supposed, after a few days' vacancy — Valentine enjoyed his new dignity but a very short time; according to some, scarce one month, according to others, forty days." *Bower*, iv. 219, 220.

⁵ This pope has been canonised, and is consequently known as St. Leo. He appears to have been a very excellent person. His successor, according to medieval legends, was *Pope Joan*.

⁶ "Called by some Martin II. — If he was chosen and ordained a few days after the death of pope John, in December 882, as we are told he was, and held the see one year and five months, his death must have happened in May, 884." *Bower*, v. 57, 58.

⁷ "He was chosen and ordained, so far as we can conjecture from the duration of his pontificate, in the latter end of May, or the beginning of June, 884. — If Hadrian held the see one year and

four months, as we read in most of the catalogues of the popes, his death must have happened about the month of September, 885." *Ibid.* 52, 60.

⁸ "That Stephen governed the Roman church nine years, and should be called, not the sixth, but the fifth of that name, appears from his epitaph." *Ibid.* 65.

⁹ "He is the first that was translated from another see to that of Rome, the preceding popes having been all chosen from among the presbyters and deacons of that church." *Ibid.* 66.

¹ "He is said by the continuator of the *Annals of Fulda*, who lived at this time, to have died of the gout at the end of fifteen days. As he held the see so short a time, and intruded himself into it by open force, Baronius, and after him some other writers, have not allowed him a place among the popes." *Ibid.* 72.

Name.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Stephen VI. ²
Romanus ³
Theodore II. ⁴
John IX. ⁵
Benedict IV. ⁶
Leo V. ⁷
Christopher ⁸
Sergius III. ⁹
Anastasius III. ¹
Lando ²
John X. ³
Leo VI. ⁴
Stephen VII. ⁵
John XI. ⁶
Leo VII. ⁷
Stephen VIII. ⁸
Marinus II. ⁹

² Stephen is known to have been pope before Aug. 20, 896, and Romanus, in October, 897. *Bower*, 75.

³ "If he held the see but three months and twenty-two days, he must have died about the end of January, 898." *Ibid.* 76.

⁴ "He held the see but twenty days." *Ibid.* 76.

⁵ "John IX. held the see, according to the most probable opinion, two years and fifteen days, and must, consequently, have died about the beginning of August, 900, it being manifest from some of his letters, that he was in possession of the see in July, 898." *Ibid.* 79.

⁶ "Benedict died, according to the most probable opinion, about the beginning of October, 903." *Ibid.* 84.

⁷ He was driven out of the see, and put into prison, after about a month's possession. He is said to have died of grief in prison. *Ibid.* 85.

⁸ "All we know of him is, that he intruded himself into the see by open force and violence, that he treated his predecessor with great barbarity, and confirmed all the privileges that his predecessors had granted to the famous abbey of Corbie. The diploma confirming these privileges is dated VII. Cal. Jan. Indict. VII. that is, the twenty-fifth of December, 903. Christopher, therefore, had seized on the see before the twenty-fifth of December of the present year. But

he held it, as we read in Martinus Polonus, in Flodoard, and in most of the catalogues, only six, or at most, seven months." *Ibid.* 85.

⁹ "As he was ordained about the beginning of June, 904, his death must have happened about the end of August, 911." *Ibid.* 87.

¹ "Anastasius died, according to the computation of the best chronologers, about the middle of Oct. 913." *Ibid.* 89.

² "Held the see, as we read in Flodoard, only six months and ten days." *Ibid.*

³ "He held the see, according to Flodoard, fourteen months, and somewhat more, and consequently must have died in June or July, 928.—John X. is the first pope that was seen at the head of an army." *Ibid.* 95.

⁴ "All we read of him in Flodoard, who lived in those days, is, that he succeeded John X. and governed the church seven months and five days." *Ibid.*

⁵ "He must have died about the fifteenth of March, 931." *Ibid.* 96.

⁶ He was intruded into the see when very young, and died in prison about 936. *Ibid.* 97.

⁷ He is thought to have died about July, 939. *Ibid.* 99.

⁸ He died about the close of 942. *Ibid.* 104.

⁹ Otherwise Martin III. He seems to have died in June, 946. *Ibid.* 102.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Agapetus II. ¹.....	.....	.....	.....
Octavian ²	John XII.....	.....	.....
Leo VIII.....	.....	Dec. 6, 963	Mar. — 965
John XIII.....	.....	Oct. 1, 965	Sept. 6, 972
Benedict VI. ³.....	.....	.....	.....
Donus II. ⁴.....	.....	.....	.....
Benedict VII.....	.....	.....	.....
Peter ⁵	John XIV.	.....	.....
John XV.....	.....	Dec. — 985	.....996
Bruno.....	Gregory V. ...	..... 996	Feb. 18, 999
Gerbert.....	Silvester II....	Ap. 2, 999	May 12, 1003
John XVI.....	.....	June 13, 1003	Dec. 7, 1003
Fasanus.....	John XVII....	Dec. 26, 1003	May — 1009
Peter ⁶	Sergius IV. ...	.....	.....
John.....	Benedict VIII.	..... 1012	..... 1024
John XVIII.....	.....	..... 1024	..... 1033
Theophylact ⁷	Benedict IX. .	Nov. — 1003	.....
John Gratian ⁸	Gregory VI. ..	.....	.....
Suiger ⁹	Clement II. ...	Dec. 25, 1046	Oct. 9, 1047
Popponius.....	Damasus II. ...	July 17, 1048	Aug. 8, 1048
Bruno ¹	Leo IX.....	Feb. 12, 1049	Ap. 19, 1054

¹ Ordained before June 22, 946. He retained the see above ten years. *Ibid.* 102. 104.

² "He took the name of John, that of his uncle, pope John XI, and he is the first pope that changed his name." He was intruded into the see when about eighteen, and eventually deposed. *Ibid.* 104. 111.

³ He was ordained after Nov. 28, 972, and was strangled in prison about two years afterwards by a popular leader who had gained the upper hand in Rome. *Ibid.* 122, 123.

⁴ "Hermannus Contractus does not reckon Donus among the popes; but he is by all other writers placed in their catalogues immediately after Benedict VI." *Ibid.* 123.

⁵ "He exchanged" (his name) "on his promotion, for that of John, out of respect for the prince of the apostles. He held the see only eight months." *Ibid.* 125.

⁶ Elected after June 17, 1009, and died in 1012. "This pope was called *Os Porci*, or *Hog's Snout*, as we read in Ditmar, a cotemporary writer, and not Sergius II. as is said by Platina, who

will have that pope to have been the first who, disliking his own name, took another. But that custom did not take place until long after the time of Sergius II." *Ibid.* 145.

⁷ This pope sold the popedom to his successor, as it was generally said; but Otto of Frisingen represents the transaction as rather favourable than otherwise to the latter, his object being merely to furnish a notoriously bad pontiff with such an inducement as should make him resign peaceably a post which he disgraced. *Ibid.* 158, 159.

⁸ "Though the election of Gregory was certainly null, he is reckoned in all the catalogues among the lawful popes, for no reason that I can see, but because the next Gregory called himself the seventh of that name." *Ibid.* 160.

⁹ A Saxon, bishop of Bamberg. *Ibid.* 161.

¹ "Leo was the first pope that marked in his bulls the years of our Lord, the preceding popes using no other date but that of the indictions." He has been canonised, and his remains are objects of religious worship. *Ibid.* 203.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Gebehard.....	Victor II.	Ap. 13, 1055	June — 1057
Frederic.....	Stephen IX. ...	Aug. 2, 1057	Mar. 29, 1058
John Mincius ²	Benedict X.	Mar. 30, 1058	.....
Gerard.....	Nicholas II. ...	Dec. 28, 1058	July 22, 1061
Anselm.....	Alexander II..	Oct. 1, 1061	Ap. 21, 1073
Hildebrand.....	Gregory VII..	Ap. 22, 1073	May 25, 1085
Desiderius.	Victor III.	May 24, 1086	Sept. 16, 1087
Otho.....	Urban II.	Mar. 12, 1088	July 29, 1099
Rainerius.....	Paschal II.	Aug. 14, 1099	Jan. 25, 1118
John Cajetan	Gelasius II. ...	Jan. 25, 1118	Jan. 29, 1119
Guido	Calixtus II. ...	Feb. 1, 1119	Dec. 14, 1124
Lambert.....	Honorius II. ..	Dec. 21, 1124	Feb. 14, 1130
Gregory.....	Innocent II. ...	Feb. 15, 1130	Sept. 23, 1143
Guido del Castello.	Celestine II. ..	Sept. 26, 1143	Mar. 9, 1144
Gerard Caccia- } nemici..... }	Lucius II.	Mar. 12, 1144	Feb. 25, 1145
Bernard	Egenius III. ...	Feb. 27, 1145	July 8, 1153
Conrad.....	Anastasius IV.	July 9, 1153	Dec. 2, 1154
Nicholas Break- } spear ³ }	Hadrian IV. ...	Dec. 3, 1154	Sept. 1, 1159
Roland	Alexander III.	Sept. 8, 1159	Aug. 30, 1181
Hubald Allucin- } golo	Lucius III.	Sept. 1, 1181	Nov. 29, 1184
Humbert Crivelli..	Urban III.	Dec. 1, 1184	Oct. 19, 1187
Albert.....	Gregory VIII.	Oct. 25, 1187	Dec. 17, 1187
Paul.....	Clement III.	Dec. 20, 1187	Mar. 27, 1191
Hyacinth Bobo....	Celestine III. .	Ap. 14, 1191	Jan. 8, 1198
Lothaire Conti.....	Innocent III. .	Feb. 22, 1198	July 16, 1216
Centius Savelli.....	Honorius III..	July 24, 1216	Mar. 18, 1227
Ugolino Conti.....	Gregory IX. ..	Mar. 21, 1227	Aug. 21, 1241
Godfrey Castiglione	Celestine IV. .	Oct. 22, 1241	Nov. 9, 1241
Anibal Fieschi ⁴	Innocent IV. ..	June 28, 1243	Dec. 7, 1254

² Benedict X. was said to have owed his election to bribes, which rendered it invalid. He was, however, master of Rome, and his opponents were obliged to quit it: but after a possession of more than nine months, the council of Sutri deposed him, and being sensible of inability to maintain his ground, he left Rome for Tuscany, abandoning the papal chair to Nicholas II., whom the council had elected. *Ibid.* 212, 213.

³ The only Englishman ever elected pope. He was born in Hertfordshire,

at Abbot's Langley, near St. Alban's. While young, he desired admittance into that monastery, but being repulsed, as insufficient, he went over to Paris, and wanting neither ability nor good fortune, he filled a succession of honourable posts, that conducted him eventually to the papacy. *Chauncy's Hertfordshire*, ii. 337.

⁴ The red hat was first used by the cardinals under Innocent IV. "That mark of distinction he granted them in the council of Lyons; but they first used it, as *De Curbio* informs us, the year after

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Raynald.....	Alexander IV.	Dec. 12, 1254	May 25, 1261
John Pantaleon....	Urban IV.	Aug. 29, 1261	Oct. 2. 1264
Guido.....	Clement IV....	Feb. — 1265	Nov. — 1268
Theobald	Gregory X. ...	Sept. 1, 1271	Jan. 10, 1276
Peter de Tarantaise	Innocent V....	Feb. 22, 1276	June 22, 1276
Ottobon Fieschi ...	Hadrian V. ...	July 11, 1276	Aug. 18, 1276
Peter.....	John XXI. ...	Sept. 15, 1276	May 16, 1277
John Cajetan.....	Nicholas III..	Nov. 25, 1277	Aug 22, 1280
Simon de Brie.....	Martin IV.....	Mar. 23, 1281	Mar. 29, 1285
James Savelli.....	Honorius IV..	Ap. 15, 1285	Ap. 3, 1287
Jerome of Ascoli...	Nicholas IV. ..	Feb. 22, 1288	Ap. 4, 1292
Peter de Murrho ⁵ .	Celestine V. ..	Aug. 29, 1294	.....
Benedict Cajetan ..	Boniface VIII..	Jan. 23, 1295	Oct. 11, 1303
Nicholas Bocasini .	Benedict XI..	Oct. 27, 1303	July 6, 1304
Bertrand de Got ⁶ .	Clement V. ...	Nov. 14, 1305	Ap. 20, 1314
James de Cusa.....	John XXII. ..	Sept. 5, 1316	Dec. 4, 1334
James Fournier....	Benedict XII.	Jan. 8, 1335	Ap. 25, 1342
Peter Roger	Clement VI. ..	May 19, 1342	Dec. 6, 1352
Stephen Aubert ...	Innocent VI..	Dec. 30, 1352	Sept. 12, 1362
William Grimoardi	Urban V.	Nov. 6, 1362	Dec. 19, 1370
Peter Beaufort ⁷ ...	Gregory XI..	Jan. 5, 1371	Mar. 27, 1378

the council, that is, in 1246, on occasion of an interview between the pope and Lewis IX. of France. That the cardinals were allowed to wear red shoes and red garments in the time of Innocent III., raised to the see in 1198, appears from several writers who flourished at that time ; but by what pope that privilege was granted them, is uncertain." *Bower*, vi. 254.

⁵ A hermit, originally meant for the church, and therefore liberally educated, who long led a life of great austerity in a cave on mount Murrho, the modern Magella, in the farther Abruzzo. The long vacancy before his election came from the two powerful families of Orsini and Colonna, each of which was bent upon nominating the pope. While the dissension continued raging, one of the cardinals accidentally mentioned the famous hermit of Murrho, and a majority of the body immediately elected him. Being over-persuaded to accept the proffered dignity, he did not lay aside his ascetic habits, but he proved wholly unfit

for business, and was readily brought, after a few months, to exchange the pontificate for his former solitude. He abdicated Dec. 13, 1294. *Ibid.* 344.

⁶ Archbishop of Bordeaux, and of a noble family in that part of France, but embroiled with Philip the Fair. That monarch had a powerful party in the conclave, which struggled violently for a French pope. While its exertions were yet abortive, Philip was privately consulted about the election of De Got. He had immediately a secret interview with him, and by promising to secure his election upon certain conditions, the archbishop was won over. As this was known to very few, the opposite party elected him, and thus France acquired a hold upon the papacy which she long retained. *Ibid.* 379.

⁷ *Petrus Belfortis*, nephew to Clement VI., and made cardinal by him when hardly seventeen. *Platina*, 208.—*Bower* calls him *Peter Roger*, and adds, that he was son of William Roger, lord of Beaufort.

Name and Surname.	Official Designation.	Accession.	Death.
Bartholomew } Prignano ⁸ ... }	Urban VI.	Ap. 18, 1378	Oct. 15, 1389
Peter Tomacelli...	Boniface IX..	Nov. 9, 1389	Oct. 1, 1404

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Name.	Appointment.	Death.
Augustine	A. D. 597	A. D. 605
Laurence ¹	— 605	Feb. 3, 619
Mellitus	— 605	Ap. 24, 624
Justus	— 624	— 631
Honorius	— 631	— 653
Deusdedit ²	— 655	— 664
Wighard	— 665	— 665
Theodore	Mar. 26, 668	Sept. 19, 690
Brihtwald	— 692	Jan. 9, 731
Tatwin	— 732	July 30, 734
Nothelm	— 736	— 739
Cuthbert	— 740	— 758
Bregwin	— 759	Aug. 24, 762
Lambert	— 762	Aug. 12, 790
Athelard	— 793	May 12, 803
Wulfred	— 806	Mar. 24, 830
Feologeld	— 830	— 830
Ceolnoth	Aug. 27, 831	— 870
Ethered	— 870	— 889

⁸ "The death of Gregory was followed by a most dreadful schism, commonly called in the history of the church *the great western schism*. It began in the present year, 1378, by the election of Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI. and lasted till the council of Constance, in 1414. There were, during that time, two popes, the one residing at Rome or

in Italy, and the other at Avignon. But which of the popes was the true one, and which the antipope, has not yet been decided." *Ibid.* vii. 36.

¹ Consecrated as his successor, by Augustine.

² An Anglo-Saxon, whose real name was Frithona. *Godwin, de Præsull.* Cantab. 1743, p. 40.

Name and Surname.	Appointment.	Death.
Plegmund	A. D. 890	A. D. 915
Athelm	— 915	— 924
Wulfhelm	— 924	— 937
Odo	— 938	— 957
Elsin	— 957	— 958
Dunstan	— 959	May 19, 988
Ethelgar	— 988	— 989
Sigeric	— 989	— 993
Ælfrie	— 994	— 1005
Elphege	— 1006	Ap. 19, 1012
Living	— 1013	— 1020
Ethelnoth	— 1020	Oct. 29, 1038
Eadsin	— 1038	Oct. 28, 1050
Robert of Jumieges ³ ...	— 1050	————
Stigand ⁴	— 1052	————
Lanfranc	Aug. 29, 1070	June 4, 1089
Anselm	Dec. 4, 1093	Ap. 21, 1109
Rodulph	May — 1114	Oct. 20, 1122
William Corbel	Feb. 2, 1123	Nov. 20, 1136
Theobald ⁵	Dec. 13, 1138	Ap. 18, 1161
Thomas Becket	June 2, 1162	Dec. 28, 1170
Richard	June 3, 1173	Feb. 16, 1183
Baldwin	Dec. 16, 1184	Nov. 20, 1190
Reginald Fitz-Joceline	Nov. 27, 1191	Dec. 26, 1191
Hubert Walter	May 30, 1193	July 13, 1205
Stephen Langton	— 1207	July 9, 1228
Richard Wethershed ...	June 10, 1229	Aug. 3, 1231
St. Edmund.....	April 2, 1234	Nov. 16, 1242
Boniface	— 1243	July 18, 1270
Robert Kilwarby ⁶	Feb. 26, 1273	————
John Peckham	Mar. 6, 1278	Dec. 8, 1292
Robert Winchelsey	Feb. 13, 1293	May 11, 1313
Walter Raynold	Jan. 4, 1314	Nov. — 1327
Simon Mephram	Dec. 8, 1327	Oct. 12, 1333

³ A Norman indiscreetly preferred by Edward the Confessor, and compelled, after a brief possession, to quit England.

⁴ Deprived by the Normans, either in 1069 or 1070, and dead in a few months afterwards. *Ibid.* 59.

⁵ Made *Legatus natus* by Innocent II., a distinction retained by his successors. *Ibid.* 69.

⁶ He resigned the see of Canterbury on his promotion to the dignity of a cardinal bishop, and went into Italy, where he died in a few months. *Ibid.* 97.

Name and Surname.	Appointment.	Death.
John Stratford	Nov. 18, 1333	Aug. 23, 1348
Thomas Bradwardine ...	June 4, 1349	Aug. 26, 1349
Simon Islip	Oct. 4, 1349	Ap. 26, 1366
Simon Langham ⁷	Nov. 5, 1366	————
William Whittlesey ...	Jan. 15, 1369	June 5, 1374
Simon Sudbury	May 26, 1375	June 14, 1381
William Courteney.....	Oct. 23, 1381	July 31, 1396
Thomas Arundel.....	Sept. 25, 1396	Feb. 19, 1413

PRIMATES OF SCOTLAND.

	A. D.		A. D.
Turgot ¹	1107	Richard	1163
Eadmer ²	1120	Hugh ³	1178
Robert	1122	Roger.....	1188
Arnold	1159	William Malvoisine ...	1202

⁷ "Pope Urban, who had lately translated Langham" (from Ely) "to the see of Canterbury, gave him a new mark of his esteem, and preferred him to a cardinalate," (Sept. 22, 1368,) "upon which the king, not being acquainted with this promotion, seized his temporalities. The archbishop acquiesced under this hardship, resigned his see," (Nov. 17, 1368,) "and lived privately at Oxford, till he had the king's leave to go beyond sea." *Collier*, i. 561.—He died at Avignon, July 22, 1376. *Godwin, de Præsull*, 116.

¹ The principal episcopal see of Scotland was in early times at Abernethy, the Pictish metropolis, at the confluence of the Earn and Tay. Kenneth II., who reigned in the ninth century, transferred the episcopal see to St. Andrew's, and gave it a primacy over the now united nations of Scots and Picts, directing the incumbent to be styled *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*. Scotland had no archbishopric until Patric Graham became bishop of St. Andrew's, in 1466. That prelate journeying to Rome for confirmation in his see, obtained the pope's authority for erecting St. Andrew's into an archbishopric. This being resented by some

at home, a further application was made to the pope, which ended in the erection of a second archbishopric at Glasgow. Before these archiepiscopal sees were created, the archbishops of York had claimed Scotland, as properly within their province; a claim said to have arisen, like that of England's civil superiority, from the inclusion of southern Scotland within the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Turgot is not the first known bishop of St. Andrew's. The series begins in the ninth century, but until Turgot's time it labours under some confusion. *Collier*, i. 156. 681. Keith's *Historical Account of Scottish Bishops*, Edinb. 1824, p. 31. Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, Lond. 1834, i. 96. 118.

² The monk of Canterbury, who wrote the *Historia Novorum*. He is said to have returned into England because he could not be suffered to receive consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury. Another account makes him to have been actually consecrated in 1120. *Keith*, 7.

³ This was a disputed incumbency: John Scott, an Englishman, but arch-

	A. D.		A. D.
David Bernham.....	1233	James Bennet	1328
Gameline	1255	William Bell ⁴	1332
William Wiseheart ...	1272	William Landal.....	1341
William Frazer.....	1279	Stephen de Pay.....	1383
William Lamberton ...	1298	Walter Trail	1395

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

	A. D.		A. D.
Senach ¹	598	Faranan	834
Mac-Laisir	610	Dermod O Tigernach ...	848
Thomian	623	Factna.....	852
Segene.....	661	Ainmire	874
Flan-Febla	688	Catasach Mac-Rabartach	875
Suibhney ²	715	Mælcob Mac-Crumvail..	883
Congusa	730	Mæl-Brigid Mac-Dornan	885
Celle-Peter ³	750	Joseph	927
Ferdachry	758	Mæl-Patrick Mac-Maol-	
Foendelach	768	tule	936
Dubdalethy I.	778	Catasach II. Mac-Dul-	
Affiat	793	gen	937
Cudniscus	794	Muredach Mac-Fergus .	957
Conmach	798	Dubdalethy II. Mac-Kel-	
Torbach Mac-Gorman...	807	lach	966
Nuad Mac-Segene	808	Murechan	998
Flanguss Mac-Loingle...	812	Mælmury, or Marian ...	1001
Artrigius	822	Amalgaid.....	1021
Eugene Monaster	833	Dubdalethy III.	1050

deacon of St. Andrew's, having been unanimously elected bishop. The king, however, caused his own chaplain, Hugh, to be consecrated. After long opposition to his claims upon St. Andrew's, which were backed by the pope, John was provided for by means of the see of Dunkeld. *Ibid.* 13.

⁴ Bell was elected to St. Andrew's, but being vigorously opposed, he journeyed ineffectually to the papal court at

Avignon. Confirmation was denied him. *Ibid.* 24.

¹ St. Patrick heads the series, which descends regularly from him, but there is little certainty in it before the seventh century; perhaps, not so soon.

² "Or Suivney." *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware, concerning Ireland*, Dublin, 1739, i. 40.—This name is evidently the *Sweeney* of modern Ireland.

³ "Or Petricola, a servant of Peter's,

	A. D.		A. D.
Cumasach O Herudan	1065	Luke Netterville.....	1220
Mælisæ Mac-Amalgaid	1065	Donat O Fidabra	1227
Donald Mac-Amalgaid	1092	Albert of Cologne	1240
Celsus Mac-Aid Mac-		Reiner	1247
Mælisæ'.....	1116	Abraham O Conellan ...	1257
Maurice Mac-Donald ...	1129	Patrick O Scanlan	1261
Malachy O Morgair.....	1134	Nicholas Mac-Molissa...	1272
Gelasius Mac-Roderick	1137	John Taaf	1305
Cornelius Mac-Conca-		Walter de Jorse	1306
Iede	1174	Roland Jorse	1311
Gilbert O Caran	1175	Stephen Segrave ⁴ *.....	1322
Mælisæ O Carrol.....	1184	David O Hiraghty	1334
Amlave O Murid.....	1184	Richard Fitz-Ralph.....	1347
Thomas O Connor	1185	Milo Sweetman	1361
Eugene Mac-Gillivider	1206	John Colton	1382

the word *Ceile* signifying a *servant*." *Ware*, i. 41.

⁴ Rector of Stepney, near London,

dean of Lichfield in 1320. He seems to have been the first Englishman advanced to the see of Armagh.

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